Sēṣakamalākara and Śēṣaratnākara,[2] by Vāsudeva Vācāsundara,[3] by Anūpabhūpati,[4] by Srīkanṭhamiśra,[4] by Nārāyaṇa,[5] by Sānkaramiśra,[6] by Bhagavaddāsa,[7] by Kumbhakarṇarāja,[8] by Lakṣmaṇa,[9] by Caitanyadāsa Pūjaka,[10] by Mānānka,[11] and two anonymous, Sangrahadīpikā[12] and Bālabodhinī.[13]

In the Nirnayasāgara edition there are eight verses in praise of the Ganges, Gangāstava, printed. It is thought that is the work of Dhīra Jayadeva, a later poet.[14]

298. Among other works composed on this model are Gītagaurīpati of Bhānudatta,[15] Kṛṣṇgīta of Somanātha,[16] Gītarāghava of Hari Śankara,[17] Gītarāghava of Prabhākara,[18] Gītarāghava of Rāmakavi,[19] Gītagirīśa of Rāma,[20] Sangītamādhava of Govindadāsa,[21]

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1. *IA*, XLII. 252. *BTC*, 158; *Bik*. 230; *Mys. Cat*. 245.

2. *SKC*, 281. Composed at the instance of king Chandrasahi of Gādhāpuri in the country of Tripuri near Narmadā.

3. *SKC*, 280. Prince Anupa seems to have been only the patron and not the real author.

4. *SKC*, 67.

5. *PR*, I, 114; *Bod. Cat*. 221; *IO*, 118.

6. Printed, Bombay. The author styles himself Mahāmahopādhyāya.

7. *CC*, I. 154.

8. Printed Bombay. On Kumbhakarṇa, see chapter on Music *post*. He was also the author of Saṅgītasudhā and Saṅgītarāja (*CC*, I. 111).

9. It was composed at Śri Puruṣottama Kṣetra (Puri) in Śaka 1664 (1586 A.D.) *Mys. Cat*. 245.

10. *CSC* (1917) 590; *Mys. Cat*. 245.

11. *PR*, III. 280.

12. *DC*, XX. 7996 probably by Jivagoswāmi. There is another anonymous commentary in *SKC*, 67.

13. *CSC* (1907), 33-4.

14. There are Gaṅgāstava (1) by Kavikarṇāpura (2) by Deveśvara (3) by Haribhāskara (4) by Gangādhara (5) by Satyaghanānandatīrtha, printed in Bombay, in Bṛhatstotraratnākara, 344, and in Haberlin, 271. See *CC*, I. 140.

15. Printed, Bombay. There is another poem Kṛṣṇagīta in more than 9 cantos, on which there is a commentary by Anantanārāyaṇa Śāstri, *TC*, III. 3915.

16. Printed, Bombay.

17. *HR*, II. 83. See *CC*, III. 33.

18. *BR*. (1884), 8, 9; *CC*, I. 154. He was the son of Bhudhara. He composed it in 1674 A.D.

19. *Mys. OML*, 246.

20. *Oxf*, 129. He was son of Śrīnātha. There is a commentary by Ātmārāma, *NW*, 616.

21. He wrote also Karṇāmṛta and lived in 1537-1612 A.D. See Dinescandra Sen's *History of Bengali Literature*, 547.

Gītaṇṭarāga by Abhinavacārukīrti,[1] Gītagangādhara (i) by Kalyāṇa,[2] (ii) by Rajasekhara and (iii) by Candrasekharasarasvati,[3] Sivagītimālikā,[4] by Candasikhāmaṇi,[5] Ramodaharaṇagītikāvya,[6] Śivāṣṭapadī by Venkatappa Naik of Mysore,[7] Gītaśataka by Sundaracārya,[8] Sangīta-Raghunandana by Viśvanātha,[9] Sangītasundara by Sadāśiva Dīkṣita.[10]

Mukundavilāsa in six cantos describes the sports of Hari and Hara as if they were one.[11] Śankarīsangīta of Jayanārāyaṇa, son of Kṛṣṇacandra, in 12 patalas, describes the marriage of Pārvati and Śiva.[12]

299. Vamsamani was the son of Rāmacandra of the Vilvapanca race of Maithila Brahmanas. He lived in Nepal and wrote Gītadigambara on the occasion of a Tulāpuruṣadāna by Pratāpamalla Devi of Katmandu in Saka 1577 (1655 A.D.). "It was composed to entertain the princes and panditas assembled to see the Tulapurusadana in which the king in his armours weighs himself against gold and other precious metals and gives them away to Brahmans. Pratapa was himself a poet and his Astakas are to be found in all the holy places in Nepal inscribed at prominent places on stone. It is meet that on an auspicious occasion like this that he should encourage a Sanskrit dramatic performance."[13]

300. Venkataramanaiya (C), a principal of Sanskrit College, Bangalore, is the author of several works. Of these Kamalāvijaya is a play in five acts, developed from the story of Tennyson's Cup, a tragedy in two acts. It has no prakrit. The pith of the story is as he says the victory of Virtue over Vice. His NAVAGITAKUSUMANJALI is meant "to bring home to every one that there is only one divine power called God who is worshipped and contemplated under various names and forms by different kinds of people in the world. To include this all important truth, the popular Hindu theology and mythology have been adopted as far as the narration of the story is concerned, keeping at the same time the central idea running throughout each part or poem. The poem is of 108 verses divided into 9 parts, viz., (1) Ramagītā containing essence of Rāmāyaṇa, (2) Kṛṣṇagītā, narrating briefly the story of Bhāgavata, (3) Daśāvatāragītā explaining the objects of ten avataras of Vishnu, (4) Ganesagīta showing that God under this name

1. *Mys. OML*, 216.
2. *Oxf*, 129.
3. *Mys. OML*, 245.
4. *CAL*. II. 17.
5. *Mys. OML*, 255.
6. *Mys. OML*, 635.
7. *DTC*, 103. He ruled in 1582-1629 A.D.
8. Printed, Bombay.
9. *Ulwar*, 980.
10. *CC*, I. 690.
11. *Mitra*, X.
12. *TC*, IV. 4587; *CC*, I. 690.
13. *HPR*, I. 18 *CC*, III. 33.

is also God of Universe and none else, (5) Sadgurugītā similarly indicating that all true knowledge proceeds from the great intelligence, the fountain head of all knowledge, (6) Sivagītā explaining the Śiva aspect of God and demonstrates with convincing reasons that there is no difference between Bramha, Viṣṇu and Śiva as far as central truth is concerned, (7) Vānīgitā, (8) Lakṣmīgīta and Gourīgītā showing that even female aspects of Divine Power contribute in effect to the same central idea."

301. Narayanatirtha is said to be the last incarnation of Madhāvānala.[1] He calls himself the pupil of Śivarāmānandatīrtha. He lived at Kuchimanci Agraharam in Godavari District about 1700 A.D.[2] His Kṛṣnalīlataranginī embraces the story of Kṛṣna in 12 tarangas.[3] The musical modes and rhythmic time are specified and explanatory verses are inserted between the songs. The poem is fit for the lyre and showers sentiments of devotion.

Kṛṣnalīlātaranginī of Bellamkonda Rāmaśāstri is a work of similar description.[4]

Kṛṣnabhāvanāmṛta of Viśvanātha,[5] Kṛṣnabhakticandrikā, Kṛṣnalīlāmṛta with Acyutarao Modak's commentary, Kṛṣnānandalaharī and Kṛṣnāmṛtatarangikā of Venkateśa[6] have the same theme.

302. Among the friends of Jayadeva in the Court of King Lakṣmanasena were Govardhana, Śarana, Umāpati and Dhoyi Kavirāja alias Śrutadhara. Jayadeva mentions them thus in Gītagovinda :[7]

वाचः पल्लवयत्युमापतिधरस्सन्दर्भशुद्धिं गिरां
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणश्श्लाघ्यो दुरूहद्रुतेः ।
शृङ्गारोत्तरसत्प्रमेयरचनैराचार्यगोवर्धन-
स्पर्धी कोपि न विश्रुतश्श्रुतधरो धोयी कविक्ष्मापतिः ॥

1. See para 290 *supra.*
2. I examined the Inam register from the Collector's office. The grant was by Kolavennu Buchama Rao and Timmanna Rao in Fasli 1151, subsequently confirmed by Morgin Beg in Hizra 1157 and certified by the Collector on 4th May 1715. The original grantees were Bhāgavatula Linganna and Gopalam, Peddibhotla Gurulingam, Vedantam Ramesam and 5 others.
3. *DC*, XX. 7953 ; *IOC*, VII. 1462.
4. See under that author *post.*
5. Printed, Bombay.
6. Printed, Bombay.
7. Tradition says so :

गोवर्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापतिः ।
कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥

303. **Dhoyi** had the fuller title Gavai Dhoyi Kavirāja.[1] He was Śrutadhara, because he learnt by a single hearing. His PAVANADUTA[2] describes the message of Kuvalayāvatī to King Lakṣmanasena and is on the model of Meghadūta. His Satyabhāmā-Kṛṣṇasamvāda[3] is not now available.

304. **Sarana,** says Jayadeva there, was quick but hard in versification.

305. **Govardhana**[4] was son of Nīlāmbara Somayājin. He had a brother Balabhadra and a pupil Udayana. He calls himself an Ācārya. His Āryāsaptaśatī[5] or shortly Saptaśatī is a collection of 700 verses on various subjects,[6] erotic in character, in the order of the Sanskrit alphabets. The flow of his diction keeps with the running gait of the Āryā metre.[6] He refers to Lakṣmaṇasena in his poem as a master of arts.[7] There are commentaries on it by Gokulacandra,[8] by Ananta, son of Tryambaka,[9] by Gangārāma[10] and one anonymous.[11]

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1. *Keith, LS*, 220. For quotations in anthologies, see Thomas, *Kav.* 122. The Kavirāja mentioned in the memorial verse quoted page 345 *supra* is therefore the same as Dhoyi. This dispels the suspicion of the identification of that Kavirāja with the author of the Rāghavapāṇḍavīya. Gavai is a Hindustani title for a learned musician. Kavirāja is the Sankrit title of an excellent poet, versed in different languages.

दन्तिव्यूहं कनकलतिकां चामरं हैमदण्डं यो गौडेन्द्रादलभत कविक्ष्माभृतां चक्रवर्ती ।
श्रीधोयीकः सकलरसिकप्रीतिहेतोर्मनस्वी काव्यं सारस्वतमिव महामन्त्रमेतज्जगाद ॥

Pavanaduta, 101.

2. Ed. Calcutta. See also *JASB*, (1906) 41 ; *HPR*, I. 227.
3. This is referred to in Prapancadarpana of Venkatakavi Sārvabhauma. (*TC*, III. 4094). See Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep.* (1916-19), 36.
4. Referred to as a playwright in Daśarupa (Ed. by Hall, 30 note). Keith, *SL*, 202.
5. Ed. Bombay. See Sir William Jone's Works, XIII. 4096. Colebrooke's *Mis. Essays*, II. 74 ; Wilson's *Pref. to Dictionary*, xxxi.
6. अतिपूजिततारेयं दृष्टिश्श्रुतिलङ्घनक्षमा सुतनु ।
जिनसिद्धान्तस्थितिरिव सवासना कं न मोहयति ॥

Here on the pretence of describing the beauty of a maiden's eyes, the poet denouncess Jainism.

7. सकलकलाः कल्पयितुं प्रभुः प्रबन्धस्य कुमुदबन्धोश्च ।
सेनकुलतिलकभूपतिरेको राकाप्रदोषश्च ॥

The explanation of the commentator on this verse that the king alluded to was Pravarasena of Kashmir is obviously wrong. See Peterson's *Int. to Subh.* 38.

8. *PR*, II. No. 79 ; *IOC*, VII 1527.
9. Ed, Benares. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2931 ; *IOC*, VII. 1527.
10. *Oudh*, (1877), 16,
11. *TC*, III, 4115.

The name of the work seems to have suggested itself from Hāla's Saptaśatī.[1]

Among similar works are Śṛngārasaptaśatī (anonymous) (*BTC*, 164; *DC*, XX. 8015); Āryāsaptaśatī of Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmīdhara (Printed Bombay; *DC*. XX. 8011); and Śṛngārasaptaśati by Paramānanda, son of Vrajacandra, composed in 1869 (Ed. Benares); Āryādvīśati by Durvāsas (*Opp*. II. 4487, 8163, 8119); Āryātriśatī by Sāmarāja Dīkṣita (Printed, Bombay); Āryātriśatīmuktaka or Rasikarañjana of Vrajaraja (Printed, Bombay); Śivadayāsahasra by Nṛsimha (*Mys. OML*, 238); and Śivapādakamalareṇusahasra by Sundareśvara (Ibid.); Śrī Kanthatriśatī (*Mys*. 8).

306. Umapatidhara was the minister of King Lakṣmaṇasena. The story goes that to restrain the king from a scandalous alliance with a Mātangī, the poet wrote some verses, indirectly hinting at the disgrace. The king was displeased and dismissed the minister. Sometime later, he noticed the poet wandering in the street in rags and when he addressed him another verse, the king repented and restored him to his favour.[2] His Kṛṣṇacarita prabably gives the life of Kṛṣṇa.[3] His

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1. Ed. Bombay No. 21 (with Gangadhara's commentary). This is a piece of most exquisite poetry. It is said that the real author was Śrīpālita, a poet of the court of Hāla: हालेनोत्तमपूजया कविवृषश्श्रीपालितो लालितः (see para 21 note *supra*). See Durgaprasad's Int.; Weber's *Essay on the Saptasataka of Hala* with prose German Translation (Leipzic); Bhau Daji's *Essay on Sātavāhana*; Princep's *Essays*, II. 1544 *IA*, XII. 214. Buhler, *IA*, I. 307; Peterson *Int. to Kadambari* (*BSS*, 24, 74); T. Rajagopala Rao (*South Indian Research*, I. 225) identifies Śalivāhana with Śātavāhana; S. Konow's *Int. to Karpuramanjari* (*HOS*, 192); Macdonell (*SL*, 344); says it is a rich treasury of popular Indian lyrical poetry). Bhandarkar, *EHD*, 171; Mandlik, *JBRAS*, X. 127; V. Smith (*EH*. 208) gives the date of Hāla, as the 17th Andhra king, about 30 B.C. T. S. Narayana Sastri (*Sankara*, Part I D, 98) says he was the 18th King of the dynasty and son of Ariṣṭa Śāṭakarṇi and assigns him to Yudhisthirā era 1644-1649 (495-490 B.C.) To this Hāla he ascribes the patronage of Kalidāsa I, the author of the three dramas and relies on the Śankaravijaya of Citsukha and Jagadgururatnamālikā of Sarasvati to say that Ādi Śankara was his contemporary. The name Hāla is synonymous with Sāla, Śātavahana, Śalavāhana. The are commentaries on Sapataśatī by Gangādhara, Premarāja, Bhuvanapāla, Pītāmbara, Sādhāraṇadeva, Kulabaladeva (*PR*, III. ap. 396; *CC*, I. 151) and Vemabhupāla (*TC*. IV. 5066). Hāla is said to be the patron of Guṇādhya. For several recensions, see Melkote Swami's Int. to Śṛngāraprakāśa.

2. See Rājaśekara's *Prabhandacintāmaṇi*, (Tawney's Translation, 181, 183); Farquhar, (*ORL*, 303, 378) says Umāpatidhara was a contemporary of Vidyāpati at Tirhut of the 15th century A.D. See *JBRAS*, XXXIV. 142; and *ZDMG*, XL, some poems in Maithili are published in *JBRAS*, XLIII. 76; B. Chatterjee, *Padāvali Literature* (*Jl, of Dep. of Letters*, Calcutta Univ. XVI. 44).

3. It is mentioned in Prapancadarpaṇa (*TC*, III. 4094).

PĀRIJĀTAPAHARAṆA[1] is a short drama and contains musical pieces. Nārada presented a Pārijāta flower to Kṛṣṇa and this he gave to Rukmiṇī. Satyabhāmā grew jealous and when Kṛṣṇa sent word to Indra for some more, they were refused. Kṛṣṇa with Arjuna as his lieutenant went to war, defeated Indra and brought the flowers.

Umāpatidhara composed the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena,[2] and his verses are quoted in Saduktikarṇāmṛta and Sūktimuktāvali. Śaraṇa called also Ciraṇtanaśaraṇa is quoted in Saduktikarṇāmṛta.

There are *poems* on the same theme by Kavirāja (see para 87 supra), by Nārāyaṇa (see para 214 supra); by Raghunātha (see para 146 supra, *DC*. XX, 7848, XXI, 8397); a *campū* by Śeṣakṛṣṇa (*Bik*. 256, *CC*, I. 335) and *plays* by Gopāladasa[3] (*CC*, I. 335) by Kavicandrodaya and by Kumāratatācārya called Caturvedi Śatakratu (*TC*, II. 2374; *SVH*, 254).

307. Amarukasataka. In his visit to Māhiṣmatī, Śankara encountered Mandana and sought a controversy. Mandana's wife was Bhāratī, an incarnation of Sarasvatī. They set her as their umpire and after a long interval Mandana acknowledged defeat and became an ascetic adopting the tenets of Śankara. Then Bhāratī "begged the favour of a controversy with herself; for Sankara had as yet defeated but one half of Mandana, herself being the other half. He objected to arguing with women, but she quoted precedents. So, as before, the disputation went on for seventeen days. Bharati trying to discomfit Sankara passed from one Sastra to another; and finding at last that she could not inflict a defeat on him in any other science she resolved to humble him by means of the Science of Love or Kama-sastra. Now Sankara had not had the experience needed to answer questions on this science, and so found that his reputation as well as the consequent victory of his cause was at stake. So he begged of her an interval of one month for preparation to meet her in argument, which being allowed, he went to the banks of Narmada, and in the hole of a tree in some forest there he left his body in hiding and asked some of his

1. *JBORS*, III. 20-98; Ed. Grierson with translation by Aufrecht (*CC*, I. 335) says it was written in the reign of Hindupati Hariharadeva. Grierson says that Umāpati lived at the Court of Harisimhadeva of Mithila, whom Umāpati calls Hariharadeva.

2. *EI*, I. 307-11.

3. Gopāla Bhatta, author of the drama Sānanda-Govinda (*CC*, I. 707; *Levi*, app. 81) and Gopālārāya, author of the bhāṇas, Śṛṅgārarāja and Śṛṅgāramañjarī (*CC*, II. 158, 160) are different.

disciples to keep watch over it while the living soul was away from it. Then by means of his *Yogic* powers he separated his soul from that body and luckily came upon the dead body of a King Amaruka, which was about to be committed to flames, and entered it. The king rose and all the town rejoiced. However, in a short while, the ministers as well as the queens of the late king found some things extraordinary about their restored sovereign and suspected that the soul of some Mahatman had come to live in the body of their master. So messengers were secretly sent to search for a human body hidden in lonely spots or caves, and to burn when found, so that the Mahatman might remain with them and the king continue to live long time. Meanwhile Sankara in the body of the king was acquiring the experiences of love with his queens and was recording those experiences in a treatise which has come down to us under the name of *Amaruka-sataka*. And in the midst of these lovely women and their blandishments, he forgot his promise to his disciples about his going back to them; and the month agreed upon soon passed away. The disciples then began to search for him; and hearing the miraculous resurrection of Amaruka, they went to his city, sought audience with he king, and sang a few philosophic songs which at once roused the memory of Sankara. Then they hastened to the place where the body had been secreted. But by this time the messengers of the king had found it out and had just begun to set fire to it. The unattached soul of Sankara now hastened back and entered his own body in this perilous condition. He then prayed to Vishnu conceived as Nrisimha to help him, which he did by sending down a timely shower of rain that put out the flames. Sankara was now in his own body again."[1]

Apart from the merit of this story, the graces of Amaruka's conception and expression are unique. Vāmana and Ānandavardhana quote the verses and that is a worthy recognition of its quality and its age.[2]

308. The poem is a śataka or century, but the four recensions have only 51 verses in common; these are the texts used by Rāmarudra, Ravicandra, Arjunavarman and Vemabhūpāla.[3] Each verse depicts the

1. C. V. Krishnasami Iyer, *Sankaracarya*, 45.
2. *CC*, I. 27, II. 5, 187; III. 7. R. Simon, *Das Amaruśataka*, Keil; *ZDMG.* XLIX. 577; Macdonell, *SL*, 342; *SR*. II. 47.
3. Aufrecht (*ZDMG*, XXVII. 7) says "The form Amaru owes its origin to the desire to make a good Sanskrit word of the name; the form Amaru is more easily handled. Only the verses written in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre appear to have formed the original collection. Some of the verses attributed to Amaru (in the Sāraṅgadhara-paddhati) are not in the present very incorrect editions. On the other hand we find other verses which in the Indian editions are ascribed to this poet, in our manuscripts of the Sarangadharapaddhati either given anonymously or ascribed to a different author."

condition of the Nāyikā in a particular mood towards her Nāyaka. "The Sataka" says Keith "is essentially a collection of pictures of love, and it differs from the work of Bhartṛhari in that, while Bhartṛhari deals rather with general aspects of love and women as factors in life, Amaru paints the relation of lovers, and takes no thought of other aspects of life. Possibly if the reference to the purpose in the title in the manuscripts has any value he may have planned illustrating other sides of life, but that is idle conjecture and we have sufficient cause to be grateful to him for what he has given us without seeking more. The love which Amaru likes is gay and high spirited, delighting in tiny tiffs and lovers' quarrels but ending in smiles; the poet hardly ever contemplates the utter disappearance of love."[1]

There are commentaries[2] by Arjunavarman[3] by Kokasambhava,[4] by Śeṣarāmakṛṣṇa,[5] by Caturbhujamiśra,[6] by Nandalāla,[7] by Rudramadeva,[8] Ravicandra,[9] by Rāmarudra,[10] by Vemabhūpāla,[11] by Sūryadāsa,[12] by Śaṅkarācārya,[13] by Venkatavarada,[14] by Hariharabhatta,[15] by Devaśankarabhatta,[16] by Gosthīpūrendra,[17] and two others anonymous.[18] Jnānānanda Kalādharasena explains the verses in the senses of love and renunciation.[19]

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1. Keith, *SL*. 183, where he gives a fine exposition of the poet's plan of the poem and conception. See Peterson *Int. to Subh.* 2 and Thomas's *Int. to Kav.* 22.
2. See *CC*, I. 27, II, 5, 187, III, 7; *Mys. OML*. 242; *CAL*, II. 2.
3. Ed. Bombay by Durgaprasad with a valuable introduction. King Arjunavarman was the son of Subhatavarman. He ruled about sam. 1267 (1211 AD). See for inscriptions, *JASB* V. 378, *JAOS*, VII. 32, 25. For verses in the anthologies, see Peterson's Int. to Subh. He refers to poet Madana, who was his guru as an author on rhetoric.
4. *CAL*, II. 2.
5. Int. by Durgaprasad, *l.c.* 3.
6. *Oudh* (1877), 16.
7. *PR*, III. 393.
8. *CC*, III. 7.
9. *Oudh*, XVI, 54. See *SKC*, 277.
10. *CC*, I. 28. *IOC*, VII. 1520.
11. *DC*, XX. 7978, 7981; *Tanj. Cat.* VII. 2914-26; *TC*. III. 2706, 2718. Vema is the hero of Vāmana's Vīranārāyaṇacarita.
12. *CC*, II. 5.
13. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2907-13.
14. See *DC*, XXI. 8573.
15. *CC*, I. 28.
16. *CC*, II. 5.
17. *CAL*, II. 2.
18. *CC*, I. 28; *IOC*, 711.
19. Printed, Calcutta. *Oudh*, XIX, 40; *SKC*, 66.

309. Rtusamhara[1] in six cantos is a short poem of 153 verses of various metres ascribed to Kālidāsa,[2] descriptive of the six seasons of the year. "With glowing appreciation of the beauties of Nature, in which erotic scenes are interspersed, the poet adroitly interweaves the expression of human emotions."

On the question whether Kālidāsa was the real author of this poem, opinion is divided.[3] Among arguments advanced for the negative are that Mallinātha did not comment on it and rhetoricians did not quote from it. Keith answers the arguments thus:[4] "More deplorable still are some of the æsthetical arguments adduced; complaint is made that the poet begins with the summer whereas the spring was the usual beginning of the year forgetting that Kalidasa was not composing an almanac or writing a Shephard's calendar. Again, heart or its derivatives (tap) is found seven times in Canto I as if this did not accord with summer, as does eagerness (samutsukatva) with the rains and longing (utkantha) with autumn. The poet is censured for asserting that the swans excel maidens in beauty of gait and the branches rob their arms of loveliness; later, he was not guilty of such discourtesy. He mixes a metaphor in speaking of clouds as having the lightning as creeper; as we have seen, Vatsabhatti borrows the phrase, and exploits two other verses of the poem, proving its antiquity and rendering most probable its authorship. It is objected that he uses here only the construction amulatah, in lieu of the ablative, though equally once only in the Kumarasambhava he has amekhalam; the freshness and liveliness of the several verbal forms (ii. 19) is unparalleled and therefore, not by Kalidasa. Even the lack of developed use of figures of speech is adduced against him, and the

1. Printed everywhere. Ed. with commentary of Maṇirāma by Durgaprasad: with commentary by Gajendragadkar, Bombay; with commentary of Venkatacarya and notes and English translation by M. P. Kale, Bombay; with notes and English translation by B. G. Kher, and also by Sitarama Ayyar, Bombay. Tr. into Latin and German by Bohlen, Leipsic. Ed. by Herman Kreyenburg, Hanover with preface by Sir William Jones.

2. For a short account of the work, see Macdonell, *SL.* 337-9; *Studies of Ritusamhara*, Karmoyagin Journal; Apte's *Age of Kalidasa*, 35. Vrajarāja's Sadṛtuvarṇana describes the seasons (Printed, Bombay). So does Śiśirarṭuvarṇana (*CC*, I. 655).

3. It is not: Harichand, *Kalidasa*, 240; Walter, *Indica*, III. 6; Nobel, *ZDMG*, LXVI. 275, *JRAS*. (1913), 401. It is: Macdonell, *SL*; Keith, *SL*, 82. *JRAS*, (1912) 1066, (1913) 410; Hillebrandt, *Kalidasa*, 66; Stenzler, *ZDMG*, XLIV. 33; Arabinda Ghose, *Kalidasa's Seasons*, Madras.

4. *SL*, 82.

use of Samhara in the title has been questioned as unique. Poets happily do not feel themselves bound to be "parrots." In dealing with the date of Kālidāsa[1] it was pointed out how wide the divergence is among scholars and so long as standard of taste and judgment differs in nature, it is not possible to assert the infallibility of any conclusion, until and unless something certain is discovered to support a view. It is again a matter for inquiry whether the works foisted on the name of Kālidāsa are not really the works of different Kālidāsas and whether lapse of time has not tended to ignore the difference in identity.[2] It is likely the work of Kālidāsa III or Kotijit.

Śṛngāratilaka[3] is another poem "of Kalidasa" in 23 verses of fine sentiments of love and affection.[4]

Puṣpabāṇavilāsa[5] is a piece of fine fancies and lyrical beauty. Though ascribed to Kālidāsa, the real author was Arkabhatta, the writer of Sāhityakaumudī.[6] There are commentaries on it by Venkatapanditārāya,[7] and by an unknown author called Śṛngāracandrikā.[8]

Besides the poems Durghatakāvyacitrakā,[9] Duṣkaramāla,[10] Citgaganacandrikā (in praise of Devi and of exquisite grace)[11] and Bhramarāṣṭaka,[12] and Śrutabodha on prosody,[13] Aufrecht mentions the following works under Kālidāsa's name: Ambāstava, Kālīstotra, Laghustava, Vidvadvinodakāvya, Bṛndāvanakāvya, Śringārasāra, Gangāstaka, Mangalāstaka, Candikādandakastotra.[14]

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1. See para 13 *supra*.
2. See para 24 *supra*.
3. Ed. everywhere; Ed. by Gildemeister, Bombay and in *Haeberlin*, 14. See Keith, *SL*, 199.
4. For instance, पयोधराकारधरो हि कन्दुकः करेण रोषादभिहन्यते मुहुः ।
5. Ed. Bombay and elsewhere.
6. See *PR*, VI.
7. *TC*, III. 2719, 4171.
8. *TC*, II. 1356.
9. Printed Kāvyakalāpa, Calcutta.
10. There is a manuscript in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. There is a commentary on it by Durgayya, alias Simhaswāmi, son of Vāsudeva of Sathamaraṣaṇagotra of about the 18th century A.D.
11. *Mys. Cat.* It is quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Pratyabhijnāsutra, and Dāvārathi in his commentary on Dhvānyalokalocana.
12. *CAL*, II. 8.
13. Ed. everywhere; by M.E. Lancereau, Paris.
14. *CC*, I. 99.

310. Damodaragupta was the famous poet of the court of King Jayāpīda of Kashmir who ruled between 751–732 A.D.[1] He was that king's constant companion. His Kuttinīmata[2] or Śambhālīmata is an amusing work on erotics of peculiar interest. The scene is laid at Benares, a city where even courtesans by their ornaments (candra) and troops of attendant lovers (bhujanga) attain likeness to Śiva. A gentle courtesan of that city, Mālatī, once heard from the terrace of her house, an āryā sung by chance, directing women to acquire the art of pleasing lovers. Then she sets off to the house of Vikarālā, a woman, the reverse of beautiful, and from her learns 'wonderful ways of beguiling the hearts of men.' The work is full of stories in illustration and is a practical treatise in the art. For instance, the whole story of Ratnāvali is summed up. Dāmodaragupta is a loveable author and never misses a place in the anthologies.

311. Jagannatha[3] was the son of Perubhatta and Lakṣmi. He was a Tailinga of the Veginati sect of the village Mungunda, in Godavari District. His family name was Upadrasta. He studied poetry and rhetoric under his father and logic and grammar and other sciences under Jnānindra Bhikṣu, Mahesācārya, Khandadeva and Śeṣaviresvara, at Banares. He was entertained at the court of Emperor Shah Jehan (1628–1638 A.D.) and Prince Dara was his favourite patron.[4] Tradition says he fell in love with a lady of the Muslim Court and had secret intrigues with her; she was dead and her separation caused his retirement. He spent the rest of his life in

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1. स दामोदरगुप्ताख्यं कुट्टिनीमतकारिणम् । कविं कविं बालरिव धुर्यं धीसचिवं व्यधात् ॥ *Raj.* IV. 496.

See Vaidya's *Med. India*, 202-211. The initial date is given by S. P. Pandit and M. Dutt as 747 and 749. See under Bhavabhuti and Udbhata *post*. On Dāmodaragupta, see Peterson, *Subh*, 45, *PR*, I. 65, II. 23, IV. xliv. F. W. Thomas, *Kav.* 46 where all verses quoted in the anthologies are collected. Aufrecht, *ZDMG*. XXVII, 85; XXXVI, 513. *CC*, I. 251. *BR*, (1897), xxix.

2. Ed. Bombay. For a fuller account, see *PR*, II. 23—32. Dutiprakāśa (*NP*, V. 126) is a work of similar theme.

3. (i) Jagannātha, son of Nārāyana, author of the poem Jnānavilāsa (*BTC*, 158) (ii) Jagannātha, author of Sarabharājavilāsa (*BTC*, 162) (iii) Jagannātha author of poems Śaśisena and Kirtimuktāvali (*CASB*, 195, 302, *CC*, III. 132) (iv) Jagannātha, author of Nṛsimhastotras (*PR*, V. 575), (v) Jagannātha Sena, quoted in Padyāvali (vi) Jagannātha author of Śankaravilasacampu (*CC*, I. 196) (vii) Jagannātha author of Vajreśvarīkāvya (*CC*, I. 196) and (viii) Jagannātha, author of Mānasimhakirti-muktāvali (*Oudh*, V. 8) are different.

4. डिल्लीवल्लभपाणिपल्लवतले नीतं नवीनं वयः

Muttra, where he died in 1674 A.D.[1] It is said he desired an interview with Appayadīkṣita, but the latter who was very orthodox refused to see him as he was a fallen outcaste. This incenced him and the vent was his scathing criticism of Appayadīkṣita's Citramīmāṃsa. Apart from his proficiency in rhetoric,[2] his lyrics[3] are charming and musical. Amṛtalaharī was in praise of the Jumna, Lakṣmīlaharī in praise of Laksmī and Gangālaharī in praise of the Ganges.[4] There are besides Karuṇālaharī, Sudhālaharī and Ānyāpadeśa.

Asaphvilāsa in prose is in praise of Nawab Asafkhan a counsellor of Shah Jehan who died in 1646 A.D.[5] Jagadābharaṇā[6] is a poem describing the splendor of his patron Dara Shah. Prāṇābharaṇa is a similar work in praise of king Prāṇānārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa and abounds in ideas of wit and wonder and Yamunāvarṇanacampū is probably associated with the theological sanctity of the Jumna. These are quoted in his Rasagangādhara.

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1. Acyutarāya in his commentary on Bhāmaulvilāsa and C. R. Vaidya in his introduction of Bhāminīvilāsa describe these biographical allusions contained in the poems. It is said his last verse was this:

यवनी नवनीतकोमलाङ्गी.शयनीये यदि लभ्यते कदाचित् ।
अवनीतलमेव साधु मन्ये न वनी माघवनी विनोदहेतुः ॥

Suryanārāyaṇa Śāstri in his *Life of Sanskrit Poets* (Telugu) says that Jagannātha lived between 1575 and 1653 from the days of Emperor Akbar. In the trial of a suit before the Emperor between two Mussalmans, Jagannātha was a visitor and though he did not know Persian, he was able to repeat at once the whole proceedings. Akbar was struck by the young man's remarkable memory and asked him to describe his daughter Lavangī, a princess born of a Rajput queen, who was then passing that way with a pot on her head. He gave out the verse with facile grace and when Akbar asked him what he wanted he desired the hand of Lavangī. Akbar asked Jagannātha to dine with him as a condition of the alliance and this done he was wedded to Lavangi. He lived down to the days of Shah Jehan and when his patron Dara was murdered in 1659 A.D., he retired from court, went to Benares and after praising the Ganges in beautiful lyrics, he and Lavangī gave up their mortal coil in the waters of the Ganges.

2. See for an account of Jagannātha and his works, S.K.De, *SP*, I. 275-281.

3. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay, Madras and Vizagapatam. *CC*, I. 196.

4. Ed. Bombay with three commentaries. There is another poem of the same nature Gangālaharīśataka by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Kavi edited at Benares.

5. *CC*, I. 196. There is from quotation for it in the introduction to Rasagangādhara (166).

6. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay, with a gloss. *DC*, XX. 8071.

Bhaminīvilāsa[1] is by far the most known, being a collection of verses of isolated ideas meant mainly to teach the four Puruṣārthas and practical ethics. In four Ullāsas of Anyokti, Śṛngāra, Karuṇa and Śānta, the work might be a collection of verses composed by the poet at stray intervals.[2]

· **312. Visvesvara** was the son of Lakṣmīdhara and brother of Umāpati of the race of Rande of Almodha. Deveśvara, eighth in descent, was said to be living thirty years ago at Anupasagar on the Ganges. He lived in the beginning of the 18th century.[3]

His writings are many and cover poetry, drama, poetics and dialectics.[4] Rukmiṇīpariṇaya[5] is a nāṭaka. Navamālikā[6] is a nāṭikā and Śṛngāramanjarī,[7] a saṭṭaka (in prākṛt). Mandāramanjarī[8] is a romance in prose. Vakṣojaśaṭaka, Holikāśaṭaka, Lakṣmīvilāsa, Ṣaḍṛtuvarṇana,[9] Romāvalīśaṭaka,[10] and Āryāśaṭaka,[11] are poems of lyrical merit. Āryāsaptaśaṭī[12] is really a work on erotics of considerable poetic thought. Kavīndrābharaṇa[13] in four chapters is a Citrakāvya and contains verses of intricate composition. He wrote commentaries on Naiṣadha[14] and Rasamanjarī.

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1. Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Acyutarāya Modak of Lakṣmīnarayaṇa (with English Translation). *DC*, XX. 8085 with an anonymous gloss. For a notice of this work, see *JASB*, XXXI, 527; Keith's *SL*, 234. There is a commentary also by Maṇirāma (*IOC*, VII. 1526) composed in 1803 A.D.

2. मदीयपद्यरत्नानां मञ्जूषैषा कृता मया।

3. (i) Viśveśvara quoted in *SKM*, (ii) Viśveśvara, author of Camatkāracandrikā a poem on Sarvagnasingabhupāla (*TC*, III, 3813; *IOC*, VII. 1507; S.K.De, *SP*, 243); (iii) Viśveśvara, author of Sāhityasāra (*Opp*. 2728); (iv) Viśveśvara, commentator on Candrāloka, are different authors.

4. See *CC*, II. 139, and Kavyamālā, VIII. 52.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *DC*, XXI. 8411. It describes the amours of Vijayasena of Avanti with Navamālikā.

7. *PR*, IV. 31. See Kāvyamāla, VIII, 52.

8. Mentioned in Kāvyamālā, VIII. 52.

9. *Ibid*.,

10. Printed Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

11. *DC*, XX. 8010.

12. *DC*, XX. 8011. Printed, Benares.

13. Printed, Kavyamālā, Bombay.

14. *TC*, III. 3905; *Tanj. Cat*., VI. 2556. See *TC*, III. 3943, where he is called Sarvajna.

313. Jaganmohana,[1] an anthology in 66 verses, describes the attraction and qualities of women of different castes and countries and in different attitudes and activities.

314. Among Lyrical poems are the following :

Candrāvalī (*Leipzig* No. 448) ; Candrodayavarṇana (*BTC*, 158), Candralaksmoprekṣāśaṭaka by Narahari (*Printed*, Bombay) ; Kucaśaṭaka by Āṭreya Śrīnivāsa (*DC*, XX. 7893); Mṛgānkaśaṭaka and Manovalambikā by Kavikankaṇa (*DC*, XX. 8008 ; *Ulwar* 945, 948) ; Kucapancāśika by Vṛttamaṇi Śrīnivāsa (*Mys. OML.* 224) ; Śṛngārakanduka (*Gough*, 106) ; Rasavaṭīśaṭaka by Dharaṇīdhara (*CC*, I. 496) ; Virahimodasudhā (*Mys. OML.* 11) ; Virahimanovinoda by Vināyaka (*CC*, I. 578) ; Śṛngāramanjarī by Rāyamanohara (*HR*, III. No. (1825) ; Sumanoranjana by Śrīnivāsa (*HR*, III. 1726 ; *CAL*, II. 16) ; Kekāvalī by Mayūrapant (*Kh.* 40) ; Madhuvarṇana by Keli (*Kh.* 55) ; Kelirahasya by Vidyādhara Kavirāja (*CC*, I. 125) ; Candīkucapancaśaṭi by Lakṣmaṇācārya (*Printed*, Bombay) ; Śṛngārasarasī by Bhāvamiśra (*CC*, I. 661) ; Rasasarvasva by Vitthala (*CC*, I. 496) ; Rādhāsudhākara (*Opp.* 6168) ; Rasikaranjana (i) by Rāmacandra composed in 1524 (*Printed*, Bombay) and (ii) by Raghunātha (*HR*, III. No. 1887) ; Rasabhūṣaṇa (*Mys. OML.* 265) ; Śṛngāraśaṭaka (i) by Narahari and (ii) by Janārdana, (iii) by Vrajalāla (*Printed*, Bombay) ; Rasikajīvana of Arjunavarmadeva (*B.* II. 100) ; Rasīkabhūṣaṇa (*Opp.* 5145) ; Aiśvaryakādambinī of Vidyābhūṣana (*CC*, I. 574); Rangaṭarangiṇī of Śivarāmabhatta (*CC*, I. 645); Śṛngārāmṛṭalaharī of Śāmarāja Dīkṣiṭa (*Printed*, Bombay) ; Śṛngārakalikā (i) by Kāmarāja, (ii) by Hari (*Printed*, Bombay) ; Śṛngārasārasangraha by Śambhudāsa (*CC*, II. 158) ; Śṛngārasāra by Kālidāsa (*Opp*, II. 6614) ; Śṛngārarasamandana (*Printed*, Madras) ; Śṛngānaṭatinī by Bhattācārya (*BRI*, 76) ; Ānandamandākini by Madhusūdanasarasvaṭi (*Printed*, Bombay) ; Śrngāraṭilaka (i) by Kālidāsa and (ii) by Gāgabhatta (*CC*, I. 660) ; Śṛngārakallola by Royabhatta (*PR*, VI, 28) ; Śṛngāramānjarī by Mānakavi (*CC*, II. 158) ; Śṛngāramālā by Sukālalmisra composed in 1745 A.D. (*CC*, II. 158) ; Śṛngārakauṭūhala by Lālāmaṇi (*SKC*, 75, 293) ; Pramodalaharī (*PR*, V. 358) ; Vidvanmodaṭarangīṇi by Rudrasimha (*Mys. OML.* 257) ; Kaviṭāmṛtakūpa by Gauramohana (*DC*, XX. 8024) ; Śṛngārarasodaya by Rāmakavi, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Kāśyapagotra (about 1550 A.D.). Śṛngaravilāsa by Vāgbhata and Śṛngārakośa (*Opp*, 6247) ; Sarasvaṭivilāsa and Devyāryāsāṭaka of Ramaṇapaṭi (*CC*, I. 493) ;

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1. *DC*. XX. 8055.

Saḍarpakaṇḍarpā by Bhavānanda (*CC*, I. 690); Raṭimukula by Acyuṭa (*CC*, II. 114); Aryāmanjarī by Ḍevarāja (*CC*, III. 12).

Kaviṭamṛṭakūpa by Gauramohana (*DC*, XX. 8084); Vasanṭoṭsava by Jagaḍḍhara,[1] and Ḍārukāvanavilāsa by Raṭnārāḍhya (*CAL*, II. 5); Yauvanollāsa by Umānanḍanāṭha (*BR*, II. 1907) Maḍhumandana (*NC*, II. 226); Nisargamaḍhura (*Mys. OML.* 10).

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1. He was son of Raṭnaḍhara who also wrote Sangiṭasarvasva and commentary on Muḍrārākṣara.

CHAPTER XIII

SECTION I.

Sandesa

315. Sandesakavya. A popular species of lyrical poetry is Sandesākāvya or Dūtakāvya. In the Ṛg Veda (X. 108) Sarama, a dog, was sent as a messenger to the Pāṇis. In the Purāṇas and Rāmāyaṇa, we have the message Rāma of through Hanūman, of Yudhisthira through Kṛṣṇa, and of Nala through the swan. The idea of Rāmā's message was the source of Kālidāsa's inspiration and to him the credit is due of the creation of Sandesākāvya. His Meghasandesā makes the allusion :

इत्याख्याते पवनतनयं मैथिलीवोन्मुखी सा

Kālidāsa had to justify the use of inaminate objects as messengers of love by the distracted condition of the lover's mind. Bhāmaha found fault with such impropriety and when he particularly instanced the employment of cloud, wind, moon, bee or parrot, it was as if by his time other poems of this type had been popular, though we are not now able to point to any such poem by name.[1] Bhavabhūti in his Mālatīmādhava copied the Meghasandesa.[2]

316. Ghatakarpara.[3] It may be that Ghatakarpara conceived this idea earlier. In his small poem going by his name,[4] he describes the sad plight of a bereaved lady and her appeal to the morning clouds to convey his condition to her distant lover. Ghatakarpara

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1. अयुक्तिमचथा दूता जलभृन्मारुतेन्दवः ।
तथा भ्रमरहारीतचक्रवाकशुकादयः ॥
अवाचो युक्तवाचश्च दूरदेशविचारिणः ।
कथं दूत्यं प्रपद्येरन्निति युक्त्या न युज्यते ॥
यदि चोत्कण्ठया यत्तदुन्मत्त इव भाषते ।
तथा भवतु भूम्नेदं सुमेधोभिः प्रयुज्यते ॥ I, 42-44.

2. दैवात्पश्येर्जगति विचरन्निच्छया मत्प्रियां चेत् ।
आश्वास्यादौ तदनु कथये माधवीयामवस्थाम् ॥

3. For the identity of Bhāsa and Ghatakarpara, see under Bhāsa *post*.

4. Printed everywhere.

was one of the nine gems of Vikramāditya's Court. The name seems to be a cognomen attributed to him from the last verse of his poem where he vows that to him who could excel him in Yamaka he would bear pots of water.[1] The self-praise is well deserved and his poetry in spite of the Yamaka is free and exquisite.[2] The High estimation in which he has been held is seen by the commentaries that have been written on it [of whom the great Abhinavagupta was one[5]], by Bharatamallika,[4] by Śankara,[5] by Tāracandra,[6] Jivānanda,[7] by Govardhana,[8] by Kamalākara,[9] by Kucalakavi, by Vaidyanātha, by Vindhyeśvarīprasāda,[10] and others anonymous.[11]

His Nītisāra is a short didactic poem in 21 verses in the form of a dialogue between a hog and a lion. The ideas are amusing.[12]

Madana's Kṛṣṇalīlā was composed in Sam. 1680 (1624 A.D.). It has verses consisting of two pairs of rhyming lines, one of the lines being taken from Ghatakarpara, so that four consecutive verses of this poem have an entire verse of Ghatakarpara.[13]

317. Meghasandesa or Meghaduta. A Yakṣa, employed under Kubera, the Lord of Alaka, is banished from Kailāsa for

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1. आलम्ब्य वाम्बु तृषितः करकोशपेयं भावानुक्तवनितासुरतैश्शपेयम् ।
जीयेय येन कविना यमकैः परेण तस्मै वहेयमुदकं घटकर्परेण ॥

2. For instance,

निचितं समुपेत्य नीरदैः प्रियहीनाहृदयावनीरदैः ।
सलिलैर्निहितं रजः क्षितौ रविचन्द्राविव नोपलिक्षितौ ॥

3. *CC*, I. 174.
4. *Mitra*, IX. No. 3172. Manuscript is dated Śaka 1650.
5. *DC*, XX. 7919.
6. *DC*, XX. 7920.
7. Printed, Calcutta.
8. Ed. Bombay.
9. Gough, *Records*, 87.
10. *CC*, I. 174.
11. *CC*, I. 174; *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2719, 2723, 2726, 2728.
12. *Haberlin*, 504. See Jacobi's *Ramayana*, 136; Keith, *SL*, 200
13. *IOC*, VII. 1461.
For instance,

निश्चितं समुपेत्य नीरदैः वसुदेवे हरिवावनरिदैः ।
रचितं फणिभूभुजाननैः उपरिच्छत्नमभासिकावनैः ॥

dereliction of duty, away from his consort and his home.[1] In his rambles, he makes his abode in Rāmagiri in Central India, a spot whereof the waters are "sanctified by the baths of the daughter of Janaka." On the approach of the season of the rains the pangs of the forlorn lover become intenser and with a maddened mind he thinks of his beloved and fancies her in a like condition of despair. Then dawns the idea of sending her a message of affection and solace. He espies a cloud hanging by the peak of the hill, bound as it were northward, and begins the request with a praise. He takes it that the cloud made a response. He describes the route from Rāmagiri to Alaka with cities and shrines and rivers, amidst sylvan scenes with allusions to tales of mythology, for which the Hindu has a fascination.

Ujjain must not be missed, though it may be a little out of the way:

वक्रः पन्थास्तव भवतु च प्रस्थितस्योत्तराशां
सौधोत्सङ्गप्रणयविमुखो मा च भूरुज्जयिन्याः ।
विद्युद्दामस्फुरितचकितैस्तत्र पौराङ्गनानां
लोलापाङ्गैर्यदि न रमसे लोचनैर्वञ्चितोऽसि ॥

Nor must the cloud fail to console the emaciated (stream) Nirvindhyā, pining for its showers:

वेणीभूतप्रतनुसलिला सा त्वतीतस्य सिन्धुः
पाण्डुच्छायातटरुहतरुभ्रंशिभिर्जीर्णपर्णैः ।
सौभाग्यं ते सुभग विरहावस्थया व्यञ्जयन्ती
कार्श्यं येन त्यजति विधिना स त्वयैवोपपाद्यः ॥

On reaching the Hymālayas, the poet is full of devotion:

तत्र व्यक्तं दृषदि चरणन्यासमर्धेन्दुमौलेः
शश्वत्सिद्धैरुपचितबलिं भक्तिनम्रः परीयाः ।

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1. The source of the theme is now discovered to be the story of Aṣādhakṛṣṇa Ekādaśi, Yoginī Māhātmyam. A yakṣa Hemamāli neglected his duty of culling flowers for Mānasa lake and stayed away with his wife Viśālākṣi. Kubera cursed him with the disease leucoderma and banished him. In the Hymālayas Hemamāli met sage Mārkaṇḍeya and on his advice he observed Yoginī Vrata in the dark half of Āṣādha and he was restored to health and home. This is mentioned by K. Lakshmana Somayajin in *Udyānapatrikā*, II. 174.

The shady bowers of the Mandākini's shores present lovely scenes:

मन्दाकिन्याः सलिलशिशिरैस्सेव्यमाना मरुद्भि-
र्मन्दाराणामनुतटरुहां छायया वारितोष्णाः ।
अन्वेष्टव्यैः कनकसिकतामुष्टिनिक्षेपगूढैः
संक्रीडन्ते मणिभिरमरप्रार्थिता यत्र कन्याः ॥

The City of Alaka is reached. Through the splendours of that City, the cloud is taken to the residence of the Yakṣa, and the presentation is enchanting :

तन्मध्ये च स्फटिकफलका काञ्चनी वासयष्टि-
र्मूलेबद्धा मणिभिरनतिप्रौढवंशप्रकाशैः ।
तालैश्शिञ्जावलयसुभगैर्नर्तितः कान्तया मे
यामध्यास्ते दिवसविगमे नीलकण्ठस्सुहृद्वः ॥
एभिस्साधो हृदयनिहितैलक्षणैर्लक्षयेथाः
द्वारोपान्ते लिखितवपुषौ शङ्खपद्मौ च दृष्ट्वा ।

There the cloud would see Yakṣa's sweetheart in a state of lonely thought and vacant look, and if perchance she was in slumber the cloud had better not wake her up for fear of disturbing her in pleasant dreams. On the approach of the cloud she would have pleasant omens :

वामश्चास्याः कररुहपदैर्मुच्यमानो मदीयै-
र्मुक्ताजालं चिरपरिचितं त्याजितो दैवगत्या ।
सम्भोगान्ते मम समुचितो हस्तसंवाहनानां
यास्यत्यूरुस्सरसकदलीस्तम्भगौरश्चलत्वम् ॥

For ever he has in his mental vision her fair frame and he says

श्यामास्वङ्गं चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं
वक्त्रच्छायां शशिनि शिखिनां बर्हभारेषु केशान् ।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिषु भ्रूविलासान्
हन्तैकस्मिन् क्वचिदपि न ते चण्डि सादृश्यमस्ति ॥

To inspire confidence in Hanūmān, Rāma mentioned the incident of the Ṭilaka :

मनश्शिलायास्तिलको गण्डपार्श्वे निवेशितः ।
त्वया प्रनष्टे तिलके तं किल स्मर्तुमर्हसि ॥

and Yakṣa gives here a parallel :

भूयश्चाह त्वमसि शयने कण्ठलग्ना पुरा मे
निद्रां गत्वा किमपि रुदती सस्वरं विप्रबुद्धा ।
सान्तर्हासं कथितमसकृत् पृच्छतश्च त्वया मे
दृष्टस्स्वप्ने कितव रमयन् कामपि त्वं ममेति ॥

He remembers the words of Siṭā

कल्याणी वत गाथेयं लौकिकी प्रतिभाति मे ।
एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि ॥

and adds a word of consolation:

इत्यात्मानं बहु विगणयन्नात्मना नावलम्बे
तत्कल्याणि त्वमपि नितरां मा गमः कातरत्वम् ।
कस्यात्यन्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ॥

Then follows the assurance of reunion. Here does the poet combine the sensuous and the divine :

शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ
शेषान् मासान् गमय चतुरो लोचने मीलयित्वा ।
पश्चादावां विरहगणितं तं तमात्माभिलाषं
निर्वेक्ष्यावः परिणतशरच्चन्द्रिकासु क्षपासु ॥

The poem ends with a word of thankfulness and benediction:

इष्टान् देशान् जलद विचर प्रावृषा सम्भृतश्रीः
माभूदेवं क्षणमपि च ते विद्युता विप्रयोगः ।

For lofty conception, artistic design, aesthetic sentiment, divine idealism, delicate embellishment and graceful expression, the poem stands supreme and it is a monument of poetic art in the architecture of letters.[1]

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1. Ed. everywhere. Ed. with notes and translation (i) by K. P. Pathak, Poona, (ii) by B. G. Khare, Bombay, (iii) by S. Ray, Calcutta, (iv) Ed. with notes by G. R. Nandargikar, Bombay. Ed. with commentary by Haripada Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta. Ed. with vocabulary by Stenzer, Breslaw. Tr. into English verse by Wilson, London, and into German by Max Muller, Konigsburg and by Schutz, Bielefield. For a critical appreciation by D. Pichayya Sastri, see *Andhrapatrika* Annual Number (1927). 100, and by B. Venkatramayya, *Bharati* (1927), 22. See also M. Rangacharya's critique on Meghasandeśa and A. V. Gopalacharya's Sandeśādvayasārāsvadini in *Udyanapatrika*, Trivadi.

318. Commentaries. There are commentaries on Meghasandeśa by Kavicandra,[1] Lakṣmīnivāsa,[2] Cāritravardhana,[3] Kṣemahamsagaṇi,[4] Kavirațna,[5] Kṛṣṇadāsa,[6] Cinṭāmaṇi,[7] Janārdana,[8] Janendra,[9] Bharaṭasena,[10] Bhagīraṭhamiśra,[11] Kalyānamalla,[12] Mahimasimhagaṇi,[13] Rāma Upādhyāya,[14] Rāmanāṭha,[15] Vallabhadeva,[16] Vācaspaṭi Hara Govinda,[17] Viśvanāṭha,[18] Viśvanāṭhamiśra,[19] Śaśvaṭa,[20] Sanāṭāna-śarman,[21] Sarasvaṭīṭīrṭha,[22] Sumaṭivijaya,[23] Haridāsa, Siddhānṭavāgīśa,[24] Megharāja,[25] Dakṣināvarṭa,[26] Pūrṇasarasvaṭi,[27] Mallinaṭha,[28] Rāmānaṭha,[29] Kamalākara,[30] Sṭhiradeva,[31] Gurunāṭha Kavyaṭīrṭha,[32] Lālāmohana,[33] Haripādachattopādhyāya,[34] Jīvānanda,[35] Śrīvaṭsa Vyāsa,[36] Divākara,[37] Asada,[38] [Ravikara, Motijiṭkavi, Kanakakīrṭi, Vijayasūri],[39] and some anonymous.

R. Krishnamacharya's Meghasandeśavimarśā is a delightful discourse on the verses.[40]

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1. *CC*, I. 466.
2. *PR*, III. 395.
3. *PR*, III. 395, VI. 345.
4. *PR*, III. 395, VI. 346.
5. *CC*, I. 466.
6. *CC*, I. 466.
7. *CC*, I. 466.
8. *PR*, III. 19, App. 324. Manuscript is dated *Sam*. 1406. VI. 344.
9. *PR*, VI. 344.
10. *IO*, 415, 994.
11. *CC*, I. 466.
12. *IO*, 529. This mentious commentary by Udyotakāra.
13. *CC*, I. 466.
14. *Rice*, 23.
15. *Oxf*, 125.
16. Ed. by Hultzch, Madras. *PR*, II. 189.
17. *Oxf*, 125.
18. *NW*, 626,
19. *Oudh*, XVII. 14.
20. *CC*, I. 466.
21. *Oxf*. 125.
22. Cambridge University Library.
23. *PR*, I. 128.
24. Printed, Calcutta.
25. *CC*, I. 466.
26. Printed, Trivandrum.
27. Printed, Srirangam.
28. Printed, everywhere.
29. *Oxf*. 125.
30. *CC*, I. 466.
31. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2885. He lived in Benares. Manuscripts are dated *Sam*. 1656.
32. Ed. Calcutta.
33. Ed. Calcutta.
34. Ed. Calcutta.
35. Ed. Calcutta.
36. *PR*, IV. 28, 34.
37. *IO*, 1516.
38. *PR*, III. 19; *App*. 324. He was son of Katukarāja and Analādevi and of the Bhillalama family. He had two wives and by the second wife two sons Rājada and Jaiṭrasimha and by the first wife Arisimha. He was called Kavisabhāśṛngāra and was a desciple of Abhayadeva who succeeded Bhadreśvarasuri. He composed his Vivekamanjarī in *Sam*. 1248. (*PR*, II. 101 and IV. vi.)
39. *CC*, II. 108, III. 100; *CC*, I. 466; *Oudh*, XV. 30; *TC*, III. 4933; *SKC*, 71; *PR*, IV. 28; *IO*, 2690.
40. Printed, Madras.

319. The tale of Meghasandeśa stops with the direction to the cloud. Sequels have been thought of by later poets. Kiṣṇamūrti, son of Sarvaśāstri of Vāsisthagotra of the Circars, wrote Yakṣollāsa[1] at the beginning of the 17th century. He calls himself Abhinava Kālidāsa and wrote also a bhāna Madanābhyudaya.[2] Mandikal Rāmaśastri wrote Meghapratisandeśa.[3] Korada Rāmacandra wrote Ghanavṛtta.[4] Mahāmahopadhyāya Paramesvara Jha of Mithila wrote Yakṣamilanakāvya.[5] Bhatta Vamana's Hamsasandeśa embraces the same theme.[6]

320. The poetry of Meghasandeśa is enchanting in the extreme, and not merely the theme, name and metre Mandākrānta were adopted,[7] by many poets, but the lines of Meghasandeśa were interwoven as part of their own verses, so as to make up Samasyā. Meghavijaya wrote Meghadūtasamasyālekha.[8] So too are Śīladūta,[9] Cetodūta,[10] Nemidūta.[11] In Nemidūta, Vikrama, son of Sangama, describes the life of Nemi after his renunciation and the message of his queen through a mountain. In Pārsvābhyudaya,[12] Jinasena used a line or two of Meghasandeśa. Nīlakantha, son of Janārdana, was a tutor to the harem of Alahaviradikhan of the 17th Century A.D. He wrote Cimanīcarita, with phrases taken by Meghadūta.[13]

321. In the hands of Jain poets this form of poetry took a religious turn. In conveying news to their preceptors in VIJNAPTIPATRA, doctrines of philosophy were inculcated and explained and consistent with such fancies the messenger used became cetas, manas, bhakti and the like. Śīladūta of Cāritrasundaragaṇi composed in 1431 A.D. describes,

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1. *TC*, II. 2066.
2. *TC*, II. 2073.
3. Printed, Mysore. See para 88 supra.
4. Printed, Madras.
5. Printed, Darbhanga.
6. *DC*, XX. 7972. See para 128 supra.
7. For such poems, see C. Chakravarthi, *IHQ*, III. 273; Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, LIV. 616; Paper by E. V. Virarāghavāchārya, Vijianagaram.
8. Printed, Bhownagar.
9. Printed, Benares.
10. Printed, Bhownagar.
11. Printed, Bombay. *PR*, IV. 25.
12. Ed. Poona by K. P. Pathak with a valuable introduction, and Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Śrīyogirāt Panditācārya of Śravan Belgola. Jinasena's brother was Narendrasena and the latter's desciple Mallisena wrote the poem Nāgakumāracarita and *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1925), 12. On Jinasena's and Guṇabhadra, see *Int.* to *Central Provinces Cat.* xxiii, and also para 228 *supra*.
13. *CC*, I. 189.

says C. Cakravarthi, how "Sthulabhadra, a great Jaina prince, renounced the world at the death of his father and became a disciple of the great Jaina sage Bhadrabhanu; how the former, who came to his city by the order of his preceptor was not the least moved by the persuasive arguments put forward by his wife Kosa against the prudence of his taking the order and how in the long run, on account of the powerful influence of his immaculate character (sila), he was able to prevail upon his wife and persuade her to become a nun and thus put an end to all earthly sorrows and sufferings."

Meruṭunga of Anchalagaccha composed a Jain Meghadūṭa in four cantos on the life of Nemināṭha.[3] He became a Sūri in *Sam.* 1426 (1472 A.D.) and studied under Mahendraprabhasūri. He lived till *Sam.* 1471 (1527 A.D.).[4]

322. Some later poets similary used this style of composition for ethical and philosophical teachings.

In Kākaḍūṭa,[5] a fallen brahmin in prison sends a message to his beloved Kāḍambarī (drink); a satire on society meant to teach morals. In Induḍūṭa the poet embodies a devotional message to Śrī Ṭāpa Gaṇapaṭi from the city of Yoḍha.[6]

In Hamsasandeśa[7] (anonymous) a person disgusted with the world wanders in the forest and sends Hamsa as a messenger to Śiva in Ḍvāḍaśānṭa and to Mukṭikanyā through the route ṣatcakra.

Hamsayogin's Hamsaḍūṭa is a communication between Bhakṭi and Jīvātman.[8]

In another anonymous Hamsasanḍeśa, "The outstanding feature is the two-fold course, namely, the Aḍhyātmic and the Yogic which are in accordance with the significance of the name 'Hamsasanḍesa.' Among these, the Adhyatmic course is the attainment of Sivasayuja by a man who is dependent on the Prarabdha Karma and is consequently passing through wordly existence, after he is freed from all

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1. Printed *Sri Yasovijaya Jain Granthamala*, Benares.
2. He wrote also Śrikumārapālamahākāvya and Mahīpālacariṭa.
3. Printed *Atm. Ser.*. Bhownagar, with an elaborate introduction. There is a commentary of Śīlaraṭnasuri, *PR*, IV. 120. See Nandargikar's *Int.* to *Ragh*, 19 note.
4. Meruṭunga, author of Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi, is a different poet (see para 119 supra.)
5. *Sah*, XXIII. 173.
6. Printed, Bombay. *JRAS*, (1884), 450.
7. *TC*, IV. 5042.
8. The manuscript is said to be with the Raja of Chirakkal, Malabar.

worldly bonds and his identity destroyed by faith, understanding, hearing, steadiness, tranquility, endurance and other kinds of austerity. The Yogic course is the mind's journey through various stages beginning with 'Susumna' up to 'Dvadasantendumandala' and its final repose along with Bhakti in the state of Amritayoga."[1]

323. The following are other poems of this kind :—

Uddhavadūta (a) by Rūpagoswāmin,[2] and (b) by Mādhava ;[3] Uddhava-sandeśa, anonymous ;[4] Viprasandeśa by Kochunni Tamburan ;[5] Subhagasandeśa (a) by Lakṣmaṇasūri,[6] and (b) by Nārāyaṇa ;[7] Pānthadūta by Bholanātha ;[8] Kṛṣṇdūta by Nṛisimha ;[9] Garudasandeśa by Bellamkonda Rāmarāya.[10]

Pavanadūta (a) by Vādicandra,[11] and (b) by Dhoyi ;[12] Vātadūta by Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapancānana ;[13] Mārutasandeśa (anonymous).[14]

Tulasīdūta by Vaidyanātha ;[15] Mānasasandeśa by Vinjimūri Vīrarāghava ;[16] Manodūta,[17] (a) by Vrajanātha, son of Ramakṛṣṇa,[18] (b) by Viṣṇudāsa,[19] (c) by Rāmārāma,[20] and (d) two anonymous;[21] Madhuroṣṭha-

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1. Printed *Triv. Sansk. Series*. No. 103. It is accompanied by a metrical commentary.
2. Printed, Haeberlin, Bombay and Calcutta, *DC*, XX. 7910, 7963.
3. *Ibid*. *SKC*, 66. He lived in Talitanagari about the beginning of 19th century.
4. Int. to the Jaina Meghadūta.
5. *JRAS*, (1900) 763. He lived at Kodangalur in Malabar.
6. Printed, Tanjore.
7. *JRAS*, (1884), 449. He was in the court of King Rāmavarman of Jayasimhanad (1541-1547 A.D.)
8. *IO*, VII. 3890.
9. *CAL*, II. 4.
10. See para 289 *supra*.
11. Ed. Bombay. He wrote the play Jnānasuryodaya on the tenets of Digambara sect. (*Jaina Granthavali*).
12. Ed. Madras and Calcutta.
13. Ed. Bombay.
14. Printed, Madras.
15. Samskrta Sahitya Parishat Library, Calcutta.
16. *OML*, No. 2964.
17. There is a Manodutakāvya (*SKC*, 70, 287), a description of the relations between Jivātman and Paramātman.
18. Printed, Bombay. It was composed at Bṛndāraṇya in 1758 A.D. and is a message by Draupadī to Kṛṣṇa.
19. *IOC*, VII. 1470. *Mitra*, II. 613. It is in Vasantatilaka metre.
20. Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, No. 1282. It is in Śikhariṇī metre.
21. *Jaina Granthavali*, 332. *SKC*, 170, 287.

sandeśa;[1] Padāṅkadūta (a) by Kṛṣṇasārvabhauma,[2] and (b) by Bholanātha;[3] Bhaktidūta by Kālīprasāda.[4]

Candradūta[5] (a) by Kṛṣṇacandra[6] (b) by Vinayaprabha;[7] Indudūta (a) by Jambukavi or Jambunāga and (b) by Vinayavijayagaṇi;[8] Ḍatyūhasandeśa by Nārāyaṇa.[9]

Kokilasandeśa[10] (a) by Varadācārya, son of Vedāntadeśika;[11] (b) by Venkatācārya, son of Śatakratu Tātārya,[12] (c) by Guṇavardhana,[13] (d) by Uddaṇḍa[14] and (e) by Narasiṁha;[15] Kokasandeśa by Viṣṇutrāta;[16] and Rathāṅgadūta.[17]

Haṁsadūta by Raghunāthadāsa;[18] Haṁsasandeśa (a) by Vedāntadeśika,[19] (b) by Rūpagoswāmin,[20] (c) by Bhatta Vāmana,[21] (d) by

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1. *Mys. OML*, 251.
2. Printed Bombay and Calcutta. He was in the Court of King Raghurāma of Nuddea and composed it in Śaka 1641.
3. *IOC*, VII. 1467.
4. *Mitra*, III. 27.
5. *HPR*, II. 153.
6. *BR*, (1894), 354.
7. *PR*, III. 292, in Mālinī metre with antya-yamaka. In *BR*, (1907), the manuscript is dated *Sam*. 1342. He wrote also Jinaśataka, *PR*, IV. 90; V. *List of Authors*.
8. Printed, Bombay.
9. *Cat. Trav.* 195.
10. Ed. by W. F. Guṇavardhana, New York.
11. This is mentioned in *Guruparamparā* (Mysore), 200, as also his Hariṇasandeśa.
12. *Tanj. Cat.*, VII. 2863.
13. See *Ceylon Antiquary*, IV. pt. 111.
14. See Cochin State Manual, 61, 72; Travancore State Manual, 430; *DC*, XX. 7469, 7910. This was in response to Bhṛṅgasandeśa of Vāsudeva; *DC*, XX. 7914, 7942. In *CSC*, 1101, Bhṛṅgasandeśa (Bhramarasandeśa) is noted as the work of Jīva goswāmi. There is a Bhṛṅgasandeśa, printed in *Sahṛidaya*, XXIV, 57. See para 251 supra.
15. *CAL*, II. 5.
16. *TC*, IV. 4437.
17. Printed, Mysore. *CAL*, II. 16.
18. D.C. Sen's Vangasahitya Paricaya, 850.
19. Ed. Madras and Mysore and recently by Sambasiva Sastri, Madras with commentary. See para 121 *supra*. There are several commentaries on it (i) by a disciple of Śrīnivāsa of Kauśikagotra (*DC*, XX. 7974) (ii) by Parakāla Swāmi (Ed. Mysore) with a philosophical interpretation, and (iii) by Raṅgarājācārya (Ed. with English Tr. and Notes.)
20. Ed. Bombay and Calcutta. There are commentaries on it by Nṛsiṁha, Rāmaśankara and Viśvanātha Cakravarti. See *JRAS* (1884), 450-1.
21. *DC*. XX, 7972. This is the same as Vāmana Bhatta Bāṇa.

Vidyāvidhāna Kavīndrācāryasarasvati,[1] and (e) by Venkatesa[2], (f) by Pūrṇasarasvati,[3] and (g) two others anonymous.[4]

Pikasandeśa (a) by Ranganāthācārya[5] and (b) by Kocha Narasimhācārya;[6] and Pikadūta, anonymous.[7]

Śukasandeśa[8] (a) by Lakṣmīdāsa,[9] (b) by Rangācārya,[10] and (c) by Karingampalli Nambūdri;[11] Kīradūta (a) by Rāmagopāla[12] and (b) by Varadacārya, son of Vedāntadeśika;[13] Bhramaradūta by Rudra Nyāyavācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya;[14] Cātakasandeśa (anonymous);[15] Cakorasandeśa (a) by Perusūri,[16] (b) by Vāsudeva;[17] (c) and by Venkaṭakavi;[18] Padmadūta;[19] Mayūrasandeśa (a) anonymous,[20] (b) by Rangācārya,[21] and (c) by Śrīnivāsācārya.[22]

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1. *BTC*, 163. He was the author of Kavīndrakalpadruma and in his praise Kavīndracandrodaya was written. *CC*, I. 88.
2. *CC*, I. 753.
3. See Int. to *Triv. Sans. Series*, No. 103.
4. *DC*, XX; *TC*, IV. 5042.
5. Ed. Srirangam. He was son of Raghunātha of Royadurga of Śathamarṣaṇagotra. He lives at Tanjore. He was born in 1884. He wrote also Hanumatprasāda stotra and a play Premarājīyam, an adaptation of Vicar of Wakefield.
6. Ed. Tirupati. He is son Śrīnivāsāchārya of Tirupati and a living poet of talent. He also wrote Garudasandeśa.
7. The manuscript is in Chintaharan Chakravarti's private library.
8. *CAL*, II, 16.
9. *DC*, XX, 7964. There are commentaries on it by Dharmagupta (*TC*, II, 3925), by Gaurīdāsa (*Ibid.* 1049), and by Mānaveda (*DC*, XX, 7964). It is a long poem in 12 chapters describing many parts of Malabar. See *JRAS*, (1900) 763, (1884) 404-8. He lived in 10 and 11th cent. A.D. and belonged to Karingampalli Ilom near Adoor in Cochin State.
10. *Rice*, 2250.
11. *Opp.* 2721, 6241; *JRAS*, (1900) 763. It was composed in 1480 A.D.
12. *JASB*, (N.S.) I. 41. *Notices*, II. Series I, No. 67. Sanskrita Sahitya Parishat Library, Calcutta. He was probably in the Court of Rāmacandra of Nuddea.
13. This is mentioned in Guruparamparā, Mysore.
14. *HPR*, II. 153. *CC*, III. 112. He is different from the author of Bhāvavilāsa. (Printed, Kavyamāla, II. 111. Bhandarkar's List, No. 71). There is another Bhramaradūta in Bikaneer Library, see *Bik*, 229.
15. *JRAS*, (1881), 451. The poet applies for the patronage of King Rāmavarman of Malabar.
16. This is mentioned in the prologue to his Vasumangalanāṭaka, *DC*, XXI, 8497. *Tanj. Cat.* VII, 2836. Author had title Navīna Patañjali.
17. He was the author of Śivodaya etc. The Ms. is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi.
18. *Mys. OML*. 246.
19. *CASB*, 102. Ed. Calcutta.
20. *TC*, IV. 4298.
21. *CAL*, II. 8.
22. Printed, Madras.

CHAPTER XIV

Citrakavya

324. Citrakavya embraces all ingenious forms of poetic composition. Hemacandra says,

स्वरव्यञ्जनस्थानगत्याकारनियमच्युतगूढादि चित्रम् ।

The ingenuity is displayed in the arrangement of letters or in the combinations of letters, making different words or different senses. These are *śabdālankāra*, or verbal figures of speech. The figures that make up a *Citrakāvya* are *Anuprāsa*, *Yamaka* and *Śleṣa*.

325. ANUPRASA or Alliteration is of two classes, *Śabdānuprāsa* and *Padānuprāsa*, or Alliteration of Letters and Alliteration of Words. The former is of two kinds, *Cheka* and *Vṛtti*, meaning the repetition of a single consonant and two or more repetitions of one or more consonants. There is a special kind called *Lāṭānuprāsa* where the letters and sense are the same, but there is difference in *anvaya* or syntactical relation.

326. YAMAKA is a permutation or reverberation of words called by some 'Chime.' It occurs when the same letter is repeated or when the same word is repeated with different meanings with a regularity in the places of repetition, the beginning, middle or end of the foot or the whole foot or all the feet or in alternative feet by alterations of caesura. Caesura are of three kinds: *Śṛnkhalā* occurs on the transference of the caesura by the separation of an entire letter; *Parivartaka*, on the resumption by a letter of its own form on the cessation of its conjunction with another letter; *Cūrṇaka* on the disappearance of a word on the disruption of conjunct letters.

327. SLESA or pun is in letters or in words, *Śabdaśleṣa* and *Arthaśleṣa*. The latter occurs where the form does not vanish by a change in the position of words.

स्तोकेनोन्नतिमायाति स्तोकेनायात्यधोगतिम् ।

अहो सुसदृशी वृत्तिस्तुलाकोटेः खलस्य च ॥

In the former a series of letters may or may not be split into different words to make different senses, *abhanga* and *sabhanga*:

स्वयं च पल्लवाताम्रभास्वत्करविराजिता । (*Abangha*)

प्रभातसन्ध्येवास्वापफललुब्धेहितप्रदा । (*Sabhanga*)

328. Nitivarman wrote the poem KICAKAVADHAM. The poem is instanced by Premacandra in his commentary on Kavyādarśa, as a rare instance of a poem opening with āśīḥ or benediction. It is a favourite of Pandits of Bengal. It is mentioned by Bhoja in Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and quoted by Namisādhu and Sarvānanda and several lexicographers. It was probably composed earlier than the 9th century A.D. In five cantos the poem describes the episode of the Kīcaka's assault on Draupadī and his assasination by Bhīma as told in Virātaparvan of Mahābhārata, but adopts only such parts of the narrative of the epic as suit the purpose of his poem, *śleṣayamaka*. "In the history of Sabda-citra in Sanskrit" it has been said "Kicaka-vadha marks an important stage of development. Perhaps Nitivarman wrote this yamaka-kāvya, to illustrate the extent to which yamakas might be used as accessories in the delineation of a rasābhāsa like Kicaka's Sringara."[1] There is a commentary on the poem by Janārdanasena[2] probably of Bengal and an earlier gloss by Sarvānanda-Nāga.[3]

The benediction is in the name of Śiva and Kṛṣṇa. "Then follows to the end of the first sarga, a eulogy of the poet's patron, whose name is not given, but who appears to have been a king of Kalinga, for whose delectation Nitivarman wrote his interesting tour de force in yamaka and ślesha. The narrative does not commence till we come to sarga 11, which, like the first, fourth and fifth, is composed entirely in yamaka. The third sarga, which gives us Draupadi's long speech to Yudhisthira and his brothers, illustrates slesha, with occasional lapses into yamaka at the beginning and at the end. Considerable skill is displayed in managing these verbal tricks, and some of them are indeed very happy, and not in the least laboured, like those of Nalodaya."[4]

329. Nalodaya, a short poem in 4 cantos, describes the life of Nala. "The chief aim of the author is to show off his skill in the manipulation of the most varied and artificial metres, as well as all the elaborate tricks of style exhibited in the later Kavyas. Rhyme even is introduced, and that, too, not only at the end of, but within metrical lines. The really epic material is but scantily treated, narrative making way for long descriptions and lyrical effusions."

1. यत्तु रसवन्ति कानिचिद्यमकादीनि दृश्यन्ते तत्र रसादीनामङ्गता यमकादीनामङ्गितैव । रसाभासे च अङ्गत्वमप्यविरुद्धम् ॥—*Dhvanyāloka*, p. 87.

2. Ed. by S K. De, with an elaborate introduction and notes for the Dacca University. See also *JRAS*, (1929), 109.

3. *l. c. Int.* xxiv; *IO*, 1184.

4. Mitra's *Notices*, No. 615; Haraprasad Sastri's *Notices*, 1905; *IO*, 1492.

There are commentaries on Nalodaya, by Mallinātha,[1] Prajñākaramiśra,[2] by Kṛṣṇa,[3] by Ṭiruvenkaṭasūri,[4] by Ādityasūri,[5] by Haribhatta,[6] and Nṛsimhaśarma,[7] by Jivānanda,[8] by Keśavāditya,[9] by Gaṇeśa,[10] [by Bharatasena; by Mukundabhatta, by Śivadatta, by Ravideva, by Hariratna, by Ātreyabhatta],[11] by Prabhakaramiśra[12] and others anonymous.[13]

330. **Raksasakavya**[14] is a short piece of twenty verses in an enigmatic and alliterative style, containing a description of sylvan scenery around, by a person roaming about in the forest with his spouse. There are commentaries on it by Premadhara, by Śāmbhubhāskara, by Kavirāja, by Kṛṣṇacandra, by Udayākaramiśra,[15] and by Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyagunda.[16]

331. These two poems have been attributed to Kālidāsa and the latter also to Vararuci. Rāmarṣi in his commentary on Nalodaya says that it was the work of Ravideva, son of Nārāyaṇa.[17]

इति वृद्धव्यासात्मजमिश्ररामर्षिंदाधीच्यविरचितायां रविदेवविराचितमहाकाव्यनलोदयटीकायां यमकबोधिन्यां नलराज्यप्राप्तिर्नाम चतुर्थ आश्वासः ।

(*JBAS.*, Extra No. 1887, p. 337)

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1. *DC*, XX. 7923.
2. Printed, Calcutta. *DC*, XX. 7924. He was a native of Mithila and son of Mahāmdhopādhyāya Vidyādhara of Puṇyagrāma (Poona). Earliest Ms. is dated Śāka 1735.
3. *DC*, XX. 7926. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2787–94.
4. *DC*, XX. 7927.
5. *DC*, XX. 7931. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2795.
6. *CASB*, 89.
7. *Ibid.*, *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2807.
8. Printed, Calcutta.
9. *PR*, III. 395.
10. *IO*, 2534.
11. *CC*, I. 280, II. 60; III. 60.
12. *PR*, IV. 24.
13. *DC*, XX. 7928-30; *TC*, II. 2591, *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2797, 2798, 2800; *IO*, 3160.
14. Ed. Bombay.
15. Ed. Bombay. *DC*, XX. 7989; *IOC*, 1493 contains a commentary also.
16. *CC*, I. 498, II. 117.
17. The commentary was composed in Sam. 1664 (1607 A.D.) *JASB* (1887) Extra number, page p. 1337. Rāmarṣi was one of the three sons of Vṛddha Vyāsa, who lived at Dindavana near Pathan during the reign of Sultan Salim and who wrote a commentary on the Bhāgavata at Pattan. See *PR*, III. 20, *App.* 337. 340 and Keilhorn's calculations, *IA*, XIX. 34. A manuscript in *Tanj. Cat.* VI. 2732 gives the name; Ravideva, son of Bhatta Nārāyaṇa:

इति नारायुणसुतश्रीरविदेवराचिते नलोदयकाव्ये चतुर्थोल्लासः

But Viṣṇu, another commentator, calls the author Vāsudeva, son of Ravi :

इति नलोदये वासुदेवकृते चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

रवितनुभूयमितायाः कृतेर्गतिश्शब्दचित्रभूयमितायाः ।
जनहासायमितायाः धियश्च विवृता मयाधुना यमितायाः ॥

A king Rāma is mentioned in the introductory verses as in Ṭripuradahana of Vāsudeva and A. S. Ramanathā Iyer therefore concludes that Nalodaya must have been the work of the author of Ṭripuradahana who lived in the beginning of the 9th century A.D.[1]

332. Sobhana was a staunch Jain and converted his brother Dhanapāla into his faith after prolonged effort. He was known as Sobhanamuni. He lived in the Court of Dhārā in the 10th century A.D. His stuti also called Caturvimśatikā consists of 4 groups of verses, "the first in praise of 24 Tirthankaras, the second in praise of all the Jinas, the 3rd in praise of the Jain doctrine, and the fourth in praise of various deities." The verses are so constructed that the second and fourth line of each verse agree to the letter in sound, and bear different meanings. Dhanapāla wrote a commentary on it.[2]

333. Srivatsanka was the son of Rāma alias Vedavyāsa, the second son of Kuraṭṭālwar.[3] He lived about the beginning of the 12th century A.D. His Yamakaratnākara[4] is a poem in āryā metre on Śrī Kṛṣṇa and is followed by his own commentary.[5]

334. Dharmaghosa was a sage who died in Sam. 1357 (1301 A.D.) He wrote verses capable of four different meanings. His Yamakastuti is well known, on which his successor Somatilaka wrote a commentary.[6]

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1. See para 65 supra. See *JMy*, XIV. 302 ; *JRAS*, (1925), 268.

2. Translated and edited by Jacobi (*ZDMG*, XXXII. 509). On the com. see Buhler, *Sb. Akad. Wien*, (1882), 570-2. See *PR*, I. 69, app. 101, III. ap. 22, iv. 121; Weber, *ISt*, II. 944 ; Śantisuri's Prabhāvakacarita, xvii, 314.

3. See para 207 *supra*.

4. Printed, Madras. *DC*, XX. 7797.

5. For instance

पद्माक्षमासमेतं प्रसभतोयदगातिसभावस्थम् ।
पद्माक्षमासमेतं प्रसभतो यदगतिसभावस्थम् ॥

6. *PR*, III. 17, 310.

335. Manānka[1] calls himself a King (Mahībhuj) in his gloss on Gītagovinda.[2] He is quoted by Rayamukuta in his commentary on Amarakośa (A.D. 1431). Besides a commentary on Mālatīmādhava,[3] he wrote Yamaka poems Bṛndāvana[4] and Meghābhyudaya.[5]

336. Venkatesa was the son of Śrīnivāsa and grandson of Venkateśa of Ātreyagotra. He was born in Kali 4697 (1596 A.D.) at Araśānipalai near Kāncī. He was of the family of Venkatādhvari. In Rāmayamakārṇava[6] and Rāmacandrodaya[7] he relates the story of Rāma, the former in the yamaka style. Probably he is the author of Sleṣamālā.[8]

337. Gopalaraya or Gopālasāmy, son of Jinavalli Immadi. Venkatarāja, was a descendent of Immadi Ankusa,[9] and must have lived in the latter half of 18th century. His Rāmacandrodaya[10] in 5 Uchwasas gives the story of Rāma in Yamaka form.

338. The following works are in this style of composition; Dharmaghoṣa's a Yamakastuti[11] Śrīśayamakaśataka[12] Acyutalīlā,[13] Rāmalīlāmṛta of Kṛṣṇamohana,[14] Rādhāprasāda,[15] Yamakaśikhāmaṇi of Kṛṣṇakavīndra,[16] Yamakabhārata of Ānandatīrtha,[17] Yudhisthiravijaya etc., of Vāsudeva,[18] Śauricaritra[19] and Raghūdaya of Śrīkantha.[20]

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1. *CC*, I. 452.
2. See *PR*, III. 11, 280; *CC*, I. 154.
3. *IO*, 158, 895.
4. Printed, Kāvyasangraha, Calcutta.
5. *PR*, I. 119; III. 11, 291.
6. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2631. This was composed in śāka 1578 (1656 A.D.)
7. This is a long poem of about 30 cantos. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2658. There is a commentary by the author himself (*Ibid*, VI. 2664.) composed in Kali 4736 (1635 A.D.)
8. *Mys. OML*, 260.
9. See *DC*, XX. 7732.
10. *DC*, XX. 7839; *CAL*. III. 11. There is a commentary on it by the author. The manuscript says it was written on the full moon day of Āsvayuja Kṛttikā, Saka 1706 (1684 A.D.)
11. *PR*, III. 17,310.
12. *Mys. OML*, *sup. II.*
13. *TC*, IV. 4531.
14. *CC*, I. 878.
15. *IOC*, VII. 1464.
16. See para 219 supra.
17. *Opp*, 2261.
18. Printed, Bombay. See para 65 *supra*.
19. *Mys. OML*, *Sup.*, 10. It was composed in Malabar in 1700 A.D.
20. *TC*, IV. 5059, with commentary by Rudramiśra, *TC*, IV. 4318. The poet praises the Yamaka compositions of Ravideva and Kulaśekharadeva.

Śleṣacudāmaṇi of Śrīnivāsa,[1] Śleṣollāsa of Śivaprasāda,[2] Śleṣa-campūrāmāyana of Venkatācārya,[3] Śleṣacintāmani of Cidambara,[4] Rāmāṣṭaprāsa of Rāmabhadra,[5] Prāsabhārata of Sūryanārāyaṇa, son of Viśvanātha of Kāśyapagotra.[6]

Citraratnākara of Cakrakavi,[7] Viśeṣaṇarāmāyaṇa of Vīrarāghava,[8] Somakunjara's Citrakāvya,[9] and Kṛṣṇamohana's Rāmalīlāmṛta.[10]

339. Citrakāvyas appear in numerous forms. In Nalodaya and Kīcakavadha there is the narration of a single story and the cleverness consists merely in the combination of letters which can form words of different senses. In Dvisandhāna poems, the same verse gives two different meanings, and thus narrates two distinct tales. Besides those already noticed, there are Sandhayākaranandin's Rāmacarita which depicts at once the story of Rāma and the history of his patron Rāmapāla,[11] and Ānandakāvya.[12] Rāghava-yādava-pāndavīya has verses of three meanings, and relates three different tales. Pancakalyānacampū deals similarly with five different tales and Saptasandhāna with the lives of seven great men. Somaprapha has a Śatārthikāvya, where a verse has a 100 different meanings. Rāmakṛṣṇaviloma has the first half of each verse repeated backwards in the second half and narrates the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

In Nārāyaṇa's Niranunāsikacampū, Śūrpaṇakhā complains to Rāvaṇa of Rāma's assault and because her nose and ears had been cut off, the poet aptly eliminates all nasals, which Śūrpaṇakhā could not have pronounced.[13]

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1. *TC*, IV. 688.
2. *CC*, I. 677.
3. *Rice*, 254.
4. *Tanj. Cat.* VI, 2848
5. Printed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.
6. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2584.
7. *TC*, IV. 5564. Here is another work of this name: *DC*, XX. 8054.
8. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2671.
9. *Jes. Cat.* 54.
10. *CC*, I. 518.
11. Ed. *MASB*, III. 1-56. See para 189 *supra*.
12. *CC*, I. 46.
13. *TC*, IV. 4206. For instance:

हा हा राक्षसराज दुष्परिभवग्रस्तस्य धिक् ते भुजाः
विद्युज्जिह्वविपत्तिरेव सुकरा क्षुद्रप्रताप त्वया ।
ध्वस्तापत्रप पश्य पश्य सकलैश्चक्षुर्भिरेतादृशी
जाता कस्यचिदेव तापसशिशोरस्त्रात्तवैव स्वसा ॥

For Niroṣṭhya verses, see *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2729. An instance of Nirdantya, Nirmurdhanya, Nirantastha and Niruṣmaka is in Pratāparudrīya (vi. 29).

केकिकचा कोककुचा मञ्जुभुजा कामि कापि कामाङ्गा ।
कञ्जमुखी कुम्भिगमा बभौ खगाङ्काङ्कभागपङ्कजगा ॥

d also in Sahityaratnākara, VI. 25. *et. seq.*

Poets have exercised their intellect to frame verses of one or two letters only. For instance:

कोकीकङ्की कोककङ्ककाकाकोकुकाकिका: । कोकाङ्ककाङ्कां किकाकुकाकुकेङ्कीकका ॥
नानादानानि दीनानां ददानो नन्दनन्दन: । नदीननन्दनीनन्दी नुदेदेनो दिने दिने ॥

Sāhityaratnākara, VI. 31.

न नोननुन्नो नुन्नोनो नाना नानानना ननु । नुन्नोऽनुन्नो ननुन्नेनो नानेना नुन्ननुन्ननुत् ॥

Kāvyānuśāsana, V.

340. Nitthala Upamaka Venkatesvara was son of Viśvanātha and Kāmāmbā and probably lived near Vizianagaram about the middle of 19th century A.D. He was a poetic genius of modern times of rare merit and has left an instance of poetic composition at once graceful and unique, a combination of accrostics of surprising ingenuity. In the apparent garb of a poem on Rāmāyaṇa, RAMAYANASANGRAHA in 30 cantos in prose and verse (composed in 1866 A.D.), he has arranged the letters of verses, so as to form four more poems out of particular letters combined and read together from the verses. It is therefore described as *Catuścitragarbha*. He has imbedded his own name and description in one of such devices in his Bālakānda.

The poem GAURIVIVAHA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the verses of kāndas from Ayodhya to Yuddha and describes the marriage of Pārvatī.

The poem ŚRIRANGADIKSETRAMAHATMYA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter in the second pāda of the verses from kāndas Ayodhya to Yuddha. Here thirteen shrines are described with their theological history.

The poem BHAGAVADAVATARACARITA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the third pāda of the verses from kāndas, Ayodhya to Yuddha, and describes the incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The poem DRAUPADIKALYANA is formed by the regular combination of the first letter of the fourth pada of the verses from kāndas, Ayodhya to Yuddha, and describes the marriage of Draupadī.

Above all a combination of the first letters of each of the verses in Bālakānda makes up RAMAKAVACA.[1]

341. Bandha is the name given to verses in which the letters are arranged in the form of sword, lotus, car, serpent etc. So says Mammata

तच्चित्रं यत्र वर्णानां खड्गाद्याकृतिहेतुता

1. *TC*, IV. 5031-5037.

There are Bandhas in various poems and works on rhetoric. They are numerous in Venkaṭādhvari's Lakṣmīsahasra. Venkateśvara's Citrabandharāmāyaṇa is wholly composed of verses of various designs, such as Kankaṇa, Chatra, Andolikā etc.[2]

Kamalamalikastotra of Venkaṭācārya, son of Nṛsimha of Śrīvatsagotra,[3] is another feat of alliterative ingenuity, a garland of lotuses in praise of Lakṣmī. It is accompanied by a commentary:

माभूसदारममाम रसासितामा
मातासि याजररमारजसाभया मा ॥
माया भवाव्रननमानवमामयामा ।
मा याम मे तततमा ततीयान भूमा ॥

Kankaṇabandha is the most ingenious in this class. In it the narrative is formed by rewriting a verse, for instance, of 32 letters backward and forward from a particular starting point and thus making 64 verses in all. The story of Rāmāyaṇa has been so related.[4]

In Venkaṭeśa's Rāmacandrodaya the 26th Canto contains Bandhas and there is a Kankaṇabandha:[5]

कामामामायासारामे ह्रामामारादारागासा ।
लापासेनापायासामा यानीष्ठोमादायादारा ॥

342. Vakrokti is a clever diversion or subversion of a saying. The intended meaning of a word is wantonly not understood and the person addressed, most often reprimanded, perverts the meaning of the word to avoid an inconvenient answer. So says Mammaṭa,

यदुक्तमन्यथा वाक्यमन्यथाऽन्येन योज्यते ।
श्लेषेण काक्वा वा ज्ञेया सा वक्रोक्तिस्तथा द्विधा ॥

There is the first verse of Mudrārākṣasa in illustration:

धन्या केयं स्थिता ते शिरसि शशिकला किं नु नामैतदस्याः
नामैवास्यास्तदेतत्परिचितमपि ते विस्मृतं कस्य हेतोः ।

1. Kāvyaprakāśa, IX. 85 *et. seq.*
2. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2728-35, with Yagnanārāyaṇa's commentary. See also Pratāparudrayaśobhuṣana, vii. 6-3. Sāhityaratnākara, vi. 25 and all books on rhetoric in chapters on Śabdālankāra.
3. *DC*, XVIII. 6864.
4. See para 97 *supra.*
5. *Tanj. Cat.*, VI. 2658. See para 289 supra.

नारीं पृच्छामि नेन्दुं कथयतु विजया न प्रमाणं यदीन्दुः
देव्या निह्नोतुमिच्छोरिति सुरसरितं शाठ्यमव्याद्विभोर्वः ॥

There are Ratnākara's Vakroktipancāśikā,[1] Rambhāśukasamvāda,[2] Sivārāma's Lakṣmī-Sarasvatīsamvāda[3] and Girijākamalāvivāda.[4]

On Vakrokti, as the essential of poetry, Kuntaka wrote a treatise Vakrotijīvita.[5]

343. Dyglott poems consist of verses that can be read in any two (or more) languages.[6] Here is an instance of identity in Prakrit and Sanskrit:

सरळे साहसरागं परिहर रम्भोरु मुञ्च संरम्भम् ।
विरसं विरहायासं वोढुं तव चित्तमसहं मे ॥

344. Srinivasa Kavisārvabhauma was a poet of the Court of Kṛṣṇa Rāja Udeyar, Mahārāja of Mysore, of the last century. Besides Kṛṣṇarājaprabhāvodaya, a poem on his patron, he wrote Kṛṣṇarājajayotkarṣa in prose and verse in such a way that with an alteration in punctuation the work becomes Sanskrit or Kanarese.

345. Cyuta is a species of composition in which the main word is indicated by the omission of a mātra, half mātra, bindu or varṇa. So Hemacandra says.

च्युतं मात्रार्धमात्राबिन्दुवर्णगतत्वेन चतुर्धा ।

For instance:

अर्धमात्राच्युतं यथा ।
पयोधरभराक्रान्ते विद्युल्लेखाविराजिते ।
कान्तस्सर्वजनाभीष्टो बाले दुःखेन लभ्यते ।
अत्र 'न्दु' इत्यत्र नकारो व्यञ्जनं च्युतम् ॥

346. Gudha is another species in which some word is concealed in the verses. Hemacandra says:

गूढं क्रियाकारकासम्बन्धपादविषयत्वेन चतुर्धा ।

1. Printed, Bombay with commentary.
2. *Mys. OML*, 254.
3. *CC*, I. 540.
4. *PR*, III. *App.* 393.
5. Ed. by S. K. De, with critical notes and Introduction; *PR*, II. 17, 19.
6. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1918), 67.

For instance:

कारकगूढं यथा ।

केनेमौ दुर्विदग्धेन हृदये विनिवेशितौ ।

पिबतस्ते शरावेण वारि कह्लारशीतलम् ॥

अत्र "शरौ" इति कर्मणो गूढत्वम् ॥

KRSNAKAVI, son of Raghunātha Dīkṣita, wrote Kriyāgopanarāmāyaṇa or Candrakalāvilāsa, a poem in 14 cantos, on the story of Rāmāyaṇa. The merit of the poem is that the predicate is concealed in the verses.[1]

347. Vidagdhamukhamandana of Dharmadāsa, a Jain, is a collection of enigmatical verses, in 4 chapters, on different topics in Citra varieties. There are commentaries on it by Tāracandra of Śivarājadhāni,[2] by Durgadāsa[2] and by Gaurikānta and Narahari and one anonymous. Viśveśvara's Kavīndrakarṇābharaṇa is a similar work.

348. Vāgbhūṣaṇa of Rāmacandra of Bhārgavagotra is a group of periphrastic and curiously composed verses in praise of various Gods. He lived somewhere on the banks of Tāmraparṇī in the Pāndya country.[3]

Durghatakāvya is a highly artificial poem of 80 verses in praise of various deities with an anonymous commentary. There is a poem of that name attributed to Kālidāsa printed in Bombay.[4]

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1. *TC*, I. 10, 896; IV. 5505 (with commentary).
   For instance;

   भवान्नारायणस्सीतादेवीयं कमलालया । इति व्याख्याततत्वेन वेधसा मैथिलीपतिः ॥

2. Printed, Bombay. *TC*, III. 3277; *DC*, XX. 8090; *Mitra*, IV. 294.
   For instance;

   अनेकसुषिरं वाद्यं कान्तं च्छ्रीमुखपङ्कजम् ।

   विद्धि तत् त्र्यक्षरं राजन् चक्षुश्श्रोत्रसुखावहम् ॥ वल्मीकम्

3. *TC*, III. 2747.
   For instance:

   "एकान् द्विरूपान् त्रिचतुर्भिरीडितान् पञ्चास्यषड्वक्त्रसुतांश्च सप्त च ।

   नाष्टाभिराध्यान्नवभिर्दशाच्युताम् व्रजामि नित्यं शरणं विमुक्तये ॥

4. *IOC*, VII. 1488.

Kavirākṣhasīyam is a poem of 100 verses of involved meaning by an unknown author, calling himself Kavirākṣasa.[1] There are commentaries on it by Nāganarāya, son of Devanārādhya,[2] and two anonymous.[3]

349. Nagaraja was the son of Jalapa and grandson of Vidyādhara of Karpatigotra. He is spoken of at the end of his poem Bhāvaśataka as a King who was the ornament of the Taka race. "Taka race here mentioned is probably the same as that to which Madanapala, the patron of the author of the Madanaparijatha,[*] (work on law) belonged. It was a family of petty Chiefs whose capital was as stated in the introduction to the latter, a town of the name of Kashtha situated on the Yamuna to the north of Delhi." Bhāvaśataka "consists of 101 verses, some in prakrit in each of which a certain person is represented to be doing a certain thing in a certain condition and the reason why he or she does or the minor sense of the verse is meant to be found out by the reader. It is however given at the end of the verses."[4]

Camatkāracandrika,[5] (i) by Kavikarṇapūra, (ii) Narottamadāsa and (iii) by Viśveśvara, and Vyajoktiśataka of Trivikrama[6] are similar.

350. Sītārāmīya or Sabdodāharaṇa of Bhāskarasūri, son of Rāmaswāmi Dikṣita, narrates the story of Rāma and is meant to illustrate grammatical forms like Bhattikāvya.[7] Sabhyābharaṇa is an anthology with double meaning, in 9 chapters, by Rāmacandra Bhatta of Attāladeśa. The last verse interlaces the last *sūtra* of Panini अ अ with ingenuity. He was a great grammarian. There is a commentary on it by Govinda (jyotirvit), son of Nīlakantha, of the family of astrologers of Sivapurī on the banks of Godāvarī.

1. *DC*, XX. 8024. Printed, Bombay. There is a fanciful reason given for the peculiar name:

साक्षरेषु भवतीह जगत्यां सर्व एव हृदि मत्सरयुक्तः ।
साक्षरं कविजनेषु तमेनं लोक एष कविराक्षसमाह ॥

2. *DC*, XX. 8025.
3. *Ibid.*, 8026, 8027.
4. Ed. Bombay. *PR*, III. 21, 338; IV. 69; *BR*, 1882-3), 9, 198. There are Bhāvavilsāa by Rudrākavi (Printed, Bombay), Bhāvaśātaka by Venkatācārya (*Mys. OML*, 630) and Bhavāmanjarī by Rāma, son of Kṛṣṇagopāla of Atreyagotra (R. No. 2975).
5. *CC*, I. 183, III. 39.
6. *CC*, II. 147.
7. *TC*, IV. 5863.

Sarvasena's Harivijaya is a poem with double entendre describing the victory of Hari, while the same text directs the movements in chess play.[1]

SECTION II

Some Modern Poets.

351. In the 19th century, **Gangadharasastri** Ṭailinga of Benares wrote[2] the philosophical poems Haṃsāṣṭaka and Alivilāsisallāpa; Ḍuhkhabhanjanakavi of Benares wrote a biographical poem Candrasēkharacarita; and Paramesvara Jha (Mahāmahopādhyāya)[3] wrote Yakṣamilanakāvya, a sequel to Meghaduta.

352. Subrahmanya Suri, son of Śankara-Nārāyaṇa, was born in 1850 at Kadayakkudi near Pudukkota. He was 7th in descent from the famous Chokkanāṭha Ḍīkṣiṭla.[4] He was a Professor of Sanskrit in Raja's College at Pudukkota and passed away in 1913. His learning was versatile. He was very good at poetry and grammar and proficient in singing and painting. His Harikaṭhās attracted an enchanted audience and were known for their devotion and erudition. Besides the play Vallī-Bāhulēyam, in seven Acts, depicting the marriage of Vallī and Skanḍa and a bhāna Manmaṭhamanṭhana and a prose piece Śanṭanucariṭa, he wrote several poems Buḍḍhisanḍeśa, Paḍyapancaraṭna, Haraṭirṭhesvarasṭuṭi, Sūkasūkṭisudhārasāyana and stories adapted to music, such as Rāmavaṭāra, Visvāmiṭrayāga, Sītākalyāṇa, Rukminī-kalyāṇa and Vibhūṭimāhāṭmya etc. His Dolāgiṭas and Hallīsamanjaris, songs on various deities, are interesting, particularly those relating the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa.

By far a very valuable poem is Āsecanaka-Rāmāyaṇa. In 199 verses in Ārya metre where the first three padas narrate the story and the fourth pada impresses a moral. The work is unique and represents Vālmīki's work as a mine of ethical precepts.

353. Krsnarama was a professor in Ayurveḍa in Jaipur State about 1900. In his Kachavamsa and Jayapuravilāsa, he described the greatness of the ruler of Jaipur. Among many poems he wrote are Aryālankārāsṭaka, Palāndusaṭaka, Mukṭaka-mukṭāvali, Holāmahoṭsava

1. See *Cat. CP*, Int. iv; No. 6864: For verses on caturanga, see R. No. 14606.
2. Printed Benares and Darbhanga.
3. He also wrote a romance like Vāsavadaṭṭa.
4. Except the works printed by M. L. J. Press, Madras and the other manuscripts are with the poet's son, S. Sankara Narayana B.A., Account General's Office, Madras.

andSārasataka, a poetical epitome of several important Sanskrit works. In metrics he wrote Chandaschatāmandana.[1]

354. Shankerlal Maheshwar Shastri, Mahāmahopādhyāya of the Prashnora Nagar community lived in Jamnagar in 1844–1916 A.D. He commenced writing poetry at the age of 15. The Maharaja of Jamnagar bestowed upon him the title of Śīghrakavi i.e. an ex tempore poet. He served in the Rawajiraj Pathasala of Morbi in Kathiawad for many years. Among his many works Sāvitrī-caritra, Candraprabhacaritra Dhruvābhyudayanātaka, Gopālacintāmaṇi, Anasūyābhyudaya, etc.

355. Venkatesa Vamana Sovani was son of Vāmana Vittala. He was Professor of Sanskrit at Meerut and Allahabad and lived in 1882-1925. His son V. V. Sovani is Professor, Rajkumar College, Raipur (C.P.). Among his many works, all printed, there are the minor poems, Indradyumnāpavarga (philosophical), Divyaprabandha, Īsalaharī, Rāmacandrodaya (in 4 cantos) and a biography of Śivāji Chatrapati, Śivāvatāraprabandha. His admiration of Kālidasa is illustrated in his poem Kālidasapraśāmsā.

356. Mudumbai Venkatarama Narasimha Ȧcharya, lived in 1842-1928 A.D. He was the son of Vīrarāghava and Rangāmbā of Śrīvasta-gotra. The progenitor of his family was Mudumbai Ācān, one of the 72 Śrivaiṣṇava Ācāryas set up by Rāmānuja. One of his ancestors Kṛṣṇamācārya had two sons, versed in music and literature and they came to be known as Sangīta-Mudumbai and Sāhitya-Mudumbai and our poet was of the latter line. His learning was all comprehensive and he was honoured as a poet laureate in the court of Vijayarāma Gajapati, Maharaja of Vijayanagaram (Vizagapatam District). He wrote about 114 works in different branches of literature. Among his dramas are Gajendravyāyoga, Rājahamsīyanātaka, and Vasavīpāsarīyaprakaraṇa, and his Citsūryāloka dramatises the story of the solar eclipse. Among his major poems are Rāmacandrakathāmṛta and Bhāgavata, which are long poems on the stories of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and minor poems are Khalāvahelana and Nītirahasya. He wrote a romance in prose a campū Ujjvalānanda, and a work on poetics, Kāvyālankārasangraha.

357. Medepalli Venkataramanacarya, was his pupil. Born in 1862 at Anakapalli in Vizagapatam District, and educated under different teachers of great merit, he has been the senior Sanskrit professor in the Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram. His Gīrvāṇa Śathagopasahasram is a rendering in verse of the sacred collect of Tamil

1. See Śivadatta's introduction to Naiṣadha, Bombay.

Prabandhas and is a valuable treasure of devotional lore and exhibits a classical style rarely seen after the 15th century. Above all his narratives in prose of many plays of Shakespeare, on the line of Lamb's Tales are specimens of elegant simplicity.[1] His history of rhetoric written in Telugu[2], which is an epitome of the results of literary research in the sphere of poetics.[3]

358. Hemacandra Roy, Kavibhūṣana, is the son of Jadunandana Roy of Varendra Kāyastha family of Gautama gotra. He was born in the village of Rāmanagara in Pabna District in Bengal in Saka 1804 (1882 A.D.) on 18th Asvina. After a distinguished career in the Calcutta University, he has been professor of Sanskrit in Edward College, Pabna. His poems are remarkable for lucidity of expression and embrace thrilling themes of love and romance. They are Satyabhāmāparigraham, Subhadrāharaṇam, Haihayavijayam, Pāndavavijayam and Paraśurāmacaritram.[4]

359. Mathuranatha, popularly known as Manjunātha, is the son of Dvārakānātha and was adopted by Sundaralāla, a Pandit of the Court of Jaipur. He is of Gautama Gotra, born on Āsādha Kṛṣṇa Saptamī Sam. 1940 (1890 A.D.). His ancestor Bavijidikṣit was a Telugu Brahmin who settled at Benares, and a later descendant Manuladīkṣit came away to Prayāg. The family was known as Devarṣyāvaṭanka, after the name of a village Devarṣi, gifted to him by his pupil there. About Sam. 1700, Śrīkṛṣṇabhatta was born. His scholarship is highly praised by Hariharabhatta in Kulaprabandha. Having been honoured by the Chiefs of Bundi and Amber, he was made the State Pandit of Jeypur. There at Jeypur he wrote the poems Īśvaravilāsa[5], Padyamuktāvali[6], Tripurasundarīstavarāja[7], and Alankārakalānidhi.

Mathurānātha is the Superintendant of Sanskrit studies in Jeypur State. In his Manjukavitānikunja (Bower of poetry) he has gathered

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Printed Madras.

1. For another rendering, see Index.
2. Printed, Madras.
3. Printed, Madras.
4. Printed, Pabna.
5. *PR*, III. 393, *CC*, I. 61.
6. For another work of this name by Ghāsirāma, see *CC*, I. 324.
7. *Taylor*, I. 102. For stotras on Tripurasundarī by Jayadeva, Rāghavācārya etc., see *CC*, I. 237. There are Tripurasundarīkāvya composed by a Kālidāsa in 1752 A.D. (*CC*, I. 237) and Tripurasundarīmahodaya by Śankarānandanātha (*CC*, I. 237).

minor poems Sāhityavaibhava, Jayapuravaibhava, Samskṛtagāthāsaptasatī,[1] Sanskṛtasarvasva, and Kāvyakālārahasya.

"The poem is divided into several sections," Says Gopinatha Kaviraj, "with verses on different subjects in each. The description of the seasons, the representations of the various moods of the human mind, the delineation with touches of humour at intervals of the darker phases of the modern social life, all these have a ring of freshness and spontaneity about them which mark them out as distinctive of true inspiration. The author is at his best in his manipulation of the metres not merely those which are current in the Sanskrit classics but even some new varieties coined by him in imitation of Hindi, Urdu and Persian."

360. **Srisailatatacarya,** better known as D. T. Tatacarya Siromani, is the senior professor of Mīmāmsa, Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi, Tanjore Dt. He was born in 1892 at Tiruvarangam in South Arcot. His powers of Sanskrit elocution are remarkable. Among his poems[2] are Kapīnāmupavāsa and Mugdhānjali.

1. This is a literal reading of Hāla's Saptasati.
2. Printed, Kumbakonam.

CHAPTER XV.

SECTION I.

Subhasita

361. Subhasita, generally spoken of as anthologies, are various collections of verses as several topics, proverbial, erotic, ethical, descriptive and devotional etc. They may be the composition of one author or selections from other authors. In some of the collections of the latter class, the names of the poets are appended and they thus serve as valuable landmarks in literary history. Many of these poets are now only known by name and their works are not available. Treatises on rhetoric often serve the purpose of anthologies, for they quote verses in illustration from various poets and works by name. Works of single authors may be classed under Laghu Kāvya, while collections may stand apart as essences of the whole Kāvya literature.

362. Kavindravacanasamuccaya[1] is the earliest of anthologies now available. The author's name is not known, but among the authors quoted Mayūra, Vākpaṭirāja and Rājaśekhara are the latest. It must have been composed about the end of the 10th century A.D. The value of the work has been enhanced by the excellent introduction of F. W. Thomas which contains information on many unknown authors and collects their verses quoted in other anthologies.[2]

363. Nandana's Prasannasāhiṭyaraṭnākara is an anthology in 1000 stanzas. "The compiler is very proud of his knowledge of Panini and Sahitya. He says his work is beyond computation. He commences with Śivavrajyā. This work is compiled in imitation of Kavivacana-samuccaya in which collections of verses on different subjects are called Vrajyas. That is Buddhistic, while the present is Hindu.[3]"

364. Amitagati was a Ḍigambara Jain ascetic and pupil of Māḍhavasēna.[4] He wrote Ḍharmaparīkṣa[5] in Sam. 1070) and Subhā-

1. Printed, Calcutta.

2. Such work has also been admirably done in the Introduction to Subhāsiṭāvali by P. Peterson.

3. Haraprasad's Sastri *Nep. Cat.* No. 1574.

4. *PR*, IV. ix.

5. Weber, *ISt*. II. 1110.

Ṣiṭaraṭnasandoha in Saṃ. 1050 (994 A.D.) during the reign of King Munja of Ḍhāra.[1]

365. Sridharadasa son of Vatuḍāsa, was a Mandalika or a governor under king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. His Saḍukṭikarṇāmṛṭa composed in Śaka 1127 or 1205 A.D. comprises various topics from select authors whom it names.[2]

366. Jalhana or Arohaka Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa Ḍeva was son of Lakṣmīḍeva. They were ministers of the Yāḍava King Kṛṣṇa. His Sūkṭimukṭāvali was composed in Śāka 1179 (1257 A.D.) during Kṛṣṇa's reign by Vaiḍya Bhānu Panḍiṭa or Bhāskara at the instance of Jalhaṇa.[3] The introductory verses give an account of Jalhaṇa's family and are summarised by R. G. Bhandarkar thus :[4]

"There was a person of the name of Dada who belonged to the Vatsa Gotra and appears to have been in the service of the Yadava king Mailugi, called in other places Mallugi. Vijjana, of the Kalachuri race, who had usurped the throne at Kalyana in 1157 A.D. was not allowed to enjoy it peacefully. Besides internal disturbances he had to face the attacks of the surrounding chiefs. Mallugi appears from the above to have been one of those who were hostile to him, and Dada, who commanded his troops of elephants, fought a battle with Vijjana. Dada had four sons named Mahidhara, Jahla, Samba, and Gangadhara who contributed to raise the importance of Mallugi's kingdom. Mahidhara succeeded his father in the command of the elephants and had to conduct the war with Vijjana. His son Ananta appears to have assisted his father and captured many elephants from his master's powerful enemies. After Mahidhara's death his brother Jahla succeeded to his office and is said to have restored Bhillama's kingly power firm. Bhillama was the son of Mallugi and acquired finally the paramount sovereigty of the Dekkan for his family, about the year 1187 A.D. Jahla led a maddened elephant into the army of the Gurjara prince and obtained fame as Bhagadatta. Bhagadatta is a prince mentioned in the Mahabharata who fought with Arjuna with great bravery. Jahla spread terror into the heart of Malla, frightened

2. Ibid. *BR* (1882–3) 45 ; *ZDMG*, LIX. 326. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay with a long introduction on the inscriptions of the Paramāra dynasty. On Munja, See under Bhoja *post*.

2. Printed partly by Rāmāvaṭāraśarma, Calcutta, *CSC* (1903) 106; Mitra's *Notices*, No. 1180; *ZDMG*, XXXVI, 361-83, 509-59. For author's names, see Aufrecht's Collections, No. 578; *JRAS* (1903), 1028-1069.

3. *DC*, XX. 8109.

4. *Report* (1897).

the forces of Mallugi, who must have been an enemy of Bhillama, and vanquished Munja and Anna. Who these chiefs were we do not know, and a great many of them had to be vanquished before Bhillama could acquire supreme power. The Munja mentioned here was not the celebrated prince of Dhara of that name. Jahla captured many elephants and gave them to his master Bhillama. Janardana was the son of his brother Gangadhara and he appears to have succeded as commander of the troops of elephants. He taught Simha or Singhana the art of managing elephants and thus enabled him to conquer Arjuna. Singhana, called also, Simha was the son of Jaitrapala and Bhillama. If he was taught the art of managing elephants by Janardana, it must have been so when he was a young man and during his father's reign. Singhana himself came to the throne in 1210 A.D. Janardana's son Lakshmideva succeeded to the office and contributed by his courage and bravery to consolidate the power of king Krishna. Krishna was the grandson of Singhana and ascended the throne after him in the year 1247 A.D. Lakshmideva constructed a large-tank and had an extensive and beautiful garden. His son was Jahlana, who with his brother assisted king Krishna by his counsel and commanded the troops of his elephants. He compiled this collection of elegant sayings.

Sūkṭimuktāvali is in two recensions, short and long.[1] It is particularly valuable for its preservation of the famous verses of Rājaśekhara enlogising great poets, of whom some are women. It begins with a summary of the contents.

367. Sarngadhara was the son of Ḍāmoḍara, grandson of Rāghava and great-grandson of Hammīra Bhūpaṭi of Śākambhāri country. It is an anthology of 4689 verses, some by the collator, and was composed in 1363 A.D.[2]

368. Vallabhadeva's[3] Subhāṣiṭāvali[4] has 3527 quotations of

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1. *DC*, XX. 8109, 8116; *PR*. III. No. 370. For a full review and list of authors, see Peterson, *JRAS*, XVII. 57-71. Keith, *SL*, 222; Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayura*, 9 note.

2. Ed. by P. Peterson, *BSS*, Bombay and partly by Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXV. 455; XXVII, 1, 77; *DC*. XX. 8092. See Bohtlingk's notes, *ZDMG*, (1873), 625.

3. He is different from Vallabhaḍeva, the commentator whom he quotes (see para 29 supra for further elucidation); *PR*, IV. 110-1, and Peterson, Int to Subh. 113-4. A.B. Keith, *Bull. Or. Studies*, V. (cannot be earlier than 15th century A.D.) S.K. De, *JRAS* (1927); D. C. Bhattacharya, *JRAS* (1928).

4. Ed. by P. Peterson, *BSS*. Bombay. For a review by Buhler, see *IA*, XV. 240.

very great value in literary history. He was a Kāṣmirian and his authors are mostly of Northern India. He must have lived after Sultan Zainalabdin of Kāṣmir (1417-67 A.D.), for he quotes Jonarāja, who was contemporary of that Sultan.[1]

369. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita was betitled Prabandhasāgara by King Rāmavarma of Vanci (Travancore) of the 15th century. In a poem of 18 stabakas called Varṇanāsārasangraha he elaborately describes several objects, seasons, countries and deities.[2]

370. Śrīvara was pupil of Jonarāja. Jonarāja continued Kalhaṇa's chronicle till 1412 A.D. and Śrīvara followed till 1477 A.D. Besides Kaṭhākautuka and Jainarājataranginī, he wrote Subhāṣitāvali where he quotes about 400 poets.[3]

Vijayasenasūri wrote Sūktiratnāvali in 54 verses in *Sam.* 1647 (1591 A.D.)[4] It appears from the Praśasti on the Vritti on Vijayapraśastikāvya, that another Sūktiratnāvali was composed by Hemavijayagaṇi. There is also a Sūktiratnāvali by Vaidyaratna, son of Rāmabhatta, but authors are not named.[5]

371. Haridasa, son of Puruṣottama, of the Karana clan was an inhabitant of the Maharaja-Kharagada. Puruṣottama had four sons, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Dāmodara, Nārāyaṇa and Haridāsa. Haridāsa was a worshipper of Gaṇeśa and was proficient in all sciences and arts. He composed Prastavaratnākara in 1614 probably of the Vikrama samvat, at Jatapattana during the reign of Varavirasahi in 21 chapters on various topics.[6]

372. Harikavi was a poet of the Deccan. Cakrapāṇi was his brother. His anthology Hārāvali or Subhāṣitahārāvali shows an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the whole country from Kashmir to Deccan.[7] He quotes from a poet of Akbar's Court (called

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1. See Jonarāja's Rājataranginī, 7.
2. *DC*, XX. 8087. He wrote commentary on Sauriikaṭhodaya; (*DC*, XX. 7886.) during the reign of kings Rāmavarman and Godāvarman of Calicut of the 15th century A.D. See para 169 supra.
3. Peterson, *o.c.*, VI. iii. *BKR*, 61; *BR*, (1883-4), 54.
4. Printed, Bhownagar.
5. *IOC*, 1208.
6. Haraprasad Sastri, *Nep, Cat.*, page 212; *Oudh*, VI. 4, *CC*, I. 860. For a synopsis of quotations, see
7. For a full account, see *PR*, II. 57-64. There is a Subhāṣitasudhā of Hari Thomas, *Int. to Kav.* 14 authors are named.
(*CC*, I. 726.)

Akbarīyakālidāsa) and from Jagannātha's Bhāminīvilāsa and must therefore be assigned earliest to the latter half of the 17th century A.D. To the student of literary history this anthology presents many points of interest.[1]

Vrajanātha was in the Court of King Mādhava, son of Jayasimha who was a descendant of Pṛthvīrāja, and lived about sam. 1809 (1753 A.D.) His Padyatarangiṇi with commentary in 12 tarangas is a large collection.[2]

Kāvyasangraha is an anthological collection of verses from various sources enumerating groups of nine, eight, seven, six and five noted persons, things and qualities, possessing similar characteristics.[3]

373. The following are other anthologies: Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī of Hari Bhāskara,[4] Padyāvali (i) of Rūpagoswāmin,[5] (ii) of Mukunda[6] and (iii) of Vidyābhūṣaṇa[7]; Padyamuktāvali of (1) Ghāsīrāma,[8] Govindabhatta[9] and (ii) Padyāmṛtasarōvara;[10] Padyasangraha by Kavibhatta,[11] Padyaveṇī of Veṇīdatta, son of Jagajjīvana.[12]

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2. He mentions a Bhojaprabandha by Rājaśekhara and quotes two verses from it and one of these authors is Pancānana. On this, Peterson (ic. 60) infers that the author of the Bālarāmāyaṇa etc. may have composed a Bhojaprabandha and says Rājaśekhara was a contemporary of Somadeva author of Yaśastilaka (composed in 859 A.D.) and of King Bhoja whose date of accession he puts at 966 A.D. There is a Hārāvali by Puruṣottama, (*PR*, III. 363.)

2. *PR*, IV. 26-32. Author's names are not given. For references, see Thomas, *Int. to Kavi.*

3. *DC*, XX. 8030.

For instance:

मित्रमर्थस्तथा नीतिर्धर्मकार्पण्यमूर्खकाः ।
स्त्रीणां विद्वान् तथोत्खातान् नवरत्नमिदं क्रमात् ॥

4. *BR*, (1884-7) No. 856; *PR*, III. 395; *CSC*, (1908) 62; *CC*, I. 324; It contains 380 quotations from various Vaiṣṇava authors, such as Yogeśvara, Lakṣmīdhara, Śrīdharaswāmi, Śubhānga etc. There is a commentary by the author's son Jayarāma. Authors are named. For list, see *BR*, (1887-91) lxii: see Aufrecht's article in *ZDMG*, XXXVIII, 544-7.

5. Ibid.

6. *PR*, IV. 27.

7. *PR*, III. 395.

8. *CC*, I. 324.

9. *BR*, (1884-7.)

10. *CC*, I. 324.

11. Printed, Haberlin, 529.

12. *BR*, (1884-7) No. 875; *BR*, (1887-91) lx. Authors are named. It was composed in the reign of Emperor Shah Jehan (1625-56 A.D.)

(Prastāvacintāmaṇi of Candracūda, Prastāvataranginī of Śrīpāla, Prastāvamuktāvali of Keśava Bhatta),[1] Prastavasārasangraha of Rāma-śarma,[2] Prastavasāra of Laūhityavīrasena,[3] Prastāvaratnākara of Hari-hara.[4]

Subhāṣitakaustubha of Venkatādhvari,[5] Subhāṣitamuktāvali (i) of Puruṣottama[6] and (ii) of Mathurānātha,[7] Subhāṣitāvali of Sakalakīrti,[8] Subhāṣitaratnabhāndāgāra by K. P. Parab,[9] Subhāṣitaprabandha or Bhojakṛtasubhāṣita,[10] Subhāṣitaratnakośa of Bhatta Śrīkṛṣṇa,[11] Subhāṣitaratnāvali of Umāmaheśvara Bhatta,[12] Sārasangraha of Śambhudāsa,[13] Sārasangrahasudhārṇava of Bhatta Govindajit.[14]

Subhāṣitaratnakośa by Bhatta Śrī Kṛṣṇa,[15] Subhāṣitanīvi of Venkatanātha,[16] Subhāśitapadāvalī, annonymous and by Śrīnivāsācārya,[17] Subhāṣitamanjarī by Cakravarti Venkatācārya probably of Kalyāṇa-puram ;[18] Subhāṣitasuradruma[19] (i) by Keladi Basavappa Naik and (ii) by Khanderaya Basavayatīndra ;[20] Subhāṣitasarvasva by Gopīnātha.[21]

Subhāṣitasudhānidhi by Śāyanācārya,[22] Sūktivāridhi by Peddabhatta,[23]

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1. *CC*, I. 359.
2. *HPR*, II. 135.
3. *HPR*, I. 236.
4. *PR*, (1887).
5. *DC*, XX. 8096. On the author, see Chapter on Campu *post.*
6. *CC*, I 728 ; *PR*, III. 397 IV. 31 ; IV. 31 ; VI. 367. *SKC*, 175.
7. *NW*, 696.
8. *DC*, XX. 8108.
9. Printed, Bombay.
10. *CC*, I. 728. Thomas, *Int. to Kav*, 12. Authors are not named.
11. *CC*, I. 728, *BR*, (1883-4), No. 93 ; 56, 360. Authors are not named.
12. *CC*, II. 174.
13. *IO*, 2458, *CC*, I. 728.
14. Also called Sabhyālankāra Samyogaśṛngāra, *BR*, (1884-7), No. 417 ; *BR*. (1887-90), lxii. Authors are named.
15. *CC*, I. 728.
16. Printed in part with commentary by Narasimha (*DC*, XX, 8098)
17. *DC*, XX. 8099, 8101.
18. *TC*, I. 800. He also wrote Muṣikapancaka (*TC*, I. 873) and Vṛścikapancaka (*TC*, I. 828).
19. *TC*, II. 2568, where author's names are not given.
20. *Rice*, 246, *CC*, I. 728.
21. *PR*, IV. 31.
22. *DC*, XX. 105 ; *TC*, I. 1054 ; *TC*, IV. 5241, 5644. Written at the instance of King Kampa of Vijianagar in 84 paddhati contains an account of Śāyana's family.
23. *DC*, XX. 8117 in 13 śatakas. He was of the family of Mahāmahopādhyāya of Eleśvara City.

Subhāṣitaratnākara (i) by Munidevācārya[1] (ii) by Kṛṣṇa,[2] (iii) by K. S. Bhatavadekar,[3] (iv) by Umāpati, son of Nirmalanātha,[4] Sūktimuktāvali (i) of Viśvanātha, son of Vidyānivāsa Bhattācārya,[5] (ii) of Puruṣottama and (iii) of Mathurānātha[6] Subhāṣita by Harihara,[7] Sabhāṣiarangasāra of Jagannāthamiśra;[8] Sūktāvali by Lakṣmaṇa,[9] Subhāṣitāvali.[10]

Subhāṣita,[11] Subhāṣitamuktāvali,[12] Subhāṣitasamuccaya,[13] Subhāṣitasudhānandalahari,[14] Subhāṣitasuradruma,[15] Subhāṣitaratnamālā,[16] Subhāṣitamanjari,[17] Subhāṣitārṇava,[18] Subhasitasangraha.[19]

Cāṭudhāra,[20] Cāturatnākara,[21] Cāṭuślokas.[22]

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1. *PR*, I. 74.
2. *PR*, III. 35, 54.
3. *BR*, (1887).
4. Printed Bombay.
5. *Bik. Cat.*
6. *CC*, I. 728.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Mitra*, V. *CC*, I. 728.
9. *CC*, I. 696. Composed in 1867 A.D.
10. Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep.* (1916-9), 40. Of the rare authors and works are Viśvādhika, Purandara, Udhama. Dandin's 2nd verse of Avantisundarikathā, Tarunavācaspati, Bṛhatkathā, Vyāsa Sātakarṇi, Sundarapāndya, Vallabhadeva, Gajendrasimha, Ravigupta, Amṛtavardhana, Cappatadeva, Suvarṇavistara, Ankāvali, Rāmābhudaya. It quotes Someśvara and must have been composed later than 1130 A.D. For another work of this name, see *IOC*, 1518.
11. *BR*. (1883-4), No. 91. Authors are named. Thomas, *Int.* to *Kav.* 12, 14.
12. *Ibid.* No. 92, *PR*, VI. 367, *Ulwar*, 1094. Authors are not named. Another larger work of this name is in Aufrecht's collection, No. 61 in 34 Muktāmaṇis. Authors are not named. See Thomas, *Int.* to *Kav.* 13, for contents.
13. *CC*, I. 728. Authors are not named.
14. *DC*, XX. 810-3-4; *Taylor*, I. 140.
15. *TC*, II. 2569.
16. *TC*, I. 794, *CC*, III. 150.
17. *CC*, I. 728; *DC*, XX. 8099-8102; *TC*, I. 800, 871, II. 1681. This is probably the same as the work of Cakravarti Venkatāchāriar. *TC*, I. 800.
18. *TC*, I. 463.
19. *PR*, III. 397; *HPR*, II. 249.
20. *DC*, XX. 8032. This contains 6 Paddhatis with 915 verses. There is a commentary on it, *DC*, XX. 8035.
21. *DC*, XX. 8035. This mentions Kākatīndra and must be later than Pratāparudra.
22. *DC*, XX. 8036-1052. These are different collections.

Padyaracanā by Lakṣmaṇabhatta,[1] Rasikajīvana by Gadādharabhatta,[2] Subhāṣitasārasamuccayya,[3] Sārasangraha by Sambhudāsa,[4] Sabhyālankaraṇa by Govindāji or Govindjit,[5] Sabhābhūṣaṇamanjarī by Gautama.[6]

373-A. **Sundaradeva's** Sūktisundara[7] was composed about the beginning of the 17th century. His anthology is valuable in that it contains verses of various poets[8] of the 16th and 17th century in praise of the rulers of that period, particularly Mussalman. Among these are Ākbar (or Jallāladīna or Kābilendra), Muddapharasāha, Nizamasāha and Shah Jehan. He must have been very familiar with those Courts and here is a verse in which he has used some Urdu terms :

जीमी कंपाति भिश्यति प्रतिवनं बीबी गर्नामब्रजा-
स्योम्रस्य भ्रतनोति च स्खलनतस्मारात्प्रभुर्मारतः ।
दर्यावाः प्रचलन्ति वींचिनिवहैर्धूलीभिराफ्ताबमा
अस्थाने प्रतिहन्यती तव चमूयानेऽभिजाने प्रभो ॥

Emperor Akbar is thus paised by Akbariyakālidāsa :

वीर त्वं कार्मुकं चेत् अकवर कलयस्युग्रटङ्कारघोषं
दूरे सद्यः कलंका इव धरणिभृतो यान्ति कंकालशेषाः ।
शंकापन्नश्च किं कारणामिति मनसा भान्ति पंकायितेन
त्यक्त्वाऽहंकारसंकाद्विसृजति गृहिणीं किं च लङ्काधिनाथः ॥

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1. Printed, Kavyamala, Bombay. *ZDMG*, (1883), 545.
2. *Annals*, XII. 396-9. *CC*, I. 49, II. 116 (composed 17th century).
3. *HPR*, Cat. VII. No. 5454.
4. *HPR*, Cat. VII. No. 5443. Here Muddafar Shah, who ruled in Gujarat about 1561 A.D. is praised.
5. *Collected Works*, II, 325.
6. *TC*, VI. 6984.
7. See Article by Har Datta Sharma, *COJ*, III. 133 ; *PO*, I. 52.
8. Ākbariya Kālidāsa, Kaviśvara I. (*CC*, 88), Keśavadīkṣita, Gaṇapati, Gauri, Candracuda, Ghanaśyāma, Jagajjīvana, Dharaṇidhara, Bālājibhatta, Bhayyabhatta, Bhānukara, Mauni Ranganātha, Śrī Yāgnika, Rāmacandrabhatta, Lakṣmaṇa, Veṇidatta, Śankaramiśra, Hanumat, Harinārāyāṇamuni.

Of these : CANDRACUDA was son of Bhatta Puruṣottama, author of Angoktikanthābharaṇā, Candraśekharavivāhakāvya, Kārtavīryodaya and Prastāvacintāmaṇi (*CC*, I. 180). BHAYYABHATTA was son of Kṛṣṇabhatta and brother of Advaitabhatta. The latter wrote Rāmalingavarṇana or Takrarāmāyaṇa at Benares in 1628 A.D. (*HPR*, Cat. VII No. 5214). RAMACANDRA wrote Rādhācarita (*CC*, III. 1107.)

and Emperor Shah Jehan is praised by Harināräyaṇamisra :

भूभृन्मौळितटीषु वर्षंति महाध्रारांधरेस्मिन्नसौ
जाता भूमिसरस्वती विजयनी कल्लोलिनी पावनी ।
श्रीमत्साहिजहा ब्रवीमि तदिदं माहात्म्यमस्याः कथं
यस्यां मज्जति पंकजीयति शिवस्तन्मुर्धजे लीयते ॥

Virasimha (1500-1540 A.D.) and Rāmacandra (1555-1592 A.D.), Kings of Rewah, are praised here by poets Rāmacandra and Akbarīya-Kālidāsa.[1]

373-B. Acarya Kavindra or Kavindra (which is only a title) "was originally an inhabitant of some town on the banks of the river Godavari. He had studied the Asvalayana sakha of the Rgveda and had mastered other branches of learning also. In his very childhood he lost his interest in the world and having taken Sannyasa made Benares his abode. The Sannyasin must have met Shah Jehan when the persecution of Hindus was at its highest and the Pilgrim-tax was re-imposed on pilgrims to Allahabad and Benares. The Sannyasin seems to have exercised wonderful influence on the emperor in order to make him abolish the tax, The joy of Hindu India knew no bounds and congratulations poured from all quarters. Addresses after addresses, verses and prose eulogies, were presented to the Sannyasin, the Defender of Faith. Titles of Kavindra, Vidyanidhana and Acarya were conferred upon him. These addresses in prose and verse along with the names of their authors who were scholars of repute or holy men have been preserved for us by Sri Krsna Upadhyaya in an anthology (Padyavali) called the Kavindracandrodaya."

चक्रेण मोचयांचक्रे नक्राच्छक्रानुजो गजम् ।
प्रयागेभं करग्राहात् करग्राहात् कवीन्द्रवित् ॥

Śrīswāmin.

1. See Imperial Gaz, of India, XXI. 279 ff. King Virasimha was patron of Rāmacandra, son of Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta, who wrote Rādhācarita, Rasikaranjana and Romāvaliśataka, (See para *supra*). King Virabhānu (1540-1555 A.D) of Rewah was patron of Bhanukara and as such is mentioned by Mohanadāsa in his Rasodadhi (*CC*, I. 468, 495, 498).

In a small poem of 75 verses, the last 6 verses appear to be eulogy of Emperor Akbar for the verse हस्तांभोजालिमाला is ascribed to him in Rasikajivana (*Annals*, XII. 396-9) and Padyaracana. The Colophon mentions the name of Gangadhara as having written it. Har Dutt Sarma guesses that *Gangādhara might be the name of Akbarīya Kālidāsa.*

येन श्रीसाहिजाहा नरपतितिलकस्तस्य वश्यः कृतोऽभूत्
किंचावश्यं प्रसन्नैः पुनरपि विहित स्साहिदाराशकोहः ।
काशीतीर्थप्रयागप्रतिजनितकरग्राहमोक्षैकेहतुः
सोयं श्रीमान् कवीन्द्रो जयति कविगुरुस्तीर्थराजाधिराजः ॥

Hīrarāma Kavi.

Kavīndra was a friend of Viśvanāṭha Nyāyapancānana. He was very rich and he had a treasurer Kṛṣṇa Bhatta. He utilised his wealth for the enrichment of Sanskrit literature and had a library of immense merit embracing all branches of learning. The catalogue of his library has been printed in Baroda and contains the names of many works now unknown. His asceticism and spirituality commanded the respect of Emperors Jehangir and Shah Jehan and Prince Dara and a manuscript of Vāmana's Kavyālankārasūṭra bears a seal with the name 'Salim' a name by which Emperor Jehangir was fondly known to his contemporaries. Kavīndra wrote works in all branches of learning. His commentary on Ḍaśakumāracariṭa has a memorable colophon :

इतिश्रीसकलशास्त्रार्थसार्थकीकृतशेमुषीविलासरससांद्रप्रवर्तितासंख्ययशस्समुद्रविद्वत्परिषच्चंद्र-यतींद्रसर्वविद्यानिधान (श्रीमत्) कवींद्राचार्यसरस्वतीकृतायाम् ॥

373-C. His collections of Rāmāyanā were very valuable and his list mentions Mṛkandurāmāyana, Saṇgraharāmāyaṇa, Vyāsarāmayaṇa or Kākabhṛsundirāmāyaṇa, Vālmīki's Nāṭakarāmāyaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇarāmāyaṇa, Brahmarāmāyaṇa, Śivarāmāyaṇa, Agasṭirāmāyaṇa,, Śivarāmāyaṇa or Śeṣarāmāyana, Āgamarāmāyaṇa, Karmarāmāyaṇa; Skāṇḍarāmāyaṇa, Pulasṭyarāmāyaṇa, Aruṇarāmāyaṇa, Bharaṭarāmāyaṇa, Ḍharmarāmāyaṇa, Aḍbhuṭarāmāyaṇa, and Gāyaṭrīrāmāyaṇa. There are also the poems Kṛṣṇavilāsa, Corakāvya, Kalpiṭa-Kāḍambarī, Meghavinoḍa, Śekharakāvya, Hāsyaśaṇaka; on poetics, Bharaṭasūṭra with commentary, Raṭinīṭimukula, Kāmasammohana, Kolaṇāyikākhyāna; and in drama, Sarasvaṭīkanthābharaṇanāṭaka, Kṛṣṇabhakṭirasāyana, Bhillana, Āsṭhānabhūṣaṇa, Nepāla's Hāsyanāṭaka, and Meghaḍyuṭi, Māḍhavāvilāsa, Bhojarājaṭarangiṇī and Prājyabhatta's Rājaṭarangiṇi, and various books on the different arts (64 Kalas).

1. *GOS*, Baroda.

CHAPTER XVI

SECTION 1.

Poetesses

Among the authors of the hymns of the Ṛg Veda, We have some women. The Ātreya house produced the poetesses, Viśvavārā (V. 28) and Āpalā (VIII. 91). In the Kakṣivat house, there was a line of poetesses and of these Ghoṣā was the greatest. She was the daughter of Kakṣīvan. She calls herself a princess and probably her father was a ruler. She remained unmarried to a late age, when she was favoured with a husband by the grace of the Aśvins. She wrote in Jagatī metre and her verses are easy and well balanced (I. 117, 122). Juhū (X. 109), Śaśvatī (VIII. 1), Māndhātrī (X. 134), Mādhavī (I. 91), Śāśiprabhā (IV. 4), Aṇulakṣmī (II. 78, III. 28, 63, 74 and 76), Revā (I. 87), Pahāyī (I. 83) and Rohā (II. 63) are also poetic seers of the hymns. Aśvalāyana mentions Gārgī, Vācaknavī and Badavā Prātitheyī along with the ancient venerable Ṛṣis. Lōpāmudrā is referred to in the Anukramaṇī (I. 179-192).[1]

374. Dhanadeva's verse is quoted in Śārṅgadharapaddhati:

शीलाविज्ञामारुलामोरिकाद्याः काव्यं कर्तुं सन्ति विज्ञास्स्त्रियोऽपि ।
विद्यां वेत्तुं वादिनो निर्विजेतुं विश्वं वक्तुं यः प्रवीणस्स वन्द्यः ॥

Rājaśekhara praises some poetesses, Śīla, Vijayānkā, or Vijjā or Vijjikā, Subhadrā, Prabhudevī, Vikatanitambā.

शब्दार्थयोस्समो गुम्फः पाञ्चाली रीतिरुच्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥

के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरां गुम्फेन रञ्जिताः ।
निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानां न मौग्ध्यमधुरं वचः ॥

सरस्वतीव कर्णाटी विजयाङ्का जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरां वासः कालिदासादनन्तरम् ॥

सूक्तीनां स्मरकेळीनां कलानां च विलासभूः ।
प्रभुर्देवी कविर्लाटी गतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥

1. See *Women Poets of the Rig Veda* (*IA*, I. 113), *Poems by Indian Women* by N. Macnicol (*Her. of India* Series); *Jl. of Sams. Sah. Parishat*, XVI. 4.

पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे खलु सुभद्रया ।
कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विज्जकां तामजानता ।
वृथैव दण्डिना प्रोक्ता सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

Śīlā's expression followed her imagery,[1] Vikaṭanitambā's verse was elegant in simplicity.[2] The style of Subhadrā appealed to the poetic mind and stuck to it for ever. Morikā and Mārulā excelled in suggestions of ideas.[3]

Vijjā was Sarasvatī incarnate except that she was dark in complexion.[4] Vijjākā has been identified with the queen of Candrāditya, son of Pulakesin II, from the Nerur and Kochre grants dated 659 A.D.[5]

Rājaśekharacarita mentions poetesses, Kāmalīlā, Sunandā, Kanakavallī, Madhurāngī, Lalitāngī and Vimalāngī (of Malava).[6] Ballāla's Bhojacarita mentions some poetesses too, but it is doubtful if these were not fictitious names.[7]

The anthologies also quote verses of Jaghanacapalā (*Padyav*), Avilambitasarasvatī (*Padyav*), Indulekhā (*Subh*), Kuntīdevī (*Subh*), Candālavidyā (*Skm*), Nagamā (*Sp*), Padmāvatī (*Pmt*), Madālasā (*Sp*); Rajakasarasvatī (*Skm*), Lakṣmī (*Sp*), Vīrasarasvatī (*Padyav*), Sarasvatī (*Skm*), and Sītā (*Bhojaprabhandha*).

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1. Vāgbhata in his Kavyānuśāna quotes a verse as of Śīlā's. Is it Sītā? See Peterson, *Subh.* 130.

2. See Peterson, *Subh.* 117; Thomas, *Kav.* 104, Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 85, *CC*, I. 569; Bhandarkar *Rep.* (1895) xix, xlvii.

3. Peterson, *Subh.* 94.

4. See Peterson, *Subh.* 119. Thomas, *Kav.* 104. Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII, 85, *CC*, I. 571, Bhandarkar, *Rep.* (1897) xix, xlvii. Bhoja quotes from Vijjākā and Vikatanitambā.

5. *IA*, VIII. 44, 163. B. Bhattacarya (*Brief Summary of Sahitya Sastra, Journal of Dep. of Letters*, Calcutta, IX) says that he was contemporary of Dandin.

6. *DC*, XXI. 8167, *JMy*, XI. 7679.

7. Some of these verses are very good. For instance:

धनुः पौष्पं मौर्वी मधुकरमयी चञ्चलदृशां
दृशां कोणो बाणस्सुहृदपि जडात्मा हिमकरः ।
स्वयं चैकोऽनङ्गस्त्रिभुवनमपि व्याकुलयति
क्रियासिद्धिस्सत्वे भवति महतां नोपकरणे ॥

SILA :

प्रियाविरहितस्याद्य हृदि चिन्ता समागता ।
इति मत्वा गता निद्रा के कृतघ्नमुपासते ॥
Subh. 1197.

JAGHANACAPALA :

दुर्दिननिशीथपवने निस्सञ्चारासु नगरवीथीषु ।
पत्यौ विदेशयाते परं सुखं जघनचपलायाः ॥
Kav. 518.

INDULEKHA :

एके वारिनिधौ प्रवेशमपरे लोकान्तरालोकनम्
केचित्पावकयोगितां निजगदुः क्षीणेऽह्नि चण्डार्चिषः ।
मिथ्याचैतदसाक्षिकं प्रियसखि प्रत्यक्षतीव्रातपम्
मन्येहं पुनरध्वनीनरमणीचेतोऽधिशेते रविः ॥
Subh. 1902.

MARULA :

कृशा केनासि त्वं प्रकृतिरियमङ्गस्य ननु मे
मलाधूम्रा कस्माद्गुरुजनगृहे पाचकतया ।
स्मरस्यस्मान् कच्चिन्नहि न हि न हीत्येव सगमत्
स्मरोत्कम्पं बाला मम हृदि निपत्य प्ररुदिता ॥
Subh. 1326.

MORIKA :

मा गच्छ प्रमदाप्रिय प्रियशतैर्भूयस्त्वमुक्तो मया
बाला प्राङ्गणमागतेन भवता प्राप्नोति निष्ठां पराम् ।
किं चान्यत्कुचभारपीडनसहैर्यत्नप्रबद्धैरपि
त्रुट्यत्कञ्चुकजालकैरनुदिनं निस्सूत्रमस्मद्गृहम् ॥
Subh. 1053.

VIKATANITAMBA :

अन्यासु तावदुपमर्दसहासु भृङ्ग लोलं विनोदय मनस्सुमनोलतासु ।
बालामजातरजसं कलिकामकाले व्यर्थं कदर्थयसि किं नवमालिकायाः ॥
Subh. 735.

VIDYA OR VIJJA :

किंशुककलिकान्तर्गतमिन्दुकलास्पर्धिकेसरं भाति ।
रक्तनिचोलकपिहितं धनुरिव जतुमुद्रितमनङ्गस्य ॥
Subh. Int: 118.

BHAVADEVI :

सजन्मानौ तुल्यावभिजनभुवा जन्म च सह-
प्रवृद्धौ नाम्ना च स्तन इति समानावुदयिनौ ।
मिथस्सीमामात्रे यदिदमनयोर्मण्डलवतो-
रपिस्वर्धायुद्धं तदिह नमस्यः कठिनिमा ॥

Kav. 62.

375. Priyamvada was the daughter of Sivarāma and wife of Raghunāṭha. She lived in Faridpur, East Bengal, soon after 1600 A.D. She wrote the poem Śyāmarahasya and her earliest verse was in praise of Kṛṣṇa.

कालिन्दीपुलिनेषु केलिकलनं कंसादिदैत्यद्विषं
गोपालीभिरभिष्टुतं व्रजवधूनेत्रोत्पलैरर्चितम् ।
बर्हालङ्कृतमस्तकं सुललितैरङ्गैस्त्रिभङ्गं भजे
गोविन्दं व्रजसुन्दरं भवहरं वंशीधरं श्यामलम् ॥

376. Vaijayanti was the daughter of Mūrabhatta of the village of Ḍhanuka in Faridpur District. She married Kṛṣṇanāṭha, son of Ḍurgāḍāsa Ṭarkavāgīsā of Kotalipada. She lived in the middle of 17th century A.D. She learnt Sanskrit under her father and was proficient in Mīmāmsa. Once when her husband could not make out a passage अत्रतुनोक्तं तत्रापिनोक्तम् and taught his pupils wrongly as meaning, "Here too not said, and there too not said," but dissatisfied with the interpretation appeared to be troubled over it, Vaijayaṭī gave the correction construction अत्रतुना उक्तम् तत्र अपिना उक्तम्. She wrote fine poetry but it is all merged in Anandalṭikācampū composed by her husband Kṛṣṇanāṭha, and her colloboration there is mentioned by Kṛṣṇanāṭha himself आनन्दलतिकांचम्पूर्येनाकारि स्त्रियासह. Once it is said while Kṛṣṇanāṭha was composing verses descriptive of a nāyikā, Vaijayanṭī composed a verse at once:

अहिरयं कलधौतगिरिभ्रमात् स्तनमगात्किल नाभिह्रदोत्थितः ।
इति निवेदयितुं नयने हि यत् श्रवणसीमनि किं समुपस्थिते ॥

JAYANTI is mentioned in an article by the editor of Viśvakośa in an old magazine, Bangavashi, East Bengal. She has written a fine poem, said to have been seen by Pandit Amūlyacaran Vidyābhūṣan, Assistant Secretary, Bengal Sāhiṭya Pariṣaṭ.[2]

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1. For an account see *Śah*, XXI. 112.
2. I am indebted for this information to J. N. C. Ganguly, M.A.

377. Uppaya,[1] Manoramā and Subhadrā of Malabar, Avantisundarī, wife of Rājaśekhara, and Sundarī and Kamalā, wives of Ghanaśyāma, were poetesses of renown.[2]

Gangādevi, Madhuravāṇī and Tirumalāmbā have already been mentioned.

378. Lakhina Thakurani is the famous poetess of Mithilā. A verse of hers is repeated :

अक्रान्ता दशमध्वजस्य गतिना सम्मूर्च्छिता निर्जले
तुर्यद्वादशमद्द्वितीयमतिमन्नेकादशाभस्तनी ।
सा षष्ठी कटिपञ्चमी च नवमभ्रूस्ससमीवर्जिता
प्राप्नोत्यष्टमवेदनां त्वमधुना तूर्णं तृतीयो भव ॥

Here is an indirect from of the signs of the Zodiac numbered in serial order from meṣa.[3]

"Attacked with the severe onslought of the God of love is she. Distraught like a craft or a fish in a dry place is she. Oh; Thou bull-minded one, the damsel round of arms as a water jar, with arched eye-brows (the destined wife of thou who art like a lord amongst kings and who is not* (gross) like a shop-keeper's wife who plies the scales (who has no equal.) She feels pain like that of a scorpion bite. Surely, let the result of married life relieve her."[4]

379. Triveni was the daughter of Udayendrapuram Anantācārya and was so named because she was born immediately after her father completed his poem Yādava-Rāghava-Pāndavīya. She lived in 1817-1883 A.D. She was married to Prativādi-Bhayankaram Venkatācārya of Śrīperumbudūr. Her poetic instincts manifested themselves even before her marriage and after her marriage, she studied philosophy under her husband. She had a son who predeceased her and after she became a widow she wished to erect a temple for some idols

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1. *JRAS, O. S.* I Index.
2. See para 166 *supra*.
3. Pandit A.M. Srinivasacharya of Agaram near Conjeevaram has a similar verse:

मेषारोहनिभं निरीक्ष्य वृषभं मत्वा त्वया द्वन्द्वभा-
वाप्त्यै कर्कटवत् प्रतीपगमना सिंहावलग्नाञ्चिता ।
कन्या सावतुलापि वृश्चिकसमैर्बाणैर्धनुष्यर्पितै-
रामुक्तामकरध्वजेन कलिता कुम्भस्तनी मीनदृक् ॥

4. As translated by G. A. Grierson *IA*, XV. 818.

discovered in her place and presented to her by the Collector, who was pleased with her Hāraṭipancaka. For that purpose she went to the courts of Travancore and was well received there. Dewan Rangācārya of Mysore was her admirer and by his patronage she completed the shrines. She was prolix in her writings and her capacity to make up *samasyas* ex tempore was remarkable. Among women she stands foremost in poetic contributions to Sanskrit Literature. Her poems of devotion are Lakṣmīsahasra and Ranganāthasahasra, her lyrics, are Sukasāndesā and Bhṛngasandeśā, her poems are Rangābhyudaya and Sampaṭkumāravijaya and her plays Rangarātsamudaya and Taṭṭvamudrābhadrodaya, the latter of which is allegorical.

380. Lakṣmi Rājnī was a princess of Kadathanadu, Ikavalam Kovilogam, Malabar. She lived about 1890. Her Santīnagopālakāvya in 3 cantos relates a story that a brahmin lost his ten children successively, Arjuna promised to save the last and when he was unable to do it and resolved to enter the fire. Kṛṣṇa intervened and from Vaikuntha brought back all the ten lost children. The last canto has Yamaka composition.[1]

381. Sundaravalli lived about 1900 A.D. She was the daughter of Narasimha Iyengar of Mysore, and studied under Kasturi Rangācārya. She wrote Ramāyanacampū in 6 cantos corresponding to the Kāndas of Rāmāyana.[2]

382. Jnanasundari was a dancing girl of Kumbakonam. She lived there and passed away about 1910. She was the pupil of Kuppuswami Sastri of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra and was, as she says, the author of several works; of these however only one Hālāsyacampū in 6 Sṭabakas has been traced. There are old gentlemen living in the southern districts who remember her discourses, dancing and recitals, well and with delight and R. Fisher, Bar-at-law, of Madura was her particular patron. She visited the Mysore court and there received the title KAVIRATNA. Her narration of the wedding of Mīnākṣī and Sundareśa makes a pleasant reading. In verse she is fond of alliteration :[3]

मधुरीकृतगरलत्वात् मधुराभिख्या तदादि सा नगरी ।
निजसीमस्थफणित्वात् विभाति हालास्यनामतश्चेह ॥
तस्या ललाटलीनस्वाहापतिरेव शान्तसन्तापः ।
रेजे कुङ्कुमतिलकव्याजान्नूनं बुधा हि कालविदः ॥

1. Printed Trichur.
2. Printed, Bangalore.
3. Printed Śrīvidyā Press, Kumbakonam.

383. **Kamaksi** married G. A, Muthukrishna Iyer of Koundinya-goṭra. She was born in 1902 and is the daughter of Paacāpageśārya of Ganapati Agraharam in Tanjore District. She is the Sanskrit tutor in the Girls' School in Cuddalore N. T. She has mastered Kalidasan literature and her RAMACARITA is a small poem composed with words and phrases used by Kālidāsa an epitome of Rāma's story.

384. Sister BALAMBAL lives at Madras. She is a well-known nationalist of South India. Her Āryārāmāyaṇa is likewise a summary of the story, in easy verse, much, read by beginners in Sanskrit study.

SECTION 2.

Royal Poets.

385. The early vedic literature has an instance of a royal bard Viśvāmiṭra. The epic literature describes kings as highly learned and it is not unlikely that many of these patrons of poets were themselves poets. Vikramādiṭya is mentioned as a poet and some of his verses are quoted in the anthologies, though the identification of Vikramādiṭya is impossible. Samudragupta is called a Kavirāja in the inscriptions. Dynasties of kings of several parts of India had royal poets, so far as it is known, from about the 6th century B.C. Kings whose works are now extant have been mentioned elsewhere in the several chapters of this book. The anthologies quote verses ascribed by name to royal authors. Of these a few are now known to history.

386. **Dharmasoka** was the third in ascent from Kaniska of the first Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa says that this king freed himself from sins by embracing Buddha's religion and built the city of Śrīnagarī with ninety six lakhs of houses resplvndent with wealth.[1]

स षण्णवत्या गेहानां लक्षैर्लक्ष्मीसमुज्ज्वलैः ।
गरीयसीं पुरीं श्रीमांश्चक्रे श्रीनगरीं नृपैः ॥

Raj. I. 104,

Dharmāśoka appears to have been a poet and his verse is enchanting.

For instance:

अहमहमिकाबद्धोत्साहं रतोत्सवशंसिनि
प्रसरति मुहुः प्रौढस्त्रीणां कथामृतदुर्दिने ।
कलितपुलका सद्यः स्तोकोद्गतस्तनकोरका
वलयति शनैर्बाला वक्षस्थले तरलां दृशम् ॥

Śaduk. II. i-5.

1. *Raj*. I. 101, *et seq*.

387. Gonanda, the poet, was one of the three early Kings of of Kashmir, who lived according to Kalhaṇa before 240 B.C. Here is a humorous verse :

सखि कलितः स्खलितो......सौ नैव प्रणाममात्रेण ।
चिरमनुभवतु भवत्या वाहुलताबन्धनं धूर्तः ॥

Kav. 385.

388. Gopaditya was the son of Akṣa. He founded several temples and agraharams. He ruled over Kashmir for 60 years in the 5th century B.C. Sunanḍa, the fourth ancestor of Gopāḍiṭya wrote a work on erotics,[1] and Gopāḍiṭya himself appears to illustrate it:

अद्य द्यूतजिताधरग्रहविधावीशोऽसि तत्खण्डना-
दाधिक्ये वद को भवानिति मृषाकोपाञ्चितभ्रूलतम् ।
सद्यस्स्विन्नकरात्तकुन्तलकरायत्तीकृतस्यास्य मे
मुग्धाक्षी प्रतिकृत्य तत्कृतवती द्यूतेऽपि यन्नार्जितम् ॥

Subh. 2110.

389. Ranaditya Tunjina was the son of Yuḍhisthira and came to the throne after his brother Narenḍrāḍiṭya.[2] He ruled over Kashmir somewhere before 522 A. D. He takes a simile from an umbrella thus :

यद्यप्युन्नतवंशचारुवसुधाधामाभिरामं वपुः
संप्राप्तोऽतिशयस्वभावसुभगच्छायस्सतां तापहृत् ।
तत्राप्येष विसंस्थुलस्थितिरहो लक्ष्मीं निजात्मोचितां
प्रायश्चक्रिकया विना न लभते पश्यातपत्रं यथा ॥

Subh. 3075.

390. Samudragupta is traised by Harisena, where the king is described as a prince of poets : "His is the poetic style which is worthy of study and his is the poetic verse which multiplies the spiritual treasures of poets."[3]

391. Muktapida (Laliṭāḍiṭya) was the son of Ḍurlabhavarḍhana of Karkota dynasty of Kashmir. He ruled in 699-735 A.D. Sakṭiswaini was his minister. He wrote didactic poetry :[4]

i. वसन्त्यरण्येषु चरन्ति दूर्वां पिबन्ति तोयान्यपरिग्रहाणि ।
तथापि वध्या हरिणा नराणां को लोकमाराधयितुं समर्थः ॥

Sarng.

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1. *Raj.* I. 336-346. See under Kalhaṇa *supra.*
2. *Raj.* III. 379 *et. seq.*
3. See *para* 11 *supra*: *IA.* XLII. 172, 188, 230, 243; *JRAS*, (1897), 20,
4. *Raj.* VI. 126 *et. seq*; Vaidya, *MI*, 202; S. P. Pandit, *Int.* to Gaudavaho, lxxx gives date 645–732 ; M. Duff gives 726-760 A,D. But Cunningham gives date 594 A.D.

ii. त्यक्तं जन्मवनं तृणाङ्कुरवती मातेव मुक्ता स्थली
विस्रम्भस्थितिहेतवो न गणिता बन्धूपमाः पादपाः ।
बालापत्यवियोगदुःखविधुरा नापेक्षिता सा मृगी
मार्गान्तः पदवीं तथाप्यकरुणा व्याधा न मुञ्चन्त्यमी ॥[1]

Subh. 954.

iii. छित्वा पाशमपास्य कूटरचनां भङ्क्त्वा बलाद्वागुरां
पर्यस्ताग्निशिखाकलापजटिलान्निर्गत्य दूरं वनात् ।
व्याधानां शरगोचरादपि जवेनोत्प्लुत्य धावन्मृगः
कूपान्तः पतितः करोति विधुरे किं वा विधौ पौरुषम् ॥

Subh. 655.

392. Yasovarman, King of Kanouj, was the patron of Bhavabūṭi and Vākpaṭi. He was defeated by Laliṭādiṭya Mukṭāpīda. Yaśovarman's exploits are described in Vākpaṭi's Gaudavaho. So says Kalhaṇa:

कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥

Raj. IV. 144.

Yaśovarman's play Rāmābhyudaya is mentioned by Ḍhanika to illustrate *chalana* and quoted by Abhinavagupṭa.[2]

He compares himself with *Asoka* thus:

रक्तस्त्वं नवपल्लवैरहमपि श्लाघ्यैः प्रियाया गुणै-
स्त्वामायान्ति शिलीमुखास्स्मरधनुर्मुक्तास्सखे मामपि ।
कान्तापादतलाहतिस्तव मुदे तद्वन्ममाप्यावयोः
सर्वं तुल्यमशोक केवलमहं धात्रा सशोकः कृतः ॥

Subh. 1364.

393. Jayapida was son of Vajrādiṭya and succeeded his brother Sangrāmāpīda. He ruled over Kashmir in 751-782 A.D.[3] Kalhaṇa calls him a paṇḍiṭa:

क्षीराभिधाच्छब्दविद्योपाध्यायात्सम्भृतश्रुतः ।
बुधैस्सह ययौ वृद्धिं स जयपीडपण्डितः ॥
तावत्पण्डितशब्दोऽभूत् राजशब्दादपि प्रथा ॥

1. Compare Mentha's verse quoted *para* 35 *supra*.
2. See Levi, II. 9; Keith, *SD*, 220-4; Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 75, XXXVI, 521; *CC*, I. 174 and *JBRAS*, XVI. 177; *BR*, (1897) xli. Peterson, *Subh.* 95. see *JOR*, III. 267, (for extracts). For another Yaśovarman of Paramāra dynasty, see under Bhoja *post*.
3. M. Duff gives dates 779-813 A.D.

In his court flourished Uḍbhata, Kṣīraswāmi, Manoraṭha and other poets. So says Kalhaṇa :[1]

विद्वान् दीनारलक्षेण प्रत्यहं कृतवेतनः ।
भट्टोऽभूदुद्भटस्तस्य भूमिभर्तुस्सभापतिः ॥

स दामोदरगुप्ताख्यं कुट्टिनीमतकारिणम् ।
कविं कविं बलिरिव धुर्यं धीसचिवं व्यधात् ॥

मनोरथश्शङ्खदत्तश्चटकस्सन्धिमांस्तथा ।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥

His description of nature, says Kalhaṇa, was even in his times oft remembered :[2]

अवस्थावेदिकास्तत्र प्रथिता पृथिवीभुजा ।
आर्द्रान्तःकरणैश्श्लोकास्स्मर्यन्तेऽद्यापि सूरिभिः ॥

For instance :

पुरो रेवा पारे गिरिरतिदुरारोहशिखरः
सरस्सव्ये वामे दवदहनदाहव्यतिकरः ।

धनुष्पाणिः पश्चाच्छबरहतको धावतितरां
न यातुं न स्थातुं हरिणशिशुरेष प्रभवति ॥

Subh. 661.

394. Avantivarman, the first of Uṭpala dynasty, ruled over Kashmir in 855-884 A.D. In his court flourished Mukṭākaṇa, Śivaswāmin, Ananḍavarḍhana and Raṭnākara.[3] His similes are often drawn from nature :

असारो निर्गुणो वक्रश्चित्ररूपतयान्वितः ।
अवाप न चिराद्भ्रंशं शक्रचापः खलो यथा ॥

Subh. 1802.

दुस्सहसन्तापभयात्सम्प्रति मध्यस्थिते दिवसनाथे ।
छायामिव वाञ्छन्ती छायापि गता तरुतलानि ॥

Subh. 1693.

1. *Raj*, IV. 402, *et seq*. IV. 489-497, 548.
2. See also *BKR*, 65, 73 ; *PR*, I. 65. II 23.
3. *Raj*, V. 1—127. See para 56 *supra*.

395. Vakptiraja II,[1] also known as Munja, Uṭpalarāja, Priṭhvivallabha, Srivallabha,[2] was a poet and patron of poets. He was the son of Siyaka. He ruled at Dhāra in Marwar in 974-995 (?) A.D. He was defeated and executed by the Calukya king Tailapa II.[3]

Munja is praised by Śambhu, Halāyuḍha and Kavirāja. His treatment of Bhoja, his nephew, is the theme of the works entitled Bhojacariṭra.[4] Ḍhananjaya and Paḍmaguptạ flourished in his court and Kṣmenḍra instances his verses as of particular merit.[5] Remnants of his poetry now extant eminently attest the appreciation.

For instance :

देवि त्वं कुपिता त्वमेव कुपिता कोऽन्यः पृथिव्यां गुरुः
माता त्वं जगतां त्वमेव जगतां माता न विज्ञोऽपरः ।
देवि त्वं परिहासकेलिकलहेऽनन्तां त्वमेवेत्यथ
ज्ञातानन्तपदो नमञ्जलधिजां शौरिश्चिरं पातु वः ॥

Subh. 20.

कुतस्त्वमनु कं स्वतः स्वमिति किं न यत्कस्यचित्
किमिच्छसि पदत्रयं ननु भुवा किमित्यल्पया ।
द्विजस्य शमिनो मम त्रिभुवनं तदित्याशयो
हरेर्जयति निभृतः प्रकटितश्च वक्रोक्तिभिः ॥

Saduk. 43-2.

जयति समदलेखोच्छृङ्खलप्रेमरामाललितसुरतलीलादैवतं पुष्पचापः ।
त्रिभुवनजयसिद्धौ यस्य शृङ्गारमूर्तेरुपकरणमपूर्वं माल्यमिन्दुर्मधूनि ॥

Saduk. 93-3.

396. Kalasa was the son of Ananṭarāja and father of Harṣa. He ruled over Kashmir about 1080-1088 A.D.[6] Bilhaṇa's description of him as a man of letters is delighiful :

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1. Vākpaṭi, author of Gaudavaho, was a different author.
2. *IA*, VI. 48, XIV. 159 . *EI*, V. vi, I. 227, IX. 71. See under Paḍmaguptạ. *para* 61 *supra*. For an account of Munja, see Meruṭunga's Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi (I. xi.) and Introduction to Dasarupa (*CUS*,) by G. C. O. Haas.
3. *IA*, XII. 270 ; XVI. 18 ; XXI. 167 ; *EI*, II. 212.
4. See under Bhoja *post*.
5. Suvṛṭṭaṭilaka, ii, 6 ; Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa p. 125 ; Aucityavicāracarcā, p. 16, (Kavyamala Edn,).
6. *Raj*. VII. 231, *et. seq*.

यस्योदारां परिकलयतश्शस्त्रशास्त्रप्रतिष्ठां
द्वे प्रेयस्यौ जगति विदिते श्रीश्च वाग्देवता च ।
एका भ्रेजे भुजमसिनवाम्भोजलक्ष्मीलातपत्रा
श्वेतच्छत्रायितसितयशश्चन्द्रिकान्या मुखेन्दुम् ॥

Vikrama.—XVIII. 56.

Equally worthy is Kalhaṇa's description :

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ ।
सूरी तस्मिन् क्षणे तुल्यं द्वावास्तां कविबान्धवौ ॥

Raj. VII. 259.

Kṣemendra quotes a verse as an instance of prosodial merit :

अन्नतां जलमधीरलोचना लोचनप्रतिशरीरशारितम् ।
आत्तमात्तमपि कान्तमैक्षितुं कातरा शफरशङ्किनी जहौ ॥

The following verses, besides others found in the anthologes suggest that Kalasa must have written plays and poems from which they have been culled for quotation :

दैत्यारिपञ्जरविदारणलब्धरन्ध्ररक्ताम्बुनिर्झरसरिद्घनजातपङ्काः ।
कालेन्दुकोटिकुटिलाश्शुकचञ्चुभासो रक्षन्तु सिंहवपुषो नखरा हरेर्वः ॥

आदित्याः किं दशैते प्रलयभयकृतस्वीकृताकाशदेशाः
किं वोल्कामण्डलानि त्रिभुवनदहनायोद्यतानीति भीतैः ।
पायासुर्नारसिंहं वपुरमरगणैर्बिभ्रतश्शार्ङ्गपाणेः
दृष्ट्वा दृप्तासुरोरस्तलदरणगलद्रक्तरक्ता नखा वः ॥

Subh. 52, 53.

दयिताबाहुपाशस्य कुतोऽयमपरो विधिः ।
जीवयत्यर्पितः कण्ठे मारयत्यपवर्जितः ॥

Subh. 15 29.

397. Arjunavarman, son of Subhatavarman, was a successor of King Munja. He ruled in Malva about Sam. 1272 (1216 A.D.), In his commentary on Amaruka,[1] he quotes a verse of "his ancestor Munjadeva." There he says about himself :

क्षिप्तांशुनस्सुभटवर्मनेन्द्रसूनुः
वीरव्रती जगति भोजकुलप्रदीपः ।

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1. See para 308 *supra.* In an inscription it is said (*JAOS*, VII. 24).

द्वेवभूयं गते तस्मिन्नन्दनोऽर्जुनभूपतिः ।
दोष्णा धत्तेऽधुना धात्रीवलयं वलयं यथा ॥
बाललीलाहवे यस्य जयसिंहे पलायिते ।
दिक्पालहासव्याजेन यशो दिक्षु विजृम्भितम् ॥

Peterson, *Subh*, 6,

Jalhaṇa quotes a verse of his about Amaruka's poetry :

अमरुककवित्वडमरुकनादेन विनिह्नुता न सञ्चरति ।
शृङ्गारभणितिरन्या धन्यानां श्रवणविवरेषु ॥

Here is another verse :

नीतोऽस्मि येन महतीं सलिलेन वृद्धिं संयोजितश्च सततं गुरुणा फलेन ।
तच्छोष्यते दिनकृतेत्यतिचिन्तयेव शोकानतं कलमशालिवनं विपाण्डु ॥

Subh. 1822.

398. **Lakṣmaṇasena** was the Vaidya King of Bengal who ruled at Lakṣaṇāvatī. His era began 1119-1120 A.D. Śrīdharadāsa composed his anthology in during his reign.[1] In his court flourished Jayadeva, Umāpati, Govardhana and Śaraṇa.[2] His description of Kṛṣṇa is alluring.

तिर्यक्कन्धरमंसदेशमिलितश्रोत्रावतंसं स्फुरद्-
बर्होत्तंसितकेशपाशमनृजुभ्रूवल्लरीविभ्रमम् ।
गुञ्जद्वेणुनिवेशिताधरपुटं साकूतराधानन-
न्यस्तामीलितदृष्टि गोपवपुषो विष्णोर्मुखं पातु वः ॥

Saduk. 57-2,

नेपथ्यं भूतभर्तुस्त्रिदशपरिषदां जीवनं यामिनीना-
मुत्तंसः पांसुलानां कुलरिपुरमृतस्रोतसामादिशैलः ।
आतङ्कः पङ्कजानां जयति रतिकलाकेतनं मीनकेतोः
सिन्धूनामेकबन्धुः कुसुमसमुदयानन्दकन्दोऽयमिन्दुः ॥

Saduk. 87-1.

399. **Anandagajapati**, Zamindar of Vizianagaram (1850-1897 A.D.), was a great poet. Many stray verses are now repeated. For instance :

प्राचां रीतिः पौनरुक्त्यप्रदात्री नव्या शिष्याचार्यमाधुर्यधुर्या ।
तस्मादस्तु क्षान्तिशीलाय तस्त्वं स्वसंबोध्यं स्तोत्रमन्यापदेशः ॥

1, See para 291 *supra.*

2. See paras 291, 302-6 *supra.*

400. The following royal poets are also quoted in the anthologies: Acitṭadeva, Anantadeva,[1] Anurāgadeva, Amṛtadeva, Arthavarman, Bhramaradeva, Bhāskarasena, Dhanadadeva, Kumāradatta, Karṇāṭadeva, Nānyadeva,[2] Prabhākaradeva, Rūpadeva, Vasantadeva, Vijayapāla, Vinayadeva,[3] Viṣamāditya, Vikramāditya, Vikrantivarman, Śankaradeva, Suravarman, Hariharadeva, Harivarman, Vāsudeva, Puruṣottamadeva,[4] Harṣapāladeva, Keśavasena, Śankaradeva, Pravarasena,[5] Kusumadeva.[6]

SECTION 3.

Unnamed Poets.

401. The anthologies ascribe verses to poets whose real names are not known, but who have acquired new names such as Sabdārṇava or Lalitānugraha as if they were titles conferred on them from attractive ideas exhibited in their compositions. So were other poets known by phrases Dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa, Ghantā-Māgha, Chatra-Bhāravi and the like. In the case of the following poets, for instance, it is only the titular name or sobriquet and stray verses that have come down to us:

DAGDHAMADANA:

यदि प्रियावियोगेऽपि रुद्यते दीनदीनकम् ।
तदिदं दग्धमरणमुपयोगं क्व यास्यति ॥

Subh. 1255,

DARSANIYA:

सखि विवृणुते सन्तापस्ते तनुस्तनुतां गता कठिनहृदये धैर्यक्षेपाद्रतिर्गलितक्रमा ।
कथय विषमान्तर्दाहव्यथां सहते न तां मदनदहनज्वालावल्लीविलीढमिदं मनः ॥

Subh. 1172.

CANDRODAYA:

प्रसीद गतिरुज्झयतां व्रजतु राजहंसी सुखं स्मितं च परिमुच्यतां स्फुरतु कुन्दपुष्पप्रभा ।
निमीलय विलोचने भवतु हारि कर्णोत्पलं करस्थगितमाननं कुरु विभातु चन्द्रोदयः ॥

Subh. 2035.

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1. There is Anantadeva Silhāra, whose grant is dated śaka 1016 (*IA*, IX. 263).
2. See chapter on Music *post*,
3. Probably the same as Vinayaprabha (page 367 *supra*). Author of Candraduta, *CC*, II. 36.
4. Probably King of Orissa whose grant is dated 1483 A.D. (*JA*, I. 355).
5. See para 32 *supra*.
6. Author of Dṛṣtāntaśataka or Dṛṣtāntakalikā, printed Haberlin, 217. *CC*, I. 26s; *Subh.* 287-207.

DHAIRYAMITRA :

दिव्यचक्षुरहं जातस्सरागेणापि चेतसा ।
इहस्थो येन पश्यामि देशान्तरगतां प्रियाम् ॥

Subh. 1208.

NIDRADARIDRA :

जाने कोपपराङ्मुखी प्रियतमा स्वप्नेऽद्य दृष्टा मया
मा मां संस्पृश पाणिनेति रुदती गन्तुं प्रवृत्ता ततः ।
नो यावत्परिरभ्य चाटुकशतैराश्वासयामि प्रियां
भ्रातस्तावदहं शठेन विधिना निद्रादरिद्रः कृतः ॥

Subh. 1362.

PRIYAVIRAHA :

पक्षावुत्क्षिपति क्षितौ निपतति क्रोडं नखैरुल्लिख-
त्युद्बाष्पेण च चक्षुषा सहचरीं ध्यायन्मुहुर्वीक्षते ।
चक्राह्वो दिवसावसानसमये तत्तत्करोत्युन्मनाः
येनालोहितमण्डलोऽपि कृपया नास्तं रविर्गच्छति ॥

Subh. 1921.

MURKHA :

नैषा वेगं मृदुतरतनुस्तावकीनं विसोढुं शक्ता मैनां चपल सुभृशं भेदयेन्दीवराक्षीम् ।
रत्यभ्यासं विदधत इव प्राणनाथस्य गत्वा कर्णोपान्ते निभृतनिभृतं नूपुरं शंसतीव ॥

Subh. 2107.

VAGVINA :

अतन्त्री वाग्वीणा स्तनयुगलमग्रीवकलसावनब्जं दृङ्नीलोत्पलदलमपत्रोरुकदली ।
अकाण्डा दोर्वल्ली वदनमकलङ्कश्शशधरः तदस्यास्तारुण्यं भुवनविपरीतं स्फुटयति ॥

Saduk. 3-2,

VIRASARSVATI :

मधुरापथिक मुरारेरुद्गेयं द्वारि वल्लवीवचनम् ।
पुनरपि यमुनासलिले कालियगरलानलो ज्वलति ॥

Saduk. 62-5.

BHERIBHRAMAKA :

रम्भोरु क्षिप लोचनार्धममितो बाणान् वृथा मन्मथः
सन्धत्तां धनुरुज्झतु क्षणमितो भ्रूवल्लिमुल्लासय ।
किंचान्तर्निहितानुरागमधुराम व्यक्तवर्णक्रमां
मुग्धे वाचमुदीरयास्तु जगतो वीणासु भेरीभ्रमः ॥

Saduk. 49-1.

CAṆDALACANDRA :

अम्भोरुहं वदनमम्बकमिन्दुकान्तः पाथोनिधिः कुसुमचापभृतो विकारः ।
प्रादुर्बभूव सुभग त्वयि दूरसंस्थे चण्डालचन्द्रधवलासु निशासु तस्याः ॥

Saduk. 36-2.

JAGHANACAPALA :

दुर्दिननिशीथपवने निस्संचारासु नगरवीथीषु ।
पत्यौ विदेशयाते परं सुखं जघनचपलायाः ॥

Kav. 518.

402. Kaṅkana may be King Kṣemagupta surnamed Kankaṇavarṣa who ruled over Kashmir in 958-968 A.D. (*Raj*. VI. 150-180). But it looks as if the poet got his name from the following verses and is a different author :

कण्ठग्रहे शिथिलतां गमिते कथञ्चित् यो मन्यते मरणमेव सुखाभ्युपायम् ।
गच्छन्स एष न बलाद्विधृतो युवाभ्यामित्युज्झितो भुजलते वलयैरिवास्याः ॥

Subh. 1015.

वीणाक्वाणलयोल्लासिलोलदङ्गुलिपल्लवः ।
भारत्याः पातु भूतानि पाणिर्लसितकङ्कणः ॥

Saduk. 71-1.

The following verse attributed to him in Śārasamuccaya, commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa, (*PR*, II, 15) is playful ;

लीलापङ्कजमादधाति रुचिरे गम्भीरनाभ्यन्तरे
कस्तूरीद्रवचर्चितं वपुरपि श्यामीकरोत्यादरात् ।
ताटङ्कं च करे करोति कुतुकाच्चक्रानुकारं तदा
लक्ष्मीः क्रीडति पीतवस्त्रकलिता स्मित्वा सखीनां पुरः ॥

CHAPTER XVII

Desavrtta

403. Vidyapati was the son of Gaṇapaṭi and grandson of Jayadaṭṭa.[1] In L.S.[2] 291 (1410 A.D.) a copy of Kāvyaprakāśa was copied under Viḍyāpaṭi's order and in L.S. 309 (1428 A.D.) Viḍyāpaṭi himself copied Bhāgavaṭa Purāṇa.[3] There is a copper plate grant of Mahārāja Sīvasimha to Viḍyāpaṭi dated L.S. 293 (1412 A.D.).[4] His Kīrṭilaṭā, a poem in Avahiṭṭha language, mentions Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur (1401-1440 A.D.).[5] Viḍyāpaṭi lived in the first half of the 15th century A.D.[6] Viḍyāpaṭi was one of the earlier Padavali poets whose songs in the vernacular charmed the people of Northern India.[7]

His Ḍurgābhakṭiṭarangiṇī[8] is a poem of one thousand verses on the ceremony of the autumnal worship of Durgā famous in Eastern Bengal. It was written under the patronage of Ḍhīrasimha (son of Narasimha) who was the ruling king in Miṭhila in L.S. 321 (1440 A.D.)

Likhanāvalī[9] is a Sanskrit work on forms of letter-writing composed under the patronage of Purāḍiṭya, a Jagirdar in North Miṭhila. It mentions L.S. 299 (1417-8 A.D.) frequently in the letters.

Viḍyāpaṭi's name is equally known by his two gazetteers *in prose*, Bhūparikrama and Puruṣaparīkṣā. Bhūparikrama covers Balarāma's journey round the earth, describing 56 countries. Passing along the banks of the Sarasvaṭī, the poet mentions various historical events, down to his own times, including the battle of Hammīra with Allaudin. Puruṣaparīkṣa contains moral or political tales for the instruction of children. It is on the plan or Pancaṭanṭra, but the characters

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1. Sir G.A. Grierson gives a genealogy in *Maithil Chrestomathys*, 39. A similar list was published by Rajkṛṣna Mukhopāḍhyāya in *Bangadarsan* a few years ago. See Basantkumar Chatterjee, *Padavali Literature* [*Jl. Dept. of Letters.* Calcutta University, XVI. 23 34] which gives a complete account of Viḍyāpaṭi.
2. L.S. is Lakṣmaṇasena Era which commenced in 1119 A.D.
3. India Govt. Ms. fol. 117 a. See B. Chatterjee 1. c. 36.
4. B. Chatterjee, l.c. 38, quoting from Bangiya Sah. Part. Patrika, where V. Rāmaṭirṭha gave the text.
5. Elphinstone's *History of India*, (748-9)
6. Nagendranath Gupta (*Introduction*) thinks that Viḍyāpaṭi died in 1448 A.D.
7. *l. c.* 323. There is another work of this name by Māḍhava (*CC*, I. 256)).
8. *CSC* (1903), 445; *CSC* (1896), No. 29.

are men, some of whom are historical. It was written under the orders of Śivasimha of Mithila, but the king died before the work was finished.

404. Pattubhatta or Poṭaryārya of Vadhūlagoṭra was born in the village of Kākamrānipura near Masulipatam. His Prasangaratnāvali written in Śāka 1338 (1466 A.D.) is a collection of miscellaneous descriptions and comprises stanzas on moral and social duties, rules for particular ceremonies and personal conduct and sketches of individual biography and character. The 77th chapter gives short accounts of princes from the great Vikramāditya to Simhabhūpati, Raja of Pittāpur. Proverbial expressions are abundant.[1]

405. Jaganmohana wrote Deśavalīvivṛti at the request of king Baijala of Chohan race who died in Saka 1570 (1648 A.D.)[2] It describes the 56 kingdoms of India with the names of rulers, ancient and modern, and contains much historical information.[3]

406. Mahesa Thakkura wrote Ākbarnāma or Sarvadesavṛttāntasangraha in prose and he was presented by Emperor Akbar with the Darbhānga Raj.[4]

407. Ramakavi wrote Pāndavadigvijaya[5] in the court of Rāja of Śekharabhūmi in the 18th century A.D. It describes the conquest of India by Pāndavas. It is very voluminous, probably bigger than Mahābhārata. "Like Deśāvalivivriti, it is rather a geographical work describing the most noted places in India with historical or Paurāṇika events associated with them. The chief interest of the book consists in the accounts which it gives of the manners, customs, laws, religions, institutions and other social particulars of different parts of India before and after the Mahomedan conquest. The stories of Vikramāditya, Śālivāhana, Bhartṛhari, Śankarācārya, Prabhākara Bhatta, Jumar Nandi, Jayacandra (king of Kambhoja), Pratāparudra (ruler of Orissa), Surabhatta, etc., find a place in it. The authorities quoted are Bhavisya Purāṇa, Skanda Purāṇa, Rudravijaya, Viśvaguṇādarsa, Mahābhojaprabandha, Śakāvali etc.,"

1. *TC*, III, 8771. *DC*, XX. 8065, where contents are given.
2. *CC*, I. 840; Big. 708; P. R. III. 895. See B. Chatterjee, *l.c.*, 25.
3. *CSC* (1903), 48–5. It contains an interesting account of Kalyāṇavarman killed at Puri in Kali 4600. Haraprasad Sastri (*JBORS*, III. 14) mentions Vikramasāgara of Jaganmohana.
4. See para 96 *supra*; All. Un. Studies. Vol. V. *Gazetteer Literature of India*.
5. *CSC*, (1896) No. 72.

408. Cambhucandra Nrpati wrote Vikramabhāraṭa at the beginning of the 19th century, incorporating various stories about Vikramaḍiṭya and from Purāṇas.[1]

409. Padmanandi wrote Jambūḍvīpapragnapṭi in 13 chapters, describing the various divisions of Jambūḍvīpa and their measurements according to Jaina Siḍḍhānṭa.[2]

Jambūḍvīpavarṇana is a geography with maps and drawings according to Jain authorities. The author's name is not known.[3]

410. Venkatakavisarvabhuma was the son of Jogibhukṭa and Pārvaṭī. He appears to have lived in Goḍāvari Ḍistrict about the end of 18th century. He says he was a master of all arts and sciences and as indicative of his wide learning, he planned his PRAPAÑCADARPANA.[4] It is a huge encyclopaedia in three parts, Ḍharmakhanda, Arṭhakhanda and Kāmakhanda and under these heads it embraces various topics on Manṭras, Purāṇas, astrology etc., poetry and poetics etc. Often he makes quotations, but there is much there that is his own composition. References to authors and works seem to be so incorrect and unknown if not queer, that we are led to doubt their authenticity.[5]

411. Ramakrsna Sastri's Bhuvanapraḍīpikā written at Hassan in 1808 under the patronage of Krisna Raja Odeyar III of Mysore is an encyclopædia,[6] "on a variety of subjects such as creation. time, the Manvadis, geography, astronomy, history of Southern India and of Mysore with many details about his patron Krishna Raja Odeyar III, the Puranas, duties of the four castes and religious orders, Yoga and Vedanta. Among the Jaina kings of Tundira-desa are named Satyandhara, his son Jivandhara, his son Yasodhara, his son Gunapala, his son Yasahpala, his son Prajapala, his son Lokapala, his descendant Himasitala who ruled from Kali 1125 Pingala and in whose reign Akalanka vanquished the Bauddhas; then followed Harivikrama, Simhavikrama, Satyaratha, Nyayaratha and Dharmaratha whose son

1. *CC*, I. 569.
2. *Cat. C. P.*, No. 7217.
3. ,, No. 728.
4. *TC*, III, 4094; See Kuppuswami Sastri's *Rep.* (1916-19) 36.
5. For instance, he mentions Prasannarāghava of Murāri, Candragupta's Sṛṅgā- Śṛṅgāracandrika of Sāhasāṅka, rasāra and Rasasāgara, Janakipariṇaya of Gopāla, Vasanṭakusumākara, Mayura's Vasanṭanāṭaka, Bilhaṇa's Bhojacariṭa, Dandin's Goṇiputra's Smaracandrikā, Allasani Peddanna's Rasamanjarī and Saṭyāpariṇaya etc.
6. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1918), 67.

Chamundaraya set up Gommata, 49 cubits high at Sravana Belgola in Kali 600 Vibhava. In Saka 778 Dhatu, Vinayaditya Ballala built Yadavapuri. In Saka 1095 Khara kings of the lunar race, known as Narapatis, built Vijayanagara. In Saka 1258 Dhatu, Madhavaryamantri built Vidyanagara and enthroned Bukka. On becoming a sanyasi, he attained celebrity as Vidyaranya-munindra. Here we have a clear statement of the identity of Madhavacharya with Vidyaranya."

BOOK IV

KATHANAKA
AND
GADYAKAVYA

CHAPTER XVIII

Kathanaka

(Fables and Fairy Tales)

SECTION 1.

412. Closely allied to Gāḍya Kāvya in the style of prose and to Nīti Kāvya in import are the Fables. They are generally called Kathā. But to distinguish these tales from the species of Romance called technically Kathā, I have used the term Kathānaka. In these fables and fairly tales, "the abundant introduction of ethical reflection and popular philosophy is characterstic; the apologue with its moral is peculiary subject to this method of treatment."[1]

"The controversy that was carried on towards the end of the last century between the advocates of the Eastern and the Northern origin of European fiction had reference especially to a particular class of creations—to those of chivalric romance—to the marvellous exploits magnified out of the traditional achievements wrought by the companion Knights of the Round Table or the Paladins of France. With all confidence, a different class of fiction that, at a later age, found accession into European literature can be traced back to oriental sources. Sir William Jones, in his discourse on the Hindus, observes that they are said to have laid claim to three inventions—the game of chess, the decimal scale of notation and the mode of instructing by apologues. The universal prevalence among the Hindus of the doctrine of metempsychosis was calculated to recommend to their belief the notion that beasts and birds could reason and converse and consequently the plan of such dialogues originated with them. Despite the questionability of the evidence in favour of the originality of the Hindus in the art of instruction by apologues, the purposes to which the Hindus directed it are peculiarly their own. Fable is with them practical ethics—the science of *niti* or polity. Each fable is calculated to illustrate some reflection on worldly vicissitudes or some precept for human conduct."

The oldest Aryan fables, dating from centuries before Christ, have, according to Dr. Rhys Davids, travelled to different parts of Europe and have assumed various modern shapes. Otto Keller maintains the

1. Macdonell, *SL*. 368.

Indian origin of fables common to India and Greece and suggests an ancient Assyrian channel of communication. The substantial link of connection with the west is the literature of the beast-fable. The *Mahavaipulya* sutras of the Buddhistic literature appear to contain the earliest Sanskrit legends in prose styled *Ityuktha* and *Vyakarana* (corresponding to the Itihasa-purāṇas in the Brahmanas) or legends in the form of parables styled *avadana* exhibiting many elements of the later animal fables and further tales of presages and wonders *adbhuta-dharma* and lastly special instruction in and discussion of definite topics, denominated *upadesa* and *nidana*. All these tales, partly mythical, partly didactic and partly allegorical, reappear in a more archaic dress in the Brahmanas in the *purana*. The poetry does not point to any close similarity with the language of Kalidasa's. The prose passages are devoid of all lucidity or simplicity. The verse and the Aranyakas as well as in the prose legends interspersed in the Mahabharata which, in the general tenor of their language, present many salient points of similarity with the style of the Buddhistic sutras. Most conspicuous among these are the *Jataka* tales, which treat of the prior births of Buddha and the Bodhisattwas."

In the Ṛk Veḍa are the stories of Man and the Fish, Inḍra's metamorphosis into birds Markata and Kapinjala. In the Chānḍogyopaniṣaḍ " we have the allegory or satire of the dogs which search out a leader to howl food for them, the talk of the two flamingoes whose remarks call attention to Raivaka and the instruction of the young Saṭyakā finding a bull, then by a flamingo, then by an aquatic bird." Fables were directly known to Paṭanjali.[1]

Early Sūṭra works of Jainas, contain impressive tales illustrative of their ethics and philosophy. Saṣtitanṭra consisted of stories explanatory of the subtleties of Sānkhya philosophy.

SECTION 2.

Bṛhatkatha

413. The earliest regular collection of Fables was Bṛhaṭkaṭhā of Guṇādhya.[2] But to us it is only the name that has survived. Guṇādhya has almost become mythical. He was placed in the same pedestal as Vālmīki and Vyāsa. Guṇādhya was inspired and was the third of the

1. See *ISt*, XIII. 486; Weber, *IL*, 211; Keith, *SL*, 242.

2. See S. Oldenberg's *Materials for the study of Indian Tales called* Brhatkatha, *Tr. of Russ. Or. Society*, 1888.

Epic Triad. Govardhana salutes them all in a strain and compares their poetry to a river with three branches. He feels that Guṇādhya was Vyāsa incarnate. Kālidāsa mentions old men of Ujjain well-versed with the stories of Udayana.[1] Bāṇa compares Bṛhatkathā with Haralīlā.[2] Subandhu names it in a simile.[3] Daṇḍin instances it as a class of Kathā.[4] Daśarūpa names Bṛhatkathā and Dhanika calls it the source of Mudrārākhsasa and quotes two verses as 'Bṛhatkathāyām.'

Nepālamāhātmya draws a parallel between Valmiki and Gunādhya. "Both come to Nepal, Valmīki because Narada, instructed by the gods, points out to him, to the north of the hill of Changu-Narayan, the confluent of the two branches of the Virabhadra as the 'sacred spot worthy to be the cradle of a poem as pure' as the *Ramayana*; Gunadhya, because Civa has imposed upon the demi-god of whom he, Gunadhya, is the human incarnation, as condition of his deliverance, after the composition of the *Brhatkatha*, the erection of a *lingam* on a sacred spot difficult of access; both before leaving Nepal, Valmiki, to return to his hermitage, and Gunadhya to heaven, erect commemorative *lingams*, the *Valmikicvara* and the *Bhrngicvara*.[5]

414. In copper plates discovered at Gummāreddipura, Kolar Dt.' dated 40th year of King Dūrvinīta (early part of the 6th century A.D.[6]) it is said: शब्दावतारकारेण देवभारतीनिबद्धबृहत्कथेन किरातार्जुनीये पञ्चदशसर्गटीकाकारेण दुर्विनीतनामधेयेन ... ...

A Cambodian inscription of the 9th centry A.D. mentions Bṛhatkathā: "That inscription is one of the five steles of the Thnal Baray, consecrated to the eulogy of King Yacovarman (Bergaigne Insc. sanscrites de Camp et due Cambodge, 2e fasc. Nos. LVI-LX):

पारदस्स्थिरकल्याणो गुणाढ्यः प्राकृतप्रियः ।
अनीतियों विशालाक्षश्शूरोन्यक्कृतभीमकः ॥ *LVIII. C, 15.*

'A Paradah out of which the Kalyana subsists (willing to help but always happy) Gunadhya who did not like the Prakrit (rich in virtue

1. *Megha*, I.
2. समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना ।
   हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥ *Harṣacaritra*, Int.
3. बृहत्कथालम्बैरिव सालभञ्जिकानिवहैः । *Vasav.*
4. Kāvyādarśā, I. 38.
5. Lacote, *Essays*, 14. S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, I. 328, 387.
6. See *Mys Arch. Rep.* (1912), 65-9; *IA*, XLII. 204; *JRAS*, (1913) 389.

but not loving harshness), Vicalaksa, a stranger to the *niti* (with big eyes but without the torments of exile). He was Cura having humbled Bhimaka.'

Mr. Barth has pointed out (l.c. p. 313) another allusion.

गुणान्वितस्तिष्ठतु दूषितोऽपि स्थानार्पितो येन पुनर्गुणाढ्यः ।
गदोऽप्यलं चारु विभूषणाय हरप्रयुक्तः किमुतामृतांशुः ॥

LIX. B, 26.

'It matters not if a virtuous man is even vilified; because he was really a virtuous man. Gunadhya was reinstated in his place; even the poison that is closely united with Civa serves sufficiently as a graceful ornament; what to say of the moon?'

I still suspect a third allusion:

यस्य कीर्तेर्गुणाढ्याया बृहत्कथनरयादिव ।
पतिताभूषमुद्रादीन् क्षमागाम्भीर्यधैर्यदिक् ॥

LVIII, C, 9.

415. It is possible therefore that the work was extant so late as the 12th century; it is a wonder that no trace of it is visible anywhere. Somadeva and Kṣemendra have made translations and epitomes in Sanskrit. Kathāsaritsāgara and Bṛhatkathāmanjarī, and these represent the original Paisachi text to a great degree though these poems read by themselves disclose an originality of poetic narration. These two poems are from Kāṣmir. Later has been discovered Budhasvāmin's Brhatkathā-Ślokasangraha representing the version of Bṛhatkathā current in Nepal. Vāmanabhatta's Brhatkathāmanjarī is a South Indian production, but only the 24th Betala is available there.

416. The stories forming Bṛhatkathā had a divine origin. There are two versions of it, Kāṣmerian and Nepalese. Somadeva thus recounts the story "Siva once narrated to Parvati the marvellous history of the seven Vidyadhara Cakravartins. He was overheard by one of his attendants, Pushpadanta, who communicated it to his wife Jaya, a servant of Parvati. The latter again spread it amongst her fellows and the indiscretion of Pushpadanta soon became known to the divine pair. Parvati, filled with anger, then cursed Pushpadanta and condemned him, in punishment of his fault, to be born as a mortal. His brother Malyavan, who dared to intercede for him, received a like sentence. But when Parvati saw Pushpadanta's wife, her faithful attendant, overwhelmed by distress, she relented so far

as to set a term to the effects of her curse. She decreed that, when Pushpadanta, on meeting a goblin or Paisacha called Kanabhuti, in the Vindhyas, should remember the great tales and his former birth and should tell them to Kanabhuti, he should be delivered from his mortal body. Malyavan also should be allowed to return to heaven when he had heard the Vrihatkathas from Kanabhuti and had spread them on the earth. Agreeably to this order, Pushpadanta was born in Kausambi, as Vararuchi-Katyayana, and became a great grammarian and the minister of Yogananda, the last of the Nandas. After an eventful life he retired into solitude and on a pilgrimage to the temple of Parvati Vindhyavasini, he met Kanabhuti in the forest. He remembered his former life and communicated to the Pisacha the seven great tales. Having accomplished this he re-obtained his celestial nature, according to Parvati's prediction. Malyavan, also, who in his human birth had become Gunadhya of Pratishthana and had served King Satavahana as minister, came accompanied by his two pupils Gunadeva and Nandideva, to the dwelling place of Kanabhuti. He received from him the seven stories in the language of the Pisachas and wrote them down in 100,000 Slokas each, with his own blood. By the advice of his pupils, he sent the whole to king Satavahana, hoping that the king being a man of taste might preserve and spread them. But that monarch rejected with disgust a work that was written in the language of the goblins and with blood. On receiving this news Gunadhya burnt six of his stories; the seventh was preserved with difficulty through the entreaties of his pupils. King Satavahana, who accidentally learned that the recitation of the remaining book charmed even the beasts of the forest, repented of his former conduct, repaired to Gunadhya's habitation and obtained the manuscript of the remaining story. He studied it with the help of Gunadeva and Mandideva, and wrote the introduction, detailing its origin, likewise in the language of the Pisachas. The book then became one of the stories that are famed in the three worlds.[1]

NEPALAMAHATMYA (Chap. 27-29) has a different story:[2]

"It begins like the Cashmerian legend with a conversation between Parvati and Siva. The Goddess asks the God for a story that has not been told before and while Siva relates it, all the doors being closed, the Gana Bhrngin, under the form of a bee, enters through the key-hole, overhears Siva's tale and repeats it to his wife

1. F. Lacote, *Essays*, 80 81.
2. Levi, *The Nepal*, I. 203-4.

Vijaya. Some other day Parvati starts relating the tale to her maids, but Vijaya knows it already. 'Who is guilty of that indiscretion?' Civa, through the intensity of his meditation, discovers the culprit, sends for and curses him. Bhrngin asks the God to have pity; the God complies and forgives him under the following conditions; he must become a man, learned, virtuous and skilful; he must write down in 900,000 verses, full of poetical feeling, the story he had overheard; he must erect a *linga* in a place difficult of access; and then only, will he be delivered from human condition and allowed to reascend the Kailasa. In this preamble we find again the notion of the originality of the *Brhatkatha* and besides, a precise detail on the nature of that poem; it is to be a love poem, the purpose of which is to produce a dramatic feeling; it must be *rasasamanvitah*. But one can see that the Nepalese version differs from the other in two particulars; the gana who is cursed is called Bhrngin and there is only one. Bhrngin is born at Mathura under the name of Gunadhya. Having become an orphan he sets out for Ujjayini, where King Madana, the consort of the learned Lilavati, daughter of the king of Gauda, is ruling. The Pandit Carvavarman, who is in the king's service, appreciates the talents of Gunadhya and obtains for him a place of pandit at the Court. Then comes the story of the king's mistake on the word *modaka*. Gunadhya asks for twelve years to teach him grammar, Carvavarman only two. There is a bet as in the other version of the legend. Carvavarman wins it, thanks to the revelation of the grammar Kalapa (Katantra). Gunadhya is condemned to silence; he goes to live as an ascetic in a hermitage. The ascetic Pulastya passing by, advises him to write his tales in the Paicaci language; he will afterwards go to Nepal, erect a *linga* in honour of *Civa* and thus obtain deliverance from the curse which has made him a man. Gunadhya writes his poem with minerals on the leaves of trees; as he composes he recites the verses aloud; the wild animals surround him to listen to him and they forget to eat; the game served at the royal table is so lean that the king complains; the cooks blame the hunters; these in exploring the woods, meet Gunadhya surrounded by the attentive animals; they themselves, falling under the spell, remain to listen. There is no longer any game for the king's dinner; enraged, he goes to see what has become of the hunters, sees Gunadhya and presses him to come again to Court; Gunadhya refuses, 'Sire, I have composed 900,000 delightful verses in Paicaci, you must have them written in Sanskrit, as for myself I will go to Nepal.' He goes to Nepal, sees

the Pacupaticvara, then setting forth for the temple of Pacupati he performs around the valley the *pradaksina* which the Nepalamahatmya describes at great length; it is the guide book of the modern pilgrim. Having returned to the temple, Gunadhya gathers all the munis who live in Nepal; establishes the Bhrngicvara and in an aerial chariot (*vimana*) reascends to the kailasa to resume his place among the Ganas. Evan at the present day, under the form of a bee, Bhrngin returns, at each phase of the moon to have a look at his linga."[1]

417. Guṇādhya was born at Pratiṣthāna on the Godāvarī. So says Kṣemendra. Somadeva mentions the city of Supratistha, capital of Pratisthāna, or at times calls it Pratiṣthāna on the banks of the Godāvari. It is the capital of the Andhra dynasty of Śātavāhanas of which Hāla or Śātavahana or Śālivāhana was an illustrious scion. According to Puraṇas Hāla was the son of Ariṣta Śatakārṇi and ruled between 2644-2649 Yudhisthara Śaka, that is, 495 to 490 B.C.[2] On an identification of Śātavāhana and Śālivāhana it has been said by modern scholars that the patron of Guṇādhya lived about 78 A.D., the date of the Śālivāhana era.[3]

418. Budhasvamin's Brhatkathaslokasangraha comes from Nepal, and this led to its being called a Nepalese version of Guṇādhya's original, a version according to some orientalists, earlier than the works of Somadeva and Kṣemendra.

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1. See Essai sur Gunadhya et la Bṛhatkatha by F. Lacote, Paris (Translated *JMy.* XII XIII). See C. H. Tawney's Review in *JRAS* (1909), 112.

2. Kṣemendra (xviii 137) calls city of Prasenajit Supratiṣṭha, and Mahābhārata (III. 8214) notes Pratisthāna as a tirtha at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges.

F. Lacote thinks that Guṇādhya was born at Mathura and lived at Ujjain or Kauśāmbi. (*Essays*, 26).

3. On Hāla, see note on para 305 *supra*.

On his Saptaśati or Kośa, Bāṇa says

अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत्सातवाहनः ।

Harṣacarita, Int. 13.

On the identity of Śātavāhana with Śālivāhana, see Wilson's *Col. Works*, III. 181 note and Seshagiri Sastri, *IA*. I. 314.

Buhler (*Kash. Rep.* 47) places Guṇādhya in 1st or 2nd century, and Weber (*IL*, 213; *ISt.* I. 358) in 6th century A.D. (*IA*, I. 307). Keith (*SL*, 263; *JRAS*, (1901), 145) and Levi (*TI*, 317; *Le Nepal*, II, 63) give the date 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Speyer (*Studies*) says Bṛhatkatha lies between 400 and 600 A.D, nearer the latter. Tawney (*JRAS* (1908), 908) agrees. V. Smith, (*EH*, 199) dates it in the latter half of 1st century A.D. See also S. Krishnaswami Iyengar on Bṛhatkathā, *JRAS* (1900), 688.

Slokasangraha is now available as a fragment. It is a poem of sargas meant obviously to be an extensive book, but the fragment gets us only 28 sargas of about 4, 539 verses. Either the work was left incomplete or the manuscript has been lost to us. In estimating the dimensions of the whole collection, Lacote says, "Naravahanadatta must relate the conquest of his twenty-six wives (IV, 3.); and yet, at the end of the twenty-eighth book, that is of 4,539 verses, he has only come to the sixth one. The history of the first five has taken up 3,622 verses; the proportions being the same—and one does not see that he abridges more as he goes on with the narration; far from it—the history of the twenty-sixth spouse would take us into about 19,000 verses; to it one must add the whole history of the conquest of the empire. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to estimate the whole length of the poem at 25,000 verses at least, divided into more than 100 sargas."[1]

The poem begins with an encomium of Ujjayinī and the death of Mahāsena or Pradyota. Gopāla, his son, succeeded him, but afflicted with the talk that he was a patricide he abdicated in favour of his brother Pālaka. Warned as if by a heavenly sign, he gave up his throne and Gopāla's son Avantivardhana ascended the throne. Then comes the story of his love with Surasamanjarī. The 28th canto leaves us with Naravāhanadatta in the company of Bhagirathayaśas.

F. Lacote thinks that Budhasvāmin must have lived about the 5th or 6th century A.D.[2] He remarks: "The differences with regard to the other two versions are enormous. The subject announced at the beginning of the fourth sarga, after the three sargas which form the introduction, is the history of Naravahanadatta, son of the king of the Vatsas, Udayana, and emperor of the Vidyadharas. It is the same as the principal subject of the *Kathasaritsagara* and of the *Brhatkathamanjari*, but the arrangement of the matter and, in some parts, the matter itself are altogether different. The spirit in which the subject is dealt with is also quite new. It is no longer a question of slight differences in the order of the books, like those one notices between the *Kathasaritsagara* and the *Brhatkathamanjari*, which, in spite of the various readings, show a common original. Here we have a poem entirely different; if it has the same ancestor as the other two, which to me seems to be certain, its relation to them is several degrees removed."[3]

1. Ed. and Tr. by E. Leroux, Paris.
1. *Essays*, 110, 114.
1. *Essays*, 10-11.

419. **Kṣemendra Brhatkathamanjari** comes next.[1] Kṣemendra was in the Court of King Ananta of Kāśmir (1029-1064 A.D.). His writings have been noticed in a prior chapter.[2] His three Manjaris are in reality distinct pieces of poetry and they can be called epitomes only in respect of the narrative of their originals.

Kṣemendra's poem like Somadeva's "is divided into eighteen '*lambhakas*' the names of which are the same as those of the corresponding Books in the Kathasaritsagara. Besides, we find in the Brhatkathamanjari a double system of subdivision. Most of the accessory tales and some of the principal episodes of the hero's history are followed by a colophon which resumes the substance of the tale—something like the marginal sub-titles found in the translation of the Kathasaritsagara by Mr. Tawney. It is a kind of index of the several incidents found in the text, and it is most convenient for ready reference. This method of subdivision, being found in all the manuscripts of the Manjari, must be rather ancient."[3]

420. **Somadeva**, son of Rāma, was a Brahmin poet of the Court of King Ananta of Kāśmir who ruled about 1029-1064 A.D. Ananta's son was Kalaśa and Kalaśa's son was Harṣa. For the amusement of Sūryāvati, queen of Ananta, Somadeva wrote KATHASARITSĀGARA in 18 Books of 124 Tarangas and 24,000 verses, the earliest large collection of stories extant in the world, about 1070 A.D. Somadeva declares that his work is a condensed Sanskrit version of Guṇādhya's Paiśāci Bṛhatkathā.

In his prospectus of the Edition of Tawney's Translation of this work N. M. Penzer says:

"Turning to the work itself, one is amazed by the mass of stories of every conceivable kind it contains. Animal stories dating back hund-

1. *DC*, XXI. 8165. Ed. Bombay by Sivadatta & Parab; by S. Levi, *JA*, (1885) 397-479, (1886) 178-222 with translation of Bks. I, VI and part of Bk. IX. Translated in part by L. Von Mankowski.

2. See para 68 *supra*.

3. *Essays*, 84-5.

4. See *Raj*. VII. 945.

5. Hoernle [*JRAS*, (1900), 120] gives this date. Wilson (*SL*, I. 158) fixes the date at 1030 A.D. Seshagiri Sastri (*IA*, I. 365) gives Somadeva 1059-1071 in the time of King Harṣa. Buhler (*IA*, I. 302) gives the date 1063-82 A.D.

6. Ed. Bombay. Ed. and translated by H. Brockhaus, Leipzig. Translated by C. H. Tawney, *Bibl. Ind.* now being re-edited with introduction and elaborate notes by N. M. Penzer.

reds of years B.C., wild legends of Rig-Veda days explaining the creation of the earth, harrowing tales of blood-sucking vampires, beautiful and poetic love stories and vivid descriptions of terrible battles between gods, men or demons. All these are found in this storehouse of romance. Nor should it be forgotten that India is the true land of Romance, more so indeed than either Persia or Arabia, for India's own history is a romance hardly less exaggerated and enthralling than the tales themselves.

The collector of these stories, Somadeva, was a man of genius who rightly ranks next to Kālidāsa among Indian poets. His power of telling a story in a clear, entertaining and absorbing way is only equalled by the richness and diversity of his subject-matter. His knowledge of human nature, the elegance of his style, the beauty and force of his descriptions and the wit and wisdom of his aphorisms, are masterly in their execution.

On the other hand, in most Eastern collections of tales (especially Indian), the way in which fresh stories are embedded in other ones and the bewildering rapidity with which one follows another, makes the reader long for Ariadne's thread to lead him safely out of the labyrinth. "The Editor, therefore, has taken special care to provide an efficient thread in this new edition. A system of numbering the stories has been introduced, that not only makes the reading easy, but acts as a guide to students of Comparative Folk-lore.

The Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara is, of course, a much older book than *The Thousand Nights and a Night,* and is the origin of many tales in the *Nights.* Through them it has given ideas not only to Persian and Turkish authors, but also to the western world through the pens of Boccaccio, Chaucer, La Fontaine, and their innumerable imitators.

Mr. Tawney's excellent notes, supplemented by those now added, afford an enormous amount of information which will prove interesting not only to the student of Comparative Religion, Folk-lore, Magic (both black and white), Ethics, Sociology and Anthropology, but also to the intellectual lay reader, who wishes to increase his store of out-of-the-way and esoteric knowledge."[1]

"Its literal translation is 'The Ocean of Streams of Story.' Somadeva felt that his great work united in itself all stories, as the

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1. See generally, J. S. Speyer's Studies about Kathāsaritsāgara, *JRAS* (1908) 907; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III. 1031; IV. 871; Wilson, *SL*, I. 156, II, 109; Weber, *SL*, 218; Keith, *SL*, 281-7.

ocean does all rivers. Every stream of myth and mystery flowing down from the snowy heights of sacred Himalaya would sooner or later reach the ocean, other streams from other mountains would do likewise, till at last fancy would create an ocean full of stories of every conceivable description—tales of wondrous maidens and their fearless lovers, of kings and cities, of statecraft and intrigue, of magic and spells, of treachery, trickery, murder and war, tales of blood-sucking vampires, devils, goblins and ghouls, stories of animals in fact and fable, and stories too of beggars, ascetics, drunkards, gamblers, prostitutes and bawds.

This is the *Ocean of Story*; this the mirror of Indian imagination that Somadeva has left as a legacy to posterity."

421. Somadeva thus dealt with the original Bṛhatkatha:

यथा मूलं तथैवैतन्नमनागप्यतिक्रमः ।
औचित्यान्वयरक्षा च यथाशक्ति विधीयते ॥
कथारसाविघातेन काव्यांशस्य च योजना ।
वैदग्ध्यख्यातिलोभाय मम नैवायमुद्यमः ॥
किन्तु नानाकथाजालस्मृतिसौकर्यसिद्धये ।

In the preface Somadeva gives the following account of his work: "The first book in my collection is called Kathapitha, then comes

1. "As in the original work, so also in this one, there is not anywhere the least omission; only the language is more compact in order to avoid the book becoming too large. I have endeavoured as much as possible to choose the most suitable expressions, and while describing in the stories the various movements of the passions (rasas), a work has been produced which may be considered a piece of poetry. My work did not spring from the desire to secure the fame of learning, but simply to facilitate the memorizing of that many-coloured net of myths."—*Brockhaus*.

"This book is precisely on the model of that from which it is taken; there is not even the slightest deviation, only such language is selected as tends to abridge the prolixity of the work; the observance of propriety and natural connexion, and the joining together of the portions of the poem so as not to interfere with the spirit of the stories, are, as far as possible, kept in view; I have not made this attempt through desire of a reputation for ingenuity, but in order to facilitate the recollection of a multitude of various tales."—*Tawney*.

"As is the original such is the copy; it does not deviate from it, even by one line; I simply epitomize the primitive work and I translate; that is all the difference. Careful to observe, as far as possible, the literary propriety, and the logical sequence, in doing my best not to break off either the narrative or the spirit of the sentiments expressed, I am no less careful to arrange a portion of a regular poem."—*Lacote*.

Kathamukha, then the third book, named Lavanaka, then follows Naravahanadatfajanana, and then the book called Caturdarika, and then Madanamancuka, then the seventh book named Ratnaprabha, and then the eighth book named Suryaprabha, then Alankaravati, then Saktiyasas, and then the eleventh book called the Vela, then comes Sasankavati, and then Madiravati, then comes the book called Panca, followed by Mahabhiseka, and then Surasamanjari, then Padmavati, and then the eighteenth book Visamasila."[1]

Somadeva then gives the wonderful origin of the tale at great length (Kath. I. 1-13-181).

"Each book comprises a number of stories loosely strung together by being narrated for the recreation or information of some individuals or arising out of their adventures. There are Vatsa, King of Kausambi, and his son Naravahanadatta. The marriage of the latter with various damsels of terrestrial or celestial origin and his elevation to the rank of King of the Vidyadharas a class of heavenly sprits are the leading topic of most of the books but they merely constitute the skeleton of the composition, the substance being made up of stories growing out of these circumstances or springing from one another with an ingenuity of intricacy which is in reality one of the great charms of all such collection."[2]

"The stories all wind up at the end of each book or not infrequently sooner. The action is never suspended for any prolonged interval and the complication is not of such a nature or extent as to convert variety into confusion. The stories are always characterised by the features of Hindu nationality and are illustrations of Hindu opinions, usages and beliefs. They exhibit, in a striking and interesting manner, the peculiarities of the social condition of India, and in the exposure of its follies and vices furnish those delineations of the similar imperfections of all civilised society of which the general applicability and truth have recommended their imitation to the satirists and story-tellers of Europe. The greater number of them turn upon the wickedness of women, the inconstancy, profiigacy, treachery and craft of the female sex. These attributes no doubt originate in the feelings which have pervaded the East unfavourable to the dignity of the female character; but we are not to mistake the language of satire or the licentiousness of wit, for truth, or to suppose that the pictures which

1. *CSC*, (1896) No. 143.

1. Wilson, *SL* III. p. 112-113.

are thus given of the depravity of women owe not much of their coloring to the malignity of men."[1]

422. The well known Arabian nights are a similar composition. They were rendered into Sanskrit under the title Āravyayāminī by JAGADBANDHU PANDITA at the request of Sambhucandra, Zamindar of Kakiniya.[2] In his introduction to the translation of Arabian Nights, Sir R. F. Burton thus sums up the subject-matter of Kathāsaritsāgara in comparison with the Arabian nights: "The thaumaturgy of both works is the same: the Indian is profuse in demonology and witchcraft; in monsters as wind-men, fire-men and water-men; in air-going elephants and flying horses (I. 541-543); in the wishing-cow; divine goats and laughing fishes (I. 24); and in the *speciosa miracula* of magic weapons. He delights in fearful battles (I. 400), fought with the same weapons as the Moslem uses, and rewards his heroes with a "Turband of Honour" (I. 266) in lieu of a robe. There is a quaint family likeness arising from similar stages of society; the city is adorned for gladness; men carry money in a robe corner and exclaim: "Ha, Good!" (for "Good, by Allah!"); lovers die with exemplary facility; the "soft-sided" ladies drink spirits (I. 61) and princesses get drunk (I. 476), whilst the eunuch, the hetæra and the bawd (Kuṭṭini) play the same preponderating parts as in the *Nights*."

JAGANNATHAMISRA'S KATHAPRAKASA borrows the tales of Kathāsaritsagara (ix-xiii and xxiv-xxxvii).[3]

SECTION 3.

Pancatantra.

423. Pancatantra,[4] the famous collection of fables, has, it has been said, a circulation in the world, next only to the Bible. Hertel records two hundred (and more) versions in about fifty languages some of which are extra-Indian. During the reign of King Chosran Anosharwan (531-579 A.D.) a Persian Physician Burzoe or Burzuyeh translated it into Pahlavi and incorporated it into his Book of Stories called Karataka and Damanaka. This Pahlavi translation is lost as also its Sanskrit original and we have now an old Syriac version made by Bud in 570

1. Wilson, *SL*, II. 114.
2. *CSC*, (1903), 110.
3. *I.O.* No. 4105.
4. For a full history of Pancatantra, see Hertel's *History of the Beast Fable in India* (*HOS*).

A.D. and an Arabic version made by Abdullah Ibnal Mogaffa about 750 A.D.[1]

Pancatantra is so called because it is divided into five Tantras or sections, and is as such known also as Pancopākhyāna. Viṣṇuśarman extracted the essence of all the most celebrated works of this class and composed it as Nīti Śāstra for the education of the sons of King Amaraśakti of Mahilāropya in the Deccan. The prefatory invocation is addressed to Sarasvatī and all authors on ethics, Manu, Vācaspati, Uśanas, Parāśara, Vyāsa and Cāṇakya. The use of the word *dīnāra*, it is said points to its date as somewhere after the Christian era, and therefore, says Keith, "it is not sufficient to assign it to the 2nd century A.D, at the earliest."[2]

Speaking of the priority of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, it has been said "The titles such as separation of friends, winning of friends, war and peace, the loss of one's acquisition, and hasty action, given to the 5 books of the Panchatantra are political ideas explained in no earlier work than the Arthasastra. They are adumbrated with appropriate illustrative stories in the Pancatantra. There is reason to believe that the author of the Panchatantra is indebted to the Arthasastra for the use of the word Prakriti in the sense of a friend or an enemy (Mitraprakriti and Ariprakriti). A friend or an enemy inside a State is called abhyantaraprakriti and outside a State, bahyaprakriti. In the 15th book entitled Tantrayukti of the Arthasastra, Chanakya says that use of the word Prakriti in the sense of a friend or an enemy is his own device (svasanjna) which he explains as parair asamitas-sabdah, a word not used by others. Besides making use of the technical terms devised and political ideas taught in the Arthasastra, the author of the Panchatantra not only mentions the name of Chanakya as a writer on Nripasastra or Nitisastra, but also makes verbatim quotations sometimes wrongly and sometimes rightly from the Arthasastra in support of his views."[3]

424. **Purnabhadra,** the pupil of Jinapati Sūri, was a Svetāmbara Jain monk.[4] He revised Pancatantra at the instance of Somamantrin in

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1. Ed. and Tr. by G. Bickell, Leipzig. See for these other versions, Edgerton, *l.c.* 41-2. W. Norman Brown, *The Pancatantra in modern Indian Folklore*, *JAOS*, XXXIX. I.

2. Keith, *SL*, 245 et seq. *JRAS* (1925) 504. There are Pancatantrakāvya of Dharmapaṇḍita and Pancatantrakāvyadarpaṇa (*CC*, I. 314).

3. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1927), 16.

4. For his poems, see para 101 *supra*, See *PR*, IV. 27.

1199 A.D.[1] It is marked by the appearance of twenty-one new stories, including a famous one of the gratitude of animals and the ingratitude of man.[2]

Pūrṇabhadra used an earlier Jain recension whose author quotes Māgha and Rudraṭa must have therefore lived after the 9th century A.D.[3]

In *Sam.* 1716 (1600 A.D.), Meghavijaya composed Pancākhyānoddhāra, a modified version of these various recensions.[4]

The south Indian Pancatantra is a careful and slight abbreviation and preserves the narrative and the language with faithfulness.[5] Very often its sentences agree with Tantrakhyāyikā and it is later than Bhāravi.[6]

The Nepalese version has all the verses, particularly of the South Indian recension. "We may agree with Hertel in thinking that the South Indian Pancatantra and the complete text on which the Nepalese is based," says Edgerton "were not identical, nor directly derived one from the other, but that they are closely related offshoots of the same archtype."[7]

425. Tantrakhyana or Tantrakhyāyikā is a form of Pancatantra, manuscripts of which come from Kasmir and is itself in two subrecensions, in one of which there are more verses and more prose. According to Hertel "it is the only version which contains the unabbreviated and not intentionally altered language of the author,[8] which no other Indian Pancatantra version has preserved, while the Pahlavi translation distorts it by numerous misunderstandings.[9]

But according to Edgerton, "In short, the difference between the Tantrakhyayika and the other versions, in their relations to the original,

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1. Ed. (*HOS*) by Benfey, J. Hertel, with English translation by P. E. More, Liepzig. The Prasasti gives the date as Sam. 1255. See *IO*, 2643, *BR* (1897), xix For an analytical account, see Wilson, *SL*, II. 1.
2. Keith, *SL*, 261.
3. Keith (*SL* 260). places it in 1100 A.D.
4. Keith, *SL*, 260. On Meghavijaya, see para 93 *supra*.
5. Ed. by Haberland it, and again by J. Hertel, Leipzig.
6. See Edgerton, *Am. Or. Series*, III. 17; Keith, *SL*, 262.
7. Ed. by J. Hertel in Anmerkungen. *AOS*, III, 20.
8. Ed. by J. Hertel, Berlin. Tr. Leipzig, *HOS*, Vol. 14. See Abhandlungen of Saxon Society, Vol. 22.
9. *ZDMG*, LXIX. 113. See also Zachariae, *Kl. Schriften*, 170. Winternitz on Tantrākhyāyikā, *VOJ*, XXIV. 49.

is a difference of degree and not a difference of kind. All are to a considerable extent original. All are to a not inconsiderable extent unoriginal. On the whole, the Tantrakhyayika contains more of the original than of any other. In this respect it is surpassed by the Southern Pancatantra, which has much less unoriginal material than the Tantrakhyayika, and probably less than any other version, except the greatly abbreviated and versified Somadeva."[1]

426. It is said that there has been an unbroken tradition of narratives in the style of Pancatantra from time immemorial with ramifications in various times and countries and these versions "all go back to a book of fables and stories consisting of five books or sections and a brief introduction. The introduction provides the "frame" or setting, and at the same time suggests what must have been to the author's mind the key-note of the whole work: it was supposed to be a kind of *Furstenspiegel* or *Mirror for Magistrates* teaching worldly wisdom to princes, by entertaining examples, as well as by cleverly phrased precepts. The precepts are principally found in the verses which are abundantly scattered through most parts of the work. The examples consist in the stories themselves, which are told mainly in prose. Each of the five sections or "books" forms a dramatic unit in itself, and all five are, as I said, set into the introduction as a frame. In the introduction a wise brahman undertakes to enlighten three ignorant princes. He does so by narrating to them, one after another, the five books of the Pancatantra. Each of the five books contains not only a primary story, which we call the "frame-story" but also at least one, and usually several, "emboxt" stories; that is, stories represented as told by one character in the frame story to another. Sometimes there is a double "emboxtent"; a character in an "emboxt" story tells a story to another character. (In some of the late versions of the Pancatantra this process was carried even further, so that we have a sort of "Chinese nest" of stories). Most of the stories are beast fables, that is, their principal actors are animals decked out with human properties but a number of them have only human characters, while some have both men and animals, and even though rarely—gods and other supernatural beings. The stories are in general very well told and of a high artistic quality."[2]

Among several scholars that have investigated the history of Pancatantra there are preeminently two, J. Hertel and F. Edgerton. In

1. *HAOS*, III. 16. See Keith *SL*, 259, 60.
2. Edgerton, *HOS*, III, 4.

Hertel's view there are only two different sources of Pancaṭanṭra tradition; one Ṭanṭrākhyāyikā and another "K", archtype of all other versions and an intermediate archtype to which the Southern and Nepalese and an intermediate archetype to which the Southern and Nepalese versions and Hitopadeśa go back.[1] But Edgerton says there are four independent streams of the tradition flowing from one single old source: Southern Bṛhaṭkaṭha of which Somaḍeva's and Kṣemenḍra's are epitomies; (ii) Ṭanṭrākhyāyikā (iii) Southern Pancaṭanṭra (iv) the original of Pahlavi version. Pūrṇabhaḍra's recension is a combination of Ṭanṭrākhyāyikā and Southern Pancaṭanṭra.

Somaḍeva's Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara contains the five books of Pancatantra, "separated from one another by extraneous materials, but preserves considerably more than Kṣmenḍra does of the bulk of the narrative and Kṣmendra's text of Pancaṭanṭra[2] is the most drastically abbreviated among all versions."

From a comparison of these various versions Edgerton made up the text of what he considered the original of Pancaṭanṭra.[3]

427. Hitopadesa is a far later version of Pancaṭanṭra and has been more popular with the students of Sanskrit Literature. Avowedly based on Pancaṭanṭra, Hiṭopaḍeśa is a work with a plan original in itself of Nārāyaṇa.[4] Instead of five books, Hiṭopaḍeśa has only four. Its third book has as its frame a story which is only a remote reflex of Pancatantra Book III. The frame of its fourth book is wholly new, though evidently intended as a companion piece to Book III and suggested by the title of the original Pancatantra's third book. Book IV of the Pancatantra is wholly omitted; the stories of Book V, including the frame story, are included as emboxt stories in Hitopadesa Books III and IV. Several of the emboxt stories of Pancatantra Book I are transferred to the Hitopadesa's new Book IV; those of Pancatantra Book III are impartially divided between Hitopadesa Books III and IV;

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1. See on this Hertel, *ZDMG*, LVI, 317; LIIX, 113, 118; Winternitz *DLZ*, XXXI, 2760.

2. This has been separately edited, Der Auszugans dem Pancaṭanṭra in Kṣemenḍra's Bṛhaṭkaṭhānanjari, Leipzig.

3. "Pancatantra reconstructed," *HOS*, Vol. 2. Text and critical apparatus and vol 3. Introduction.

4. Ed. everywhere; by F. Johnson, London; by P. Peterson, Bombay and in *Handbooks for the study of Sanskrit* by Max Muller with an interlinear translation. On Hitopadesa, see Edgerton, *AOS*, III. 20-23; *PR*, III, 397. There is a Hiṭopaḍeśapadyasangraha (CC, III, 158.)

not a few stories of the first three books of the Pancatantra are omitted altogether, and various stories not found in the Pancatantra are inserted in all four books of the Hitopadesa, presumably from the unnamed "other works" referred to by Narayana."[1]

SECTION 4.

428. Ananta Bhatta who describes himself as son of Nagadeva Bhatta, a Brahmin of Kanva caste. In his Pancopākhyānasangraha or Kaṭhāmṛtanidhi he professes to preserve the whole of the narrative Pancatantra.[2]

"Each fable is designed to illustrate and exemplify some reflection on wordly vicissitudes or some precept for human conduct, and the illustration, is as frequently drawn from the intercourse of human beings, as from an imaginary adventure of animal existence and this mixture is in some degree a pecularity in the Hindu plan of fabling or story telling.[3]

429. Simhasanadvatrimsika or Vikramārkacaritra[4] is a collection of thirty-two tales. The throne was a gift from Indra to Vikramāditya and when Śālivāhana vanquished him and killed him in battle, the throne was buried in the earth. King Bhōja by chance unearthed it, and as he was ascending the throne, images of maidens sculptured on the throne became animated and related the tales in praise of Vikramāditya to Bhōja and regained their liberty.[5]

There are various versions of the work, attributed to Kālidāsa, Rāmacandra, Śiva and Siddhasena Divākara.[6] Kṣemankara, a Jain, who lived at the beginning of the 14th century A.D. wrote in prose, with verses at the beginning and condensed the tales. The South Indian version is generally known Vikramarkacarita. There are North Indian versions, one in verse and are considerably different, and are both anonymous. In Bengal, the recension is ascribed to Vararuci and is mostly Kṣemankara's.

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1. Edgerton, *l.c.* 21-2. Garcin de Tassys, *Hist. de la Lit. Hindouie*, II. 448.
2. *CC*, I. 78. *IOC*. VII. 1560.
3. Wilson's *Essays*, II. 79. Essai sur les Fables Indiennes by M. A. Loiseleur Des Longchamps, Paris.
4. It is also known as Dvāṭrṃśaṭ-puṭṭalikā; *CAL*, II. 1, 2 and Dvāṭrimśaṭ-sālabhanjikā (*CC*, I. 717).
5. *IOC*, VIII. 1566; Ed. Madras, Bombay, Calcutta. *PR*. V. 189, and Harward See Weber, *ISt.* XV. 185, F. Edgerton, *AJP*, XXXIII. 249; Keith, *SL* 292; *BRI*, 93, *PR*, IV. 81. R. F. Burton's *Vikrama and the Vampire*, London.
6. *CC*, I. 717; III. 148.

430. Sukasaptatikatha is a collection of 70 clever stories of erotic nature but of ultimate didactic import. It is said that this story was related to Indra[1] in his assembly by Nārada in the form of a parrot and that any one who hears the story attains all ends. One Devadāsa kept a parrot and when the King sent him away to a distant country with intent to seduce his wife, the parrot to whom Devadāsa entrusted the care of his family began to relate each night one story to her, keeping her interested in it till dawn and by the end of 70 stories the husband returned and all was well.[1]

There are three recensions of this work, *ornatior* and *simplicior* of R. Schmidt (who has edited a Mahrati version), the first by Cintāmaṇi Bhatta and second later by a Śvetambara Jain,[2] and a third by Devadatta, son of Puruṣottamadeva.[3]

431. Vetalapancavimsati is a series of 25 stories, very old in origin.[4] Kṣemendra and Somadeva relate the same stories in their poems. Independently we have versions by Śivadāsa in prose and verse[5] and by Jambhāladatta in prose[6] and one anonymous in prose.[7] Vallabhadāsa's work is an abbreviation.[8] There is also Vetālaviṁśati of Venkatabhatta.[9]

432. Tales relating to Vikrama are found in Ananta's Vīracarita and Śivadāsa's Śālivāhanacarita,[10] in the anonymous Vikramodaya,[11] in the Jain work Pancadandachatra-prabandha[12] and Nandīśayāgnika's Vikramārkacaritra.[13] Vikramasenacarita is a collection of stories like

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1. Ed. Madras. *DC*, XXI. 8172. Keith, *SL*. 359.
2. Ed. *AKM*, X. 1; *ZDMG*, LIV. 515; LV. 1; *ABA*, XXI. 2. Tr. Kiel and Stuttgart.
3. Hertel, *Festchrift Windisch*, 138. Keith, *SL*. 290-2.
4. See Keith, *SL*, 288–90. *IOC*, VII. 1563–5. Levi. *JA*, VII. 191; *PR*, V. 386.
5. Ed. by H. Uhle, Leipzig, *AKM*, VIII. 1. See Bosch, *De legende van Jimutavahana*, 23 ff. Kathārṇava of Śivadāsa has 35 stories. For other Śivadāsas, see *CC*, I. 649.
6. Ed. Calcutta. *IOC*, 3108.
7. Ed. *AKM*, VIII. 1. See for another version *BSGW*, (1914), 66, where the manuscript is dated 1487 A.D.
8. *IOC*, I. 1564; *PR*, III. 396, III. 30.
9. *Opp*. 4544.
10. See para 204 supra.
11. *IOC*, I. 3060; Zachariae, *KL Schriften*, 152, 166.
12. Ed. and Tr. *ABA*, (1877).
13. *CC*, I. 757. *Mys*. 292. Printed, Madras.

Vikramārkacariṭa narrated to King Vikramasena of Prathiṣṭhāna by a vampire stationed in a simsupa tree.[1]

433. Meruṭunga's Prabandhacinṭāmaṇi and Rājaśekhara's[2] Prabandhakōśa contains quasi-historical narratives.[3]

Hēmacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacariṭa and its supplement Pariśiṣṭaparva contain much folklore besides tales mythical and biographical.[4]

Siḍḍharṣi was the pupil of Saddarsin. His Upamiṭabhāvaprapancakaṭhā was written in the year 962 (Vīranirvāna ?) which would mean Sam. 492 (436 A.D). This tallies with the date of Haribhadra (who died in Sam. 585) who wrote his Laliṭavisṭara for Siḍḍharṣi's edification.[5] Peterson says (*PR*, IV. 5), "Of the fact that Siddha and Magha were cousins there appears to be no reasonable doubt. Their common grandfather was Suprabhadeva, minister of the king of the time of Srimala in Gurjaradesa. Suprabhadeva had two sons, Datta and Subhankara. Magha (who tells us himself that he was the son of Dattaka and the grandson of Suprabhadeva) was the son of the one, and Siddha the son of the other."

Prabhācandra's Prabhāvakacariṭa was revised by Praḍyumnasūri[6] about 1250 A.D. It is a collection of stories in verse, mostly biographical notices[7] in 22 chapters, probably based on a similar work of Hemacandra.[8]

434. Somacandra was pupil of Raṭnaśekhara of Tapā Gaccha. He wrote his Kaṭhāmahōḍaḍhi, a collection of 126 Jain stories, in 1504 (1448 A.D.) beginning with the story of Karpūraprakara.[9]

Bharatakaḍvāṭrimśikā are 32 stories of Jain origin, satirical of Brahmin usages.[10]

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1. *DC*, XXI. 8592.
2. Ed. by J. Hertel, Leipzig.
3. See paras 119, 201 supra.
4. Ed. H. Jacobi, *Bib. Ind.* Tr. J. Hertel, Leipzig and by Helen M. Johnson, *GOS*, Baroda. See Keith, *JRAS*, (1908) 119; *SL*, 204.
5. Ed. *Bibl Ind.* Calcutta. *PR*, IV. 129, III. *App.* 146.
6. Printed, Bombay.
7. See *PR*, IV. 79-81. He wrote Samarāḍiṭyacariṭa, in Sam. 1334.
8. Among such stories are those relating to Bāṇa and Mayura, see Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayura* (*Col. Un. series*), 17-19.
9. *PR*, III. 18, 317; IV, cxxxiv.
10. *Oxf.* 155.

435. Jagannathamisra's Kathāprakāśa is a collection of tales taken from various sources and contains interesting episodes. The fourth story relates the sufferings of Bhāravi during his sojourn in his father-in-law's home. Jagannātha was the son of Lakṣmaṇa of Rādhi-vaṃśa and lived about the 17th century A.D.[1]

Kathākośa[1] is a collection of twenty-seven tales, illustrating in simple prose the usual fruits of different actions of men, such as kindness, worship, anger, avarice etc.

436. In Citrasenapadmāvatīkathā,[3] a small poem, Rājavallabha pāthaka, pupil of Mahimacandra or Mālucandrasūri, gives the fable of Citrasena and Padmāvatī. " These were a pair of swans in their previous birth and dwelt in a lake in a Campakavana on the boundary of Campa. Once upon a time in midday, a merchant came up to the bank of the lake and put up there with his caravan. The merchant bathed in the lake, worshipped Jina and after having prepared food, waited for a guest, when a sage fasting for more than a month happened to pass by him. The merchant was exceedingly glad to meet with such a guest, and took him to his place and supplied him with the best food sufficient to satisfy his hunger. The pair praised this action of the merchant with all heart and in consequence of that virtue they were born as prince Citrasena and princess Padmavatī in their next birth and became husband and wife. This was composed in Sam. 1524 (1580 A.D.)."[4]

437. Kalikacaryakatha[5] in prose gives the tale of Kālikācārya, a Jain Sthavira. It was composed by Samayasundara, pupil of Sakalacandra. It narrates also the ancient tales of the establishment of the Vikrama and Śāka era. According to it, Śāka kings took their name from the Śāka Coast or bank and were defenders of the Jaina faith until they were conquered by Vikramāditya. But 135 years after that conquest, there was a Śāka King who destroyed the successor of Vikramāditya and set up an era of his own.

438. Kavikunjara's Rājaśekharacaritra or Sabhāranjanaprabandha is a poem inculcating morals by means of stories abridged from those which are said to have been originally related in the Court

1. *IO*, 948, 1426 where a summary of its contents is given.
2. *CSC*, (1909). No. 56. Translated by C. H. Tawney, London.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 58. *PR*, III. Ap. 215, IV. lxxxix.
4. *CSC*, (1910), 96 gives date are युगे च युग्मे स्मरबाणचन्द्रे संवत्सरे चाश्विनमासके च.
5. *TR*, III. 83. See also Jacobi, *ZDMG*, XXXIV, 266; *CSC*, No 57 (1910), 94.

of Rājaśekhara and which were afterwards repeated by Rājaśekhara to Subuddhi.[1]

439. Vidyāpāti's Puruṣaparikṣā is a collection of 44 stories and has been noticed.[2] Ānanda's Mādhavānalakathā relates in prose the story of Madhavānala and Kāmakandalā.[3]

Muktācarita is anonymous. In simple prose it narrates the story of the miraculous power of pearls sown and grown by Kṛṣṇa on arable fields for the delectation of Satyabhāma.[4]

Śrīvara's Kathākautuka gives the story of Yusuf and Zulaika from the well-known poem of Jaini. It was composed during the reign of Sultan Zainulabdin in 15th century A.D.[5] The Sanskrit translation of "Aladin and Wonderful Lamp" from the Arabian Nights by Appasastri Rashivadekar excels the original in narration. Nārāyaṇa Bālakṛṣṇa has a Sanskrit rendering of the Aesop's Fables, Isabanītikathā.[6] Sulematcarita by Kalyāṇamalla relates the story of Solomon and David from Old Testament.[7]

440. There are the following Jain stories in prose:

Sripālacaritra of Jayakīrtisūri, Hīrapraśna of Kīrtivijayagaṇi, Amaradattamitrānandacarita of Bhāvacandrasūri, Cauryāsīprabandha of Rajasūkharasūri, Dhanadattacarita of Bhāvacandra, Bhāvanābhānukevalicaritra of Hamsagaṇi, Rupasenacarita Kāmaghatanākatha, Ratnaśekharacarita of Dayavardhanagaṇi;

And the following in verse: Ambālacarita, Uttarakumāracarita of Cārucandra, Padmacarita of Sūbhavardhana, Balabhadracarita of Sūbhavardhanagaṇi, Vimalanāthacarita of Jnānasagara; Vimalasahacarita of Indrahamsagaṇi (*all printed*); Udayanarājacarita of Mallisena (*Opp*. II. 421); Vasumaticitrasena of Gangādhara (*Opp*. 4714); Vijayacandracarita of Candraprabha Mahattara (*PR*, VI. 46 written in *Sam*. 1127); Sāhasānkacarita of Maheśvara (*Oxf*. 18).

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1. *DC*, XI. 8167.
2. See para 403 *supra*.
3. Ed. by Pavolini. *GSAI*, XXII. 313.
4. *CSC* (1908), 126. The story begins with a query by Satyabhāma:

लतास्ते मधुराः कस्मिन् जायन्ते धन्यनीवृति ।
नाथ मत्कङ्कणन्यस्तं यासां मुक्ताफलं फलम् ॥

5. Ed. and Tr. by R. Schmidt, Kiel. See para 188 *supra*.
6. Printed, Bombay.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8150.

441. The following are other books of tales :

Kaṭhālaṭāmanjarī of Nārāyana Śāstrin, Kaṭhāvalī of G. Ramaswāmi Sāstri, Puruṣaparīkṣā by Lakṣmaṇaśiva,[1] Kaṭhākusumamanjarī (anonymous),[2] Maḍanasukhacapetikā of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa,[3] Suḍāmacariṭra of Śrīnivāsa,[4] Sūryaṇacariṭa of Canḍraśekhara,[5] Kaṭhārṇava of Śivaḍāsa,[6] Ṭārakabrahmakaṭhā (anonymous)[7] and Pramaṭhacariṭra of Brahmaviḍyāḍhvarin.[8]

In Kaṭhāpancaka,[9] Mrs. Kṛṣṇarao of Bombay depicts five careers of sadness and despair and inculcates the high Indian ideal of pity and forgiveness. "In the pathetic tales of the dejected young widow and the fisher folk, the blame seems to be thrown on the hard tyranny of social laws and customs rather than on the individuals. The old widow in whom the motherly instinct triumphs over vengeance, and the generous youth who rises above nature and self-interest to rid the people of a heartless tyrant are full of tragic dignity."

Āryacariṭa is a symposium of stories illustrating Hindu ideals selected from the epics and Purāṇas prepared at the instance of V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Judge, High Court, Madras.[10]

442. Raṭnasimha's Maiṭhileśacariṭa is a poem on the present dynasty of Ḍarbhānga.[11] Ruḍrasimha's Vignānaṭarangiṇī describes the life of a mythical king Sānkaraḍāsa. It was composed in 1411 A.D.[12] Sānkara's Śānkaraceṭovilāsa is a poetical biography of Zamīndar Ceṭasimha.[13] Pānḍurānga's Vijayapurakaṭhā, composed in 1808 A.D., contains an account of Bijapur and its Musalman sovereigns. Uḍayarāja's Rājavinoḍa describes the greatness of Mohammad Begadha of Ahmedabad, a king of Gujarat.[14]

1. Printed Madras. For Puruṣaparīkṣā, see *CC*, I. 340.
2. Printed, Srirangam.
3. Printed, Calcutta.
4. *CAL*, II. 26.
5. *BRI*, 76.
6. *Oxf*, 153; *CC*, II. 15 (mostly in prose.)
7. *IO*, 1558. *Mys*. 638. There is a Māḍhavānalanāṭaka by Ānanḍaḍhara, (*PR*, V.) and another by Kavīśvara, *CC*, I. 450.
8. *Mys*, 638.
9. Printed, Sahakari Granthakar, Bombay.
10. Printed, Madras.
11. Jayaswal's *Cat. of Mithila*, I. No. 295.
12. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1924), 12.
13. *Oxf*, 121.
14. For a critical notice, see Buhler's Rep. (1874-75), 9-10. The lives of Gujarat kings (Gurjarakṣmāpaṭis) is given in the colophon.

443. In **Colavamsavalicarita,**[1] otherwise known as Bṛhadīśvaramāhātmya, the origin, construction and development of Bṛhadīśvara temple in Tanjore is described. Incidentally the work gives the history of 16 Cola kings of the Solar race who ruled at Tanjore for about 12 centuries beginning with Kulottunga Cola and ending with Bhadra Cola.

444. Ekambara Dīkṣita's Vīrabhadravijaya[2] is a poem meant to describe the festival of Vīrabhadra but contains also an account of the Kempe Gowda Chiefs of Mysore. Ekāmbara was a poet of the Court of Kempe Gowda III, known more fully as Mummudi Kempe Virappa Gowda who ruled in 1705–1728 A.D.

Jayarāma's Rādhāmādhavavilāsacampū describes mainly the lives of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and incidentally the court life of Sahāji Bhonslo.[3] There is an introductory essay in Mahratti on the rise of the Mahrattas and their kingdoms. Puruṣottama's Śivakāvya describes the Mahrata rule from Śivāji to the abdication of Bajirao II.[4]

445. Tritantri. I saw the manuscript of a work called Tritantrī, some years ago, at Rajahmundry, but I lost touch with it. It was the work of Venkatārya. The first tantra is named Śraddhātantra. It is quasi-dramatic. Nārada enters the stage and says, I shall create a war between the three worlds. In the second tantra there is a story of the marriage of Sukumarī, daughter of Ratnākara, Emperor of Delhi. Then there is the story that the emperor offered the hand of his daughter to one who would bring a pearl of the size of Āmalaka and a person who posed himself as mad obtained a pearl of a bigger size by the grace of the Lord of the Oceans, when the Emperor proposed the marriage the person said that he had no intent to marry the princess, but only to falsify the verse written at the gate of the palace. In the third tantra there is the story of Prabhāvati.[5]

446. Avadanas of Buddhist literature are illustrative stories appended to ethical and religious precepts. They were well-known

1. A summary of the work is given by P. P. S. Sastri in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
2. For an account of this dynasty by B. Puttaiya, see *JMy*, XIII. 723.
3. Ed. by V. K. Rajavarde.
4. Ed. by J. B. Modak, Bombay.
5. It is regretted that the information given above is very meagre perhaps inaccurate, and it is based on mere recollection.

long before the Christian era. Of these Avadānaśataka[1] is the earliest extant and was translated into Chinese in the 3rd century A.D.

The collection of legends known as Divyāvadāna is of great merit, generally in prose, but interspersed with verses of various metres.[2] Āryasena's Jātakāvali contains tales illustrating the various supreme qualities of Buddha.[3]

Besides Avadānakalpalatā[4] of Kṣemendra, in which the last tale was added by his son Somendra, there are Vratāvadānamālā, Bhadrakalpāvadāna, Dvāvimśatyavadāna &c.[5] and Saddharmapundarīka[6] of Mahāyana School where tales in prose and verse are narrated of religion and didactic instruction.

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1. Ed. J. S. Speyer, *Bibl. Bud.* III. 1902–9.
2. Ed. F. B. Cowell, Cambridge. Keith, *SL*, 64.
3. Ed. H. Kern, *HOS*, Tr. by J.S. Speyer, London. Keith, *SL*, 67–9. V. Smith, *EH*. 184, 458.
4. Ed. *Bib. Ind.* Calcutta.
5. See Mitra's *Nep. Bud. Lit*, 85, 102, 221, 275. Oldenburg, *JRAS*, (1893) 331. Keith, *SL*, 493.
6. Ed. *Bibl. Bud.* X. 1908. Tr. *SBE*. Keith, *SL*. 493.

CHAPTER XIX

Gadyakavya

(Romance)

SECTION 1.

447. Romances. Kāvyas are of two kinds, Sravya and Dṛśya, audible and visible. Of the former, some are in verse and some in prose. Works in verse have been noticed under the heads of Mahākāvya and Laghukāvya, major and minor poems. Now come works in prose—Gadyakāvyas, commonly called Romances.

Gadya has been thus defined as वृत्तगन्धोज्झितं गद्यम् what is not in verse, that is, prose.[1]

Of romances there are two classes, KATHA and AKHYAYIKA. Earlier authors recognised a distinction between them; and Bhāmaha wrote in his Kāvyālankāra

प्रकृतानाकुलश्रव्यशब्दार्थपदवृत्तिना ।
गद्येन युक्तोदात्तार्था सोच्छ्वासाख्यायिका मता ॥
वृत्तमाख्यायते तस्यां नायकेन स्वचेष्टितम् ।
वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च काले भाव्यर्थशंसि च ॥
कवेरभिप्रायकृतैः कथनैः कैश्चिदङ्किता ।
कन्याहरणसङ्ग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयान्विता ॥
न वक्त्रापरवक्त्राभ्यां युक्ता नोच्छ्वासवत्यपि ।
संस्कृतं संस्कृताचेष्टा कथापभ्रंशभाक् तथा ॥

1. Generally, see Keith's *Origin of Tragedy and Akhyāna*, *JRAS* (1912); Grey's *Literary Studies on the Sanskrit Novel* (*WZKM*, XVIII, 40, 50); Dunlip's *History of Prose Fiction*; Mc Culloch's *Childhood of Fiction* and Gadyādarśa of Varada Kānta Vidyālankāra, Calcutta.

Gray, '*The Hindu Romance*,' in Princeton University Bulletin, XIII. 99-100. '*The Sanskrit Novel and the Arabian Nights*,' pp. 39-48; '*The Sanskrit Novel and the Sanskrit Drama*,' pp. 58-54: '*Reincarnation as a Novelistic Device*,' pp. 54-68.

For reincarnation in a modern western novel, see Margaret Potter's Flame-Gatherers (London, 1904), and Bain's Descent of the Sun (London, 1903). The earliest example known is *The Egyptian Tale of the Two Brothers*, written in the nineteenth dynasty (1375-1202 B.C, tr. Maspero, Contes populaires dei' Egypte ancienne, 3 ed., pp.3-20, Paris, 1906).

अन्यैस्स्वचरितं तस्यां नायकेन तु नोच्यते ।
स्वगुणाविष्कृतिं कुर्यादभिज्ञातः कथं जनः ॥

"Akhyāyikā is a literary composition, which is written in prose in words pleasing to the ear (*śravya*) and agreeable to the matter intended (*prakṛtānukūla*), but which may contain metrical pieces in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* metre, the object of these verses being to give a timely indication of future happenings in the story; which should have an exalted substance (*udāttārtha*) with some characteristics supplied by the poet's imagination as a special mark and having for its theme the abduction of a girl (kanyā-haraṇa), a fight (*saṃgrāma*), a separation (*vipralambha*) and the (final) triumph (*udaya*), apparently of the hero, in which an account of his deeds is given by the hero himself; in which the story is divided into several pauses called ucchvasas. In the katha, on the other hand, there are no vaktra or aparavaktra verses, no division into ucchvasas; and the story should not be narrated by the hero, but by someone else. It may be written in Sanskrit or in Apabhramsa, which indicated by implication that the akhyayika should always be composed in Sanskrit."[1]

But Daṇḍin denies the distinction:

अपादः पदसन्तानो गद्यमाख्यायिका कथा ।
इति तस्य प्रभेधौ द्वौ तयोराख्यायिका किल ॥
नायकेनैव वाच्यान्या नायकेनेतरेण वा ।
स्वगुणाविष्क्रिया दोषो नात्र भूतार्थशंसिनः ॥
अपित्वनियमो दृष्टस्तथाप्यन्यैरुदीरणात् ।
अन्यो वक्ता स्वयं वेति कीदृग्वा भेदकारणम ॥
वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च सोच्छ्वासत्वं च भेदकम् ।
चिह्नमाख्यायिकायाश्चेत् प्रसङ्गेन कथास्वपि ॥
आर्यादिवत्प्रवेशः किं न वक्त्रापरवक्त्रयोः ।
भेदश्च दृष्टो लम्भादिरुच्छ्वासो वास्तु किं ततः ॥
तत्कथाख्यायिकेत्येका जातिस्संज्ञाद्वयाङ्किता ।
अत्रैवान्तर्भविष्यन्ति शेषाश्चाख्यानजातयः ॥

"A succession of words not amenable to division into metrical feet is called prose. Chronicle and Tale are its two varieties. Of these chronicle, we are told, is what is narrated by the hero himself exclusively; the other by the hero as well as by any other person. The

1. S. K. De, "*Akhyayika and Katha in Classical Sanskrit.*"

showing forth of one's own merits is not here, in view of his being a recorder of events that have actually occurred, a blemish. This restriction, however, is not observed in as much as there (in akhyayika) also other persons can narrate. That another person narrates or he himself does it—what kind of a ground for distinction is this? If (the metres) Vaktra and Aparavaktra and the having of the title Ucchvasas (for a subdivision) are to be the differentiating mark of an Akhyayika, occasionally even in kathas, why, as in the case of Arya and other metres, should there not be scope for Vaktra and Aparavaktra? Lambha and other (titles for sub-division) are observed (in Kathas) as a distinguishing characteristic. Let Ucchvasas be one of them; what matters? Hence, Katha and Akhyayika constitute just one species denoted by two names. Herein also are comprised the remaining species of narration. The abduction of a maiden, battle, deception, somebody's rise in fortune and such other topics are common to it (Akhyayika) no less than to compositions-in-cantos; they do not form its differentiating characteristics. Any peculiar mark that the poet might affect according to his fancy (in a Katha etc.,) he could without impropriety affect in other composition. For accomplished persons, in the attainment of their desired ends, can there be any occasion that may not (just as well) serve as an opening."[1]

Rudrata, says S.K. De, "accepted and generalized the characteristics of Bana's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the Katha and the akhyayika respectively. According to him, we have in the katha an introductory namaskriya in verse to the devas and gurus, and a statement of the author's family and the motive of his authorship; the prose narrative written in Sanskrit (or in verse in other languages) in light alliterative words, the plot including pura-varnana, etc., (as in the case of the Utpadya-kavya, xvi, 3); a kathantara at the beginning, which is immediately connected with the main story; (4) a theme consisting of the winning of a girl (kanya-labha), which being the main issue, the sentiment of love is developed fully in it (vinyasta-sakala-srngara). In the akhyayika on the other hand (1) we have the namaskriya to devas and gurus in verse together with an incidental praise of older poets, a confession of one's own inability and a statement of the poet's motive in writing notwithstanding these drawbacks, which motive may spring from the poet's devotion to a particular king, his addiction to the praise of other people's merits or from some other special causes; (2) the story should be written in the manner of a katha,

2. See S. K. Belvalkar's translation of Kāvyādarśa.

but emphasis is put on the injunction that an account of the poet himself and his family must be contained in it, written in prose and not in verse; there are divisions into ucchvasas and two arya-verses should occur at the beginning of each chapter, excepting the first."

It will be therefore noticed that the earliest traditional forms are described by Bhāmaha, but as later poets did not conform to these rules, —for instance, the definition of Katha did not suit Kādambarī—[1] facts had to be faced. Daṇḍin, an admirer of Bāṇa, repudiated the distinctions and probably offered an apology for Bāṇa's indifference to the accepted canons of classification. Rudraṭa submitted himself to things as they were and adapted his definition to suit Harṣacarita as an Ākhyāyikā and Kādambarī as a Kathā and later rhetoricians do not dilate on this topic, though the orthodox view was not yet forgotten by Viśvanātha.

Hemacandra says Kathā may be in verse or in prose and instances Līlāvati[2] as पद्यमयी कथा and gives other classes of Kathā thus:—

प्रबन्धमध्ये परप्रबोधनार्थं नलाद्युपाख्यानमिवोपाख्यानमभिनयन् पठन् गायन् यदैको ग्रन्थिकः कथयति तद्गोविन्दवत् आख्यानम् ।

1. Peterson says:—"This is a description wholly inapplicable to Kadambari, but it is an exact description of Yasastilakacampu. I conclude that the definition of Katha was drawn up at a time when the literary pantheon of India opened its doors to adherents of all creeds and that Kadambari was dragged into the explanation by later fanatics who abhorred the Jain and his works and would find no better illustration among the books left to them of a definition which they were too conservative to abandon."

2. Bhoja in Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (XI) says

या नियमितगतिभाषा दिव्यादिव्योभयेति वृत्तवती ।

कादम्बरीव लीलावतीव वा सा कथा कथिता ॥

and quotes verses from it, all in prākṛt. In Ch. XXVII under दूती, he says

सहपांसुक्रीडा यथा कुवलयावळी महागुणवत्या लीलावत्यां ।

Līlāvatī is mentioned in Vāgbhaṭa's Alaṅkāratilaka. On the story of Līlāvatī, see M. R. Kavi's Līlāvatīkathā, *Bharati* (1926), 3.

In Vallabhācārya's Nyāyalilāvatī (p. 69) we have

यथा वा स्वेच्छास्मृतपदार्थसार्थे भवति शालिवाहनो नृपतिरिदानीं श्रृङ्गारसरसीतीरे देव्या लीलावत्या सह ललितमधुरं सङ्गीतकमनुतिष्ठतीति ज्ञातम् ।

In *Jess. Cat.* (50-51) it is given as the work of Bhuṣaṇabhaṭṭatanaya. See para 106 note *supra*.

तिरश्चामतिरश्चां वा चेष्टाभिर्यत्र कार्यमकार्यं वा निश्चीयते तत्पञ्चतन्त्रादिवत् धूर्तविटकुट्टनीमतमयूरमार्जारादिवच्च निदर्शनम् ।

प्रधानमधिकृत्य यत्र द्वयोर्विवादः सोऽर्धप्राकृतरचिता चेटकादिवत् प्रवह्लिका ।

प्रेतमहाराष्ट्रभाषया क्षुद्रकथा गोरोचनानङ्गवत्यादिवत् मतल्लिका । यस्यां पुरोहितामात्यतापसादीनां प्रारब्धानिर्वाहे उपहासस्सापि मतल्लिका ।

यस्यां पूर्वं वस्तु न लक्ष्यते पश्चात्तु प्रकाश्यते सामत्स्यहसितादिवत् मणिकुल्या ।

एकं धर्मादिपुरुषार्थमुद्दिश्य प्रकारवैचित्र्येणानन्तवृत्तान्तवर्णनप्रधाना शूद्रकादिवत् परिकथा ।

मध्यादुपान्ततो वा ग्रन्थान्तरप्रसिद्धमितिवृत्तं यस्यां वर्ण्यते सेन्दुमत्यादिवत् खण्डकथा ।

समस्तफलान्तेतिवृत्तवर्णना समरादित्यादिवत् सकलकथा ।

एकतरचरिताश्रयेण प्रसिद्धकथान्तरोपनिबद्धा उपकथा ।

लम्भाङ्किताद्भुतार्था नरवाहनदत्तचरितवत् बृहत्कथा ।

448. Indian and Greek Romance. It has been said that "of the Romance particularly the Erotic Romance of the Milesian school one finds likeness in the Indian novels written in the 7th century A.D. by Bana and Subandhu." In his introduction to Kādambarī Peterson outlines a comparison in some important points between Kādambarī and Leucippe and Clitephon and holds with M. Goblet Alviella that the Indian Romance was directly borrowed from the Greeks.[1] "The romances of the two peoples," says Levi "are totally different both in plan and spirit as even a cursory reading will show. The least part of the Sanskrit romance is the thread of the story or the adventures of its characters; all the stress is laid on rhetorical embellishment, minute discriptions of nature, detailed specification of exploits and of mental, moral and physical qualities. In the Greek Romance on the other hand as in Latin the story is everything. The reader is hurried from one adventure to another, the wilder and more improbable, the better; fine writing is practically disregarded; description and appreciation of nature are to all intents and purposes avoided."

M. F. Lacote discusses the connection of Greek and Indian Romances: "In India we have been unable to render a satisfactory account of the progressive development of the system of romance writing. It had never ceased to exist but extended to all the narratives in prose and perfected itself in the process so well that the Kathas

1. On the question, see G. Banerjee's *Hellenism in Ancient India.*

when most rigorously constructed were nothing but romances. The Greek romance on the contrary had not delayed to outstrip its primitive type and to approach the ordinary stand of a narrative epic and at the same time the erotic element was present in it in a more marked degree."

SECTION 2.

449. Early literature. The earliest passages in prose that have successfully survived "the ship-wreck of Sanskrit literature" are to be sought for in the Samhiṭa of the *Black Yajus.* Unlike Samhiṭa of Rik which is purely a lyrical collection of hymns, Ṭaiṭṭirīya Samhiṭa contains prose portions in it, which formed the only Brahmaṇas in Katha and Maiṭrāyaṇīya Schools. In the Samhiṭa, the sacrificial formulæ were accompanied by dogmatic explanations and by descriptions of ceremonials pertaining to them. These explanations were elucidations of the sacrificial enigmas and embodied the speculation of generations of priests. These *dicta theologica* were imparted by oral tradition, preserved as well as supplemented in the course of years in different families or parishads. The more numerous these works became, the more unsystematic their contents grew. Harmony was needed to bring them to order. To this end, compilations of the different opinions were uniformly arranged under different headings and such digests were in later times called *Brāhmanas.* These were in most cases regular commentaries in prose on the vedic hymns, explanatory and analytical. This practice of adopting a prose-style for linguistic explanations and traditional narratives introduced into this Vedic period descended to the Purāṇic period. Mahābhāraṭa and Purāṇas contain prose portions in them, which at least in the former appear to be directly descended from the language of the Brāhmaṇas. This kind of long prose-work becomes too elaborate to be preserved or got up by rote. The compilers now hit at the other extreme. They would be more concise and precise. References must be facilitated. Thus *brevity took the place of verbosity.* This is the origin of the literature of the *Sūṭras.* The saying was proverbial that "an author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son." Sometimes the sūṭras were so meagre as to have a single syllable in it, illustrations of which Pāṇini can furnish in abundance.[1] Rules of interpretation were equally hard and the principle of *descent* and *cessation* of words was the chief

1. *E.g.* अ अ, VIII. iv. 68.

means of construction. Apart from any want of artistic excellence, they form an ingenious part of Indian literature, to which no other nation can offer a parallel. In a very short time, every department of science or religion began to have a sutra literature of its own, long before the beginning of the Christian era. Then came the *vṛtti*, which were the sūṭras themselves in a more expanded form and in some cases they contained hints at the interpretation of the sūṭras. The language of both the sūṭras and the vṛṭṭis gave rise to differences of opinion among the learned, and this conflict necessitated commentaries expressive of the arguments in support of the author's interpretation. These were the *Bhāṣyas*. Strictly speaking, the 'evil,' which the sutra literature was intented to remedy, once more appeared—evil in the sense of elaborateness. Bhāṣya literature therefore mostly resembles the Brāhmaṇas but with a few variations. The aim is no longer to explain sacrificial symbols or ceremonial rituals, but to elucidate the intricate theories involved in the suṭras of various departments of learning. Their language in general bears no resemblance to the language of the romances. The tone of the former is serious and scientific, while that of the latter is levitous and recreative. Bhāṣyas are stuffed with substance and technicality; they are *vasṭu-praḍhāna*. Literary prose proper is the result of poetic art and rhetorical embellishment.

SECTION 3.

450. Early Romances. The literature of Romances, Ākhyāyikā, appears to have been quite advanced long before the Christian era. Kāṭyāyana mentions ākhyāyikas (in the plural). Besides naming Sumanoṭṭara and Bhaimaraṭhī, Paṭanjali instances Vāsavaḍaṭṭā as an Ākhyāyikā and speaks of its readers as Vāsavaḍaṭṭikas,[1] but does not mention the names of the authors. In his Harṣacariṭa Bāṇa praises writers on Ākhyāyikā and (an Ākhyāyikā) Vāsāvaḍaṭṭā :

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1. i. अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे, लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुळम् । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यत्र लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलं लुब् वक्तव्यः । वांसवदत्ता सुमनोत्तरा नच भवति भैमरथी ।—Mahābhāṣya, IV, iii, 87.

ii. रसादिभ्यश्च......दृश्यन्ते ह्यन्ये रसादिभ्यो मत्वर्थीयाः । रसको नटः, ऊर्वशीवैरूपिण्यस्परसाम् ।—Mahābhāṣya, V, ii, 95.

iii. आख्यायिका वासवदत्तिकः इति भाष्यम् । वासवदात्तिक इति वासवदत्तामधिकृत्य कृताख्यायिका वासवदत्ता । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यर्थे वृद्धाच्छः । तस्य लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलमिति लुप्, ततो अनेन ठक् ॥—Kaiyata.

उच्छ्वासान्तेऽप्यखिन्नास्ते येषां वक्त्रे सरस्वती ।
कथमाख्यायिकाकारा न ते वन्द्याः कवीश्वराः ॥
कवीनामगळद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया ।
शक्त्येव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम् ॥

Haradatta in Kāśikā mentions Ūrvaśī.

Next to Vāsavadatta, we have references to two romances, Cārumati of Vararuci[1] and Tarangavati[2] of Śrīpālita[3]. Śrīpālita was a distinguished poet of the Court of Hāla and has been praised by Dhanapāla and Abhinanda. Tarangavatī was probably in prakrit. Rāmila and Somila wrote Śūdrakakathā.[4] Besides the mention of Cārumatī, Bhoja refers to Manovatī and Śatakarnīharana[5] which must have belonged to the beginning of the Christian era.

Manovatī praised by Dandin was probably of great merit. He says

धवळप्रभवा रागं सा तनोति मनोवती ।
कविगन्धगजैरेभिः ... ... ||Avantisundarī.

451. Haricandra (Bhattara) was praised by Bāna for his enchanting prose composition "luminous in its arrangement of words of

1. See para 6 supra.
2. पुण्या पुनाति गङ्गेव गां तरङ्गवती कथा । Tilakamanjarī.
3. For the verse of Abhinanda, see para 23 note supra.
4. (i) Bhoja mentions it :

शुको जरद्विरः शूद्रककथायां हरिमतीवृत्तान्ते यथा ।
जं वदणरव इविण ओ पआसइतेदं बदकीरणिता ओभासइ ।
जइहारिळरुखूजणजुत्तहोदि जउसद्धल अतवणि उत्तहो ॥
Śrngaraprasakāśa, xxviii.

संभ्रान्तस्त्वरितमसौ मलिम्लुचानामुर्वीशश्शमितमयोधयद्द्युम्नान् ।
कालेऽस्मिन् विनयवती वनेषु चार्ता वार्तायै कमितुरितस्ततो जगाम ॥
(Ibid, xxx.)

Vinayavatī is the beloved of Śūdraka.

(ii) तौ शूद्रककथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।
काव्यं ययोर्द्वयोरासीदर्धनारीश्वरोपमौ ॥
Jalhana.

(iii) Subhāṣitāvali (2227) quotes under Kaviputrau:

भ्रूचातुर्यं कुञ्चितान्ताः कटाक्षा स्निग्धा हावा लज्जितान्ताश्च हासाः ।
लीलामन्दं प्रस्थितं चासितं च स्त्रीणामेतद्भूषणं चायुधं च ॥

5. सौरिकः शुकुनिकः शकुन्तिकायाः सातकर्णीहरणे ।
Śrngāraprakāśa, xxviii, 9.

choice letters." His romance, probably known as MALATI, has not been traced.[2]

Śīla's language is extolled for simple grace like Bāṇa's, but her work is not named.[2]

Bhoja himself wrote a romance Śṛngāramanjarī.[3] Kulaśekhara composed Āscaryamanjari,[4] Vādiganghāla mentions a work Kusumamanjari[5] and Jayaratha quotes from Anangalekhā,[6] but their authors are unknown. Hastimalla appears to have also written an Ākhyāyika divided into Lambhas.[7]

1. पदबन्धोज्ज्वलो हारी कृतवर्णक्रमस्थितिः ।
भट्टारहरिचन्द्रस्य गद्यबन्धो विभाव्यते ॥ *Harṣacarita.*

See para 17 supra.

2. शब्दार्थयोस्समो गुम्फः पाञ्चालीरीतिरिष्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥

Jalhaṇa's *Suktimuktāvali.*

3. *Jess. Cat.* 55. See Introduction to Yuktikalpataru.

4. दूरादपि सतां मध्ये लिखित्वाश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ।
कुलशेखरवर्माख्यां चकाराश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ॥

Jalahaṇa's *Suktimuktāvali* and *DC*, XXI. 8105.

आये ! मा मैवम् । यस्य परमहंसपादपङ्केरुहपांसुपटलपवित्रीकृतमुकुटतटस्य वसुधाविबुधधनायान्धकारायमाणकरकमलस्य मुखकमलादगलदाश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुद्रवः

Prologue to Tapatisamvaraṇa, TSS. DC, XXI. 8135

5. In his commentary on Kāvyādarśa, I. 28.

6. नदीप्रकरमुल्लिङ्घितवन्तं मनोहरहस्तमलयजन्तं च, सपर्याणां रुचि वहन्तं सर्वत्र पूजनीयं च, सकुम्भं सकलशंचरन्तं च, सदानदन्तं मदपर्याविलदर्शनं च, करटं कमपि विभ्रतं कवाटविभ्रममपुञ्चन्तं च, कुञ्जराजिवर्धितरुचिं वारणरणरणिकाकुलितं च, राजमानविसन्धायिनं विराजमानं च, शारीभूतं मदसलिलेन, शबलीभूतं च, इति पुनरुक्ताश्रयम् ।—अनङ्गलेखायां हस्तिवर्णने । *Commentary on Alankārasarvasva, Kāvyamālā Edn.* p. 19.

ii. विदर्भाङ्गनाजनमपि दर्भगर्भकरमकरोत् । पञ्चतां जनयन्नपि पञ्चालस्य वैमुख्यमपुष्णात् । पारसीकरणमप्यपारसीकरणं चकार । मागधानपि विमागधान्व्यधात् । चोळकान्ता अप्यचोळकान्ताः समपादयत् । कुन्तलालसानप्यकुन्तलालसांश्च निर्ममे । शूरसेनानप्यशूरसेनानदर्शयत् । अनङ्गलेखायां राजवर्णने । *Ibid.* 123.

Tikāsarvasva quotes कुरङ्गैरिव कुशलवादिभिः from this romance.

7. हस्तिमल्लेन लम्भान्ते लम्भशब्दः ।

Taruṇavācaspati's commentary on Kāvyādarśa, I. 30.

Malayasundarī of Māṇikyasundara[1] is in verse; Citralekhā mentioned by Rayamukuṭa[2] and Guptavatī[3] are anonymous.

"Rudrata's" Trailokyasundarī appears to have related the tale of Kṛṣṇa. Aparājita's Mṛgānkalekhā is mentioned by Rājaśekhara and must be different from Mṛgāvatīkathā of unknown authorship.[7]

Agastya's Kṛṣṇacarita,[8] Viśveśvara's Madanamanjarī,[9] Jagannātha's Āsafvilāsa[10] and Vāsudeva's Rāmakathā have been noticed.[11]

SECTION 3.

452. **Bana** was the son of Citrabhānu and Rājadevī and of Vatsa-gotra. Arthapati was his grandfather, Candrasena and Mahīsena his half-brothers and Ganapati, Adhipati, Tārāpati and Śyāmala, his paternal cousins. Mayūra was his brother-in-law.[12] They lived at Pṛthukūta on the banks of the Sōna river. As an infant Bāṇa lost his mother, and his father tended him with maternal care. When he was fourteen his father passed away, and with this Bāṇa's life changed. Well educated in Sanskrit and with a competency uncontrolled by elders, he became self-willed and with the buoyancy of youth he planned travel. He gathered together a mob of companions who with proficiencies heterogenious could indeed have got on gaily anywhere. But the fortune was soon dissipated and he returned home. One day he was called to the Court of Harṣavardhana, then encamping near Maṇipura on the Ajirāvatī. There on the commendations of Harṣa's brother, he was well received and soon he became the King's favourite.[13]

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1. Printed. *Bik.* 685; *PR.* I. 123. There is another by Jayatilakasuri.
2. *CC.* I. 180 (an upakathā).
3. *Opp*, II. 8020.
4. सुश्लिष्टललिता यस्य कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी ।—Tilakamanjarī.
5. Quoted by Bhoja in Śṛngāraprakāśa, Chap. 28.
6. Mentioned in prologue to Karpuramanjarī.
7. *PR*, I, Ap. 83.
8. See para 126 supra. *Tanj.* VII. 2992.
9. See para 312 supra. *PR.* V mentions author as a pupil of Lakṣmīdhara.
10. See para 311 supra.
11. *DC*, XXI. 8023. See para 172 supra.
12. So says Mānatunga in his Bhaktāmarastotra.
13. For a fuller account, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambarī (*BSS*, No. 24), 46ff. On Bāṇa generally, see Hall, introduction to Vāsavadatta, 12ff; Aufrecht, *CC*, I. 368; *ZDMG*, XXVII. 50-4; Peterson, *PR*, I. 105; IV. lxxxii. 62-6; *JBRAS*, XVI. 175; Bhandarkar, *BR*, (1827) xviii, xxxiii; Weber *ZDMG* (1853); Macdonnel, *SL*, ; R. C. Dutt, *AC*, II. 298. Cartellieri, *Das Mahabharata dei Subandhu und Bana*,

Bāṇa's ancestors were devout brahmins and votaries of Śiva. Blessed with a hereditary instinct for learning and himself well-educated he had seen life and world. He proposed to narrate to his friends the story of his patron, and that is Harshacarita.

453. Harsacarita[1] begins with an autobiography where Bāṇa traces his descent from Daḍhīca and Sarasvaṭi and from Daḍhīca's brother's son Vaṭsa. He names his immediate ancestors of some generations with veneration due to their piety and learning. He gives an account of his early life and his sojourn at the royal Court. Next comes the history of King Harṣa. In the city of Sṭhāṇvīśvara in the country of Srīkantha, there lived a king Puṣpabhūṭi. In his line was born king Prabhākaravarḍhana of great prowess. He has two sons Rājyavarḍhana and Harṣavarḍhana and a daughter Rājyaśrī. Rājyaśrī married the Maukharī prince Grahavarman. On the death of Prabhākaravarḍhana, Rājyavarḍhana refused the throne, but before he could instal Harṣa in his stead news reached them that the king of Mālva had slain Rājyaśrī's husband and carried her away to his capital; Rājyavarḍhana set out on an expedition against him, but there he was killed by treachery by the king of Gauda. Upset by this calamity, Harṣa marched on Mālva to avenge the disgrace. But on his way he learnt that Rājyaśrī had escaped from prison, and was rescued by a Buddhist Saint from her resolve to ascend the funeral pyre. Here the book ends as it is with the meeting of Harṣa and Rājyaśrī and is obviously incomplete. This in short is the story of Harṣacariṭa.[2]

From the comparison of the account given by Bāna in Harṣacarita with the description of the life and history of King Harṣavarḍhana Sīlāḍiṭya[3] by the Chinese traveller Hiouen-Thsang, it has been possible

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VOJ, XIII. 72; On the close lexical affinity between Harsacariṭa and Rājaṭaranginī, see *VOJ*, XII. 33; *JRAS*, (1699) 485. On Kāḍambari and Bṛhaṭkaṭha, see Mankowski, *SOJ*, XIII. No. 2.

1. In Bhoja's Sṛingāraprakāśa (Chapter 20), there is a quotation :

यथा हर्षचरिते भवः,

तस्य च सुता कुमारी रूपवती सर्वलक्षणोपेता ।

तां भवतः प्रयच्छति हर्षो प्रहिते सहास्माभिः ॥

This shows the existence of another Harṣacariṭa.

2. Ed. Bombay. For a more detailed account, see Peterson's Introduction to Kāḍambari (*BSS*. No. 24) 1-38. Translated into English by Cowell and Thomas (Cambridge).

3. On Sīlāḍiṭya, see Dosabai's *History of Guzerat*, 316.

to identify Bāṇa's patron with that king who ruled at Kanouj in 610-650 A.D.[1] This certainty of date has brought an additional value to Harṣacarita as a land-mark in Sanskrit literary history, for the introductory verses mention the names of some prominent poets whom Bāṇa admired, Vyāsa, Cora, author of Vāsavadatta, Bhattāra Haricandra, Sātāvāhana, Pravarasena, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, author of Bṛhatkathā and Ādhyarāja.[2]

454. Kadambari. By far the work with which Bāṇa's literary glory is associated is his romance Kādambarī.[3] He wrote only the first part of it and what was left unfinished was made up by his son Pulinda or Bhūṣaṇabhatta.[4] It is a long tale of complicated construction narrated by a parrot called Vaiśampāyana to king Sūdraka of Vidiśā. It describes the loves of Candrāpīda of Ujjain and Kādambarī, the Gandharva princess and interlaced with it the loves of Kādambarī's friend Mahāśveta and Pundarīka. The marriages of these heroines are interrupted by the sudden, but apparent, deaths of their lovers, when on the assurances of a heavenly voice, they bide their time. The parrot concluded the narrative and flew away; the woman that brought the parrot told Sūdraka that the parrot's tale was but a description of his life in his prior birth and this seemed to remind him of his past doings and that Candrāpīda was only his incarnation. Thus the curse which had caused these impediments in the way of the lovers exhausted itself and Candrāpīda and Pundarīka were revived and were reunited with Kādambarī and Mahāśveta at Ujjain. There they lived happily together in sublime felicity.[5]

In literary merit Kādambarī is supreme. The reader loses himself in a poetic trance. The name is true to the grace, for Kādambarī means

1. For a discussion of the narratives, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambarī (*BSS*, No. 34) 60ff. For Hiouen Thsang's account, see Stanislas Julien's *Memoires* I. 247-265; *IA*, VII. 196-202.

2. For a full account of these references, see Peterson, *l.c.* 66ff. Three verses of Kādambarī in praise of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Bramha are quoted in a grant of Mahārāṇaka Kumārapaladeva (Sam. 1297; *IA*, XVII. 230). But the introductory verses are not found in a manuscript, *DC*, XXI. 6315.

3. Ed. Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and Mysore. Translated into English by C. Ridding, London, and Uttarārdha by V. R. Nerurkar.

Ed. with Introduction by P. Peterson, *BSS*, and by R. V. Kane, Bombay, Mysore and at Madras.

4. There is a Lilāvatīkathā in prākṛt poetry by Bhuṣaṇabhattatanaya (*Jess. Cat.* 55) on the story of Śalivāhana. See para 106 *supra*.

5. For a detailed account, see Peterson'introduction to Kādambarī.

also liquor. If liquor makes one forget himself, so does the Romance of Kādambarī. Such is the proverbial repute.[1] Govardhana days that Vāṇī (Sarasvatī) became Bāṇa.[2] "Bāṇa's words breathe a freshness of vigour that bespeak a warm and sincere admiration of the profusion of nature which the Indian Scenery offers to the poetic mind. And in this respect he has very few equals even among oriental poets."[3] From his represen-

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1, " कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते ।
कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते ॥"

2. " जाता शिखण्डिनी प्राग्यथा शिखण्डी तथावगच्छामि ।
प्रागल्भ्यमधिकमाप्तुं वाणी वाणो बभूवेति ॥

3. For appreciation by many other poets, see *Jl. af Sam. Sah. Par.* XIII. 38-6. For instance :

गंगादेवी—

वाणीपाणिपरामृष्टवीणानिक्वाणहारिणीम् ।
भावयन्ति कथं वान्ये भट्टबाणस्य भारतीम् ॥

त्रिलोचनः—

" हृदि लग्नेन बाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदक्रमः ।
भवेत्कविकुरङ्गाणां चापलं तत्र कारणम् ॥"

त्रिविक्रमः—'नलचम्पूः'

" शश्वद्बाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
धनुषेव गुणाढ्येन निःशेषो रञ्जितो जनः ॥"

धनपालः—'तिलकमञ्जरी'

" केवलोऽपि स्फुरन् बाणः करोति विमदान् कवीन् ।
किं पुनः क्लृप्तसन्धानपुलिन्ध्र(न्द?) कृतसन्निधिः ॥"

धर्मदाससूरिः—'विदग्धमुखमण्डनम्'

" रुचिरस्वरवर्णपदा रसभाववती जगन्मनो हरति ।
तत् किं तरुणी ? नहि नहि वाणी बाणस्य मधुरशीलस्य ॥

चन्द्रदेवकविः—

" श्लेषे केचन शब्दगुम्फविषये केचिद्रसे चापरे-
ऽलङ्कारे कतिचित्सदर्थविषये चान्ये कथावर्णने ।
आसर्वत्र गभीरधीरकविता विन्ध्याटवीचातुरी-
सञ्चारो कविकुम्भिकुम्भभिदुरो बाणस्तु पञ्चाननः ॥

lation of the horse Indrāyudha, he has come to be known as Turanga Bāṇa. His language is chaste yet ornate and learned yet charming and his descriptions show no end of their resources. The meeting of Sarasvatī and Dadhīca, the last embrace by Prabhākaravardhana of his son, these for instance in Harṣacarita, the beginning of the narrative by the parrot, the advice of Śukanāsa to Candrāpīḍa, the progress of the amours of Kādambarī and Candrāpīḍa in the Gandharva capital and the pleasant association of the lovers after vicissitudes, these for instance in Kādambarī are worthy of a special appreciation.

455. There are commentaries on Harṣacarita by Rājānaka Śankarakantha,[1] by Ranganātha,[2] by Rucaka,[3] by Śankara.[4]

सोड्ढलः—'उदयसुन्दरीकथा'

१ । "श्रीहर्ष इत्यवनिवर्तिषु पार्थिवेषु
नाम्नैव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
श्रीहर्ष एष निजसंसदि येन राज्ञा
संपूजितः कनककोटिशतेन बाणः ॥"

२ । "बाणस्य हर्षचरिते निशितामुदीक्ष्य
शक्तिं न केऽत्र कवितास्त्रमदं त्यजन्ति ।
मान्द्यं न कस्य च कवेरिह कालिदास-
वाचां रसेन रसितस्य भवत्यधृष्यम् ॥" १।५ ॥

३ । "वागीश्वरं हन्त भजेऽभिनन्द-
मर्थेश्वरं वाक्पतिराजमीडे ।
रसेश्वरं स्तौमि च कालिदासं
बाणं तु सर्वेश्वरमानतोऽस्मि ॥" ८।१

सोमेश्वरदेवः—'कीर्तिकौमुदी' १।१५

"युक्तं कादम्बरीं श्रुत्वा कवयो मौनमाश्रिताः ।
बाणध्वनावनध्यायो भवतीति स्मृतिर्यतः ॥"

[११४७—१२६२ खृ. आ.]

1. Ed. Bombay, Śankarakantha was father of Ratnakantha who lived about 1650 A.D.
2. *TC*, III, 3858.
3. Called Harṣacaritavārtika.
4. Printed, Bombay. *PR*, I, 120.

There are commentaries on Kāḍambarī by Bhānucanḍra and Siḍḍhacanḍra,[1] Hariḍāsa,[2] Śivarāma,[3] Vaiḍyanāṭha, son of Rāmabhatta,[4] Balakṛṣṇa,[5] Suracanḍra,[6] Mahāḍeva,[7] Sukhākara,[8] Arjuna son of Cakraḍāsa,[9] Ghanaśyāma,[10] and some anonymous.[11]

456. The story of Kāḍambarī is found in Vāmana Bhatta Bāṇa's Bṛhaṭkathāmanjarī,[12] Somaḍeva's Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara and Ḍandin's Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhāsāra, and in the latter the story agrees with the narrative of Bāṇa only so far as the Pūrvabhāga.

Ḍhundirāja Vyāsayajvan, son of Lakṣmana, wrote Abhinavakāḍambarī, and a gloss on Muḍrārākṣasa in 1713 A.D.[13] He is probably the same as the commentator on Lakṣmīsahasra,[14] and is the author of the musical work Sahajīvilāsa.[15]

Abhinanḍa's Kāḍambarīkaṭhāsāra, a poem in 8 cantos, has been noticed.[16] Vikramaḍeva (Ṭrivikrama), son of Rājarājaḍeva, and pupil of Viḍyācakravarṭi, wrote the poem Kāḍambarīkathāsāra in 13 cantos,[17] Kalpiṭakāḍambarī[18] is anonymous. Ṭryambakā's Kāḍambarīkathāsāra,[19] Śrikanthābhinava Sastrin's Kāḍambarīcampū,[20] and Narasimha's play Kāḍambarīkalyana,[21] and Paḍyakāḍambari[22] of Kṣemenḍra relate the same story.

1. Printed, Bombay.
2. Printed, Bombay.
3. *CC*, II. 17; Bhandarkar's *List*, Part I (1893). See under Dandin *post*.
4. *SKC*, 80; *Ulwar*, 896.
5. *PR*, II. 53, 188.
6. *CC*, II. 17.
7. *PR*, II. 188.
8. *PR*, II. 188.
9. *Mys*. 261.
10. See para 166 *supra*.
11. *SKC*, 80; *TC*, IV. 5115.
12. See para 128 *supra*.
13. *Tanj*. VIII. 3475.
14. *CC*, III. 5, I. Printed, Bombay.
15. See para 163 *supra*.
16. See para 60 *supra*.
17. See para 100. *TC*, IV. 4292; Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep*. (1919), 38.
18. See Kavinḍrācārya's *List* (*GOS*) No. 1935.
19. *Śāraḍā*, II, April-August 1916.
20. Printed, Mysore. See also *CC*, I. 93 where author's name is not given.
21. *TC*, III. 3489. See on the author Chapter on Sanskrit Drama *post*.
22. See Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep*. (1919) 39. It is quoted in Kavikanthābharaṇa. The manuscript is with Paliathachan, Sendamangalam, Malabar.

There are epitomes of Kādambarī ; Kādambaryarthasāra by Maṇirāma,[1] Sankṣipta-Kādambarī by Kāśīnātha,[2] Kādambarīsangraha by R. V. Krisṇamācārya,[3] Candrāpīdacaritra by V. Anantācārya,[4] and epitomes of Harṣacarita by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācarya,[5] and by Śrīnivāsācārya.[6]

457. Among other works of Bāṇa are Caṇdīśataka, Śivaśataka, Mukutataḍitaka and Śaradācandrikā.

Caṇdīśataka is a centum of verses in long Śardūla metre in praise of Caṇdī, a form of Kālī, with an allusion in every verse to some incident in the fight between Kālī and Mahiṣāsura. Its sourse is the Devīmahātmya (ch. 80) of Markandeya Purāṇa. This, " the Suryasataka of Mayura and the Bhaktamarastotra of Manatunga," says Peterson " are three opposing poems written by devotees of one or other of the great forms of religion which flourished side by side under Harsha's protection." There are commentaries is on Caṇdīśataka by Dhaneśvara,[7] by Nagojibhatta,[8] by Bhāskararoya[9] and another anonymous.[10]

Śivastuti like Caṇdīśataka was in praise of Śiva and of his victory over of Tripurāsura.[11]

Of Mukutataḍitaka nothing is known except a quotation by Bhoja in Śṛngāraprakāśa and by Guṇavijayagaṇi in his commentary on Nalacampū.[12] It has for its theme Bhīmasena's smashing of Duryodhana with his club.

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1. *IOC*, 2520.
2. *IOC*, 866, VII. 1558. He was a Kasmirian and wrote at the instance of Padmarāja.
3. Printed, Srirangam.
4. *Sah.* XIV.
5. Printed, Kumbakonam.
6. Printed, Trichinopoly.
7. Ed. with the commentaries, Bombay, See Hall's Introduction to Vāsavadatta, 8, 49 ; Buhler, *14*, I. 111.
8. *PR*, I. 114.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Introduction to Kādambarī. 97 f.n. On this, G. P. Quackenbos, "*Poems of Mayura*, Int. 39.
11. The name of the author is not given, but verses from it are quoted under Bāṇa in all the anthologies.
12. यदाह मुकुटताडितनाटके बाणः ।

आशाः प्रोषितदिग्गजा इव गुहाः प्रध्वस्तसिंहा इव
द्रोण्यः कृत्तमहाद्रुमा इव भुवः प्रोत्खातशैला इव ॥
बिभ्राणाः क्षयकालरिक्तसकलत्रैलोक्यकष्टां दशां
जाताः क्षीणमहारथाः कुरुपतेर्दैवस्य शून्यास्सभाः ॥

Pārvatīpariṇaya is a play long considered to be the work of this Bāṇa, but recent opinion has been inclined towards attributing it to Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa.[1]

Speculation has been rife also on a reading of the passage of Kāvyaprakāśa according to which Bāṇa is said to have received wealth from Harṣa in lieu of his poetry and some scholars have therefore thought that Raṭnāvali, Nāgānanda and Priyadarśikā must be Bāṇa's composition.[2] There is Sarvacaritanāṭaka mentioned in his name.[3]

Śaradāṭanaya mentions a play named Śāradācandrikā by Bāṇa, of which the plot related to Candrāpīda.[4]

Kṣemendra in his Aucityaricāracarcā quotes a verse saying that it is part of a description of the condition of Kādambarī in her separation from Candrapīda and has other verses in his Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, which are referable to similar situations.[5] Is it possible that Bāṇa wrote Kādambarī in verse also? Some of these verses are very charming and are as good as verses quoted as Bāṇa's in the anthologies, leaving us not in doubt that Bāṇa was good at verse as at prose. He was probably also a philosopher, for Ānandajīvin, in his commentary Ṭaṭṭvaviveka on Anubhavānanda's Nyāyaraṭnadīpāvaḷi, gives a reference to a work of Bāṇa on Vedānta.

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1. See Telang, *IA*, III. 219 and Peterson's Int. to Kādambari, 97.
2. See on this subject chapter on Sanskrit drama *post*.
3. *CC*, I. 368.
4. कल्पितं भट्टबाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका ।
   दिव्येन मर्त्यस्य वधः काव्यस्यावश्यभावतः ॥

   Bhāvaprakāsa (*GOS*), 252.

   Daśarupa mentions Śaradācandrā as an example of Uṭsriṣṭikāṅka.

   चन्द्रापीडस्य मरणं यत्प्रत्युज्जीवनान्तिमम् ।
   कल्पितं भट्टबाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका ॥
5. हारो जलार्द्रवसनं नलिनीदळानि प्रालेयशीकरमुचस्तुहिनांशुभासः ।
   यस्येन्धनानि सरसानि च चन्दनानि निर्वाणमेष्यति कथं स मनोभवाग्निः ॥

   अत्र विप्रलम्भभरभग्नधैर्यायाः कादम्बर्या विरहव्यथावर्णनं माधुर्यसौकुमार्यादिगुणयोगेन पूर्णेन्दुवदनेन प्रियंवदत्वेन हृदयानन्ददायिनीं दयिततमतामातनोति ।

   —Bom. Edn. p. 121.

   For all such verses, see Peterson's *Subh*. 62-68 and Thomas, *Kav*, 55-59.

   e. g. अथोदयी बालसुहृत्स्मरस्य श्यामाधवश्यामललक्ष्मभङ्ग्या ।
   तारावधूलोचनचुम्बनेन लीलाविलीनाञ्जनबिन्दुरिन्दुः ॥

458. The following passages from Harṣacarita are of historical value :[1]

कृतमवधारयतु स्वामी समादिष्टं किन्तु स्वल्पं विज्ञप्तव्यमस्ति भर्तृभक्तेः । तदाकर्णयतु देवः । देवेन हि पुष्पभूतिवंशभूतस्याजात्यस्य सहजस्य तेजसो दिक्करिकरप्रलम्बस्य बाहुयुगलस्यासाधारणस्य च सोदरस्नेहस्य सर्वं सदृशमुपक्रान्तम् । काकोदराभिधानाः कृपणाः कृमयोऽपि न मृष्यन्ति विकारं, किमुत भवादृशास्तेजसां राशयः । केवलं देवराज्यवर्धनोदन्तेन कियदपि दृष्टमेव देवेन दुर्जनदौरात्म्यम् ।

तदियमात्मदेशाचारोचिता स्वभावसरलहृदयजा त्यज्यतां सर्वविश्वासिता । प्रमाददोषाभिषङ्गेषु श्रुतबहुवार्त एव प्रतिदिनं देवः, यथा ।

1. नागकुलजन्मनः सारिकाश्रावितमन्त्रस्यासीन्नाशो नागसेनस्य पद्मावत्याम् ।

2. शुकश्रुतहास्यस्य च श्रीरशीर्यत श्रुतवर्मणश्श्रावस्त्याम् ।

3. स्वप्नायमानस्य च मन्त्रभेदोऽभून्मृत्यवे मृत्तिकावत्यां सुवर्णचूडस्य ।

4. चूडामणिलग्नलेखप्रतिबिम्बवाचिताक्षरा च चारुचामीकरचामरग्राहिणी यमतां ययौ यवनेश्वरस्य ।

5. लोभबहुलं च बहुलनिशिनिधानमुत्खातखड्गप्रमाथिनी ममन्थ माथुरं बृहद्रथं विदूरथवरूथिनी ।

6. नागवनविहारशीलं च मायामातङ्गाङ्गान्निर्गता महासेनसैनिका वत्सपतिं न्ययंसिषुः ।

7. अतिदयितलास्यस्य च शैलूषमध्यमध्यास्य मूर्धानमसिलतया मृणालमिवालुनादग्निमित्रात्मजस्य सुमित्रस्य मित्रदेवः ।

8. प्रियतन्त्रीवाद्यस्यालाबूवीणाभ्यन्तरसुषिरनिहितनिशिततरवारयो गान्धर्वच्छात्रच्छद्मानः चिच्छिदुरश्मकेश्वरस्य शरभस्य शिरोऽरिपुरुषाः ।

9. प्रज्ञादुर्बलं च बलदर्शनव्यपदेशदर्शिताशेषसैन्यः सेनानीरनार्यो मौर्यं बृहद्रथं पिपेष पुष्पमित्रस्स्वामिनम् ।

10. आश्चर्यकुतूहली च चण्डीपतिर्दण्डोपनतयवननिर्मितेन नभस्थलयायिना यन्त्रयानेनानीयत क्वापि ।

11. काकवर्णः शैशुनागिश्च नगरोपकण्ठे निचकृते निस्त्रिंशेन ॥

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1. Bombay Edn., page 197-200.
2. This is Sankara's gloss. काकवर्णो यवनान् विजित्य तैश्च स्वपुरुषानुपायनकृत्य यन्त्रयानैस्तद्गतैः परदारादीन् गच्छन्यवनैरात्मदेशं प्रापय्य निहत इति ॥

12. अतिस्त्रीसङ्गरतमनङ्गपरवशं शुङ्गममात्यो वसुदेवो देवभूतिदासीदुहित्रा देवीव्यञ्जनया वीतजीवितमकारयत् ।

13. असुरविवरव्यसनिनं चापजहूरपरिमितरमणीमणिनूपुरझणझणाह्लादरम्यया गोधनगिरिसुरङ्गया स्वविषयं मेकलाधिपमन्त्रिणः ।

14. महाकालमहे च महामांसविक्रयवादवातूलं वेतालस्तालजङ्घो जघान जघन्यजं प्रद्योतस्य पौणकिं कुमारं कुमारसेनम् ।

15. रसायनरसाभिनिवेशिनश्च वैद्यव्यञ्जनाः सुबहुपुरुषान्तरप्रकाशितौषधगुणाः गणपतेर्विदेहराजसुतस्य राजयक्ष्माणमजनयन् ।

16. स्त्रीविश्वासिनश्च महादेवीगृहगूढभित्तिभाग्भ्राता भद्रसेनस्याभवन्मृत्यवे कालिङ्गस्य वीरसेनः ।

17. मातृशयनीयतूलिकातलनिषण्णश्च तनयोऽन्यं तनयमभिषेक्तुकामस्य दध्रस्य करूषाधिपतेरभवन्मृत्यवे ॥

18. उत्सारकरुचिं च रहसि ससचिवमेव दूरीचकार चकोरनाथं शूद्रकदूतश्चन्द्रकेतुं जीवितात् ॥

19. मृगयासक्तस्य च मत्ततो गण्डकानुद्दण्डनड्वलनलवननिलीनाश्च चम्पाधिपचमूचरभटाश्चामुण्डीपतेराचेमुः प्राणान् पुष्करस्य ।

20. वन्दिरागपरं च परप्रयुक्ता जयशब्दमुखरमुखा मङ्क्षु मौखरिमूर्खं क्षत्रवर्माणमुदखनत् ॥

21. अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेशषगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तश्शकपतिमशातयदिति । प्रमत्तानां प्रमदाकृताः प्रमादाः श्रुतिविषयमागता एव देवस्य, यथा ।

1. मधुमोदितं मधुरकसंलिप्तैर्लाजैः सुप्रभा पुत्रराज्यार्थं महासेनं काशिराजं जघान ।

2. व्याजजनितकन्दर्पदर्पा च दर्पणेन क्षुरधारार्पितान्तेनायोध्याधिपतिं परन्तपं रत्नवती जारूथम् ।

3. विषचूर्णचुम्बितमकरन्देन च कर्णेन्दीवरेण देवकी देवानुरक्ता देवसेनं सौह्मम् ।

4. योगपरागविरसवर्षिणा च मणिनूपुरेण वल्लभा सपत्नीरुषा वैरन्त्यं रन्तिदेवम् ।

5. वेणीनिगूढेन च शस्त्रेण बिन्दुमती वृष्णिं विदूरथम् ।

6. रसदिग्धमध्येन च मेखलामणिना हंसवती सौवीरं वीरसेनम् ।

7. अदृश्यागदलिप्तवदना च विषवारुणीगण्डूषपायनेन पौरवी पौरवेश्वरं सोमकम् ॥

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1. On that Sankara's glores says: चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां ध्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानश्चन्द्रगुप्तेन ध्रुवदेवीवेषधारिणा स्त्रीवेषजनपरिवृतेन रहसि व्यापादित इति ।

459. **Dandin** was the son of Vīradatta and Gaurī. His father was Manoratha and Manoratha's father was Bhāravi.[1] They lived at Kānci.[2] Dandin lost his parents in childhood, but as he has himself well described it, the place of the lost parents "was taken by Sarasvati and Śruta."[3] After Kānci was beseiged by the Chalukya king Vikramāditya I[4] about the year 655 A.D., the city became deserted and Dandin roamed through various seats of learning and attained high proficiency in the Vedas and the arts. When the Pallava king Narasimhavarman[5] vanquished his foes and regained his capital Kānci, Dandin came

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1. See para 48 *supra.*
2. In commenting on Kāvyādarśa

नासिक्यमध्या परितश्चातुर्वर्ण्यविभूषिता ।

अस्ति काचित्पुरी यस्यामष्टवर्णाह्वया नृपाः ॥

This verse is found in Mahendravarman's Mamandur inscription also. Premacandra interprets it as *Pundraka* instead of *Pallava* in this verse (*JMy*, X. 356).

Tarunavācaspati says that this enigma refers to Pallavas ruling at Kānci :

काञ्चीनगर्यां पल्लवानाम क्षितिपतयस्सन्तीति विवक्षितः ॥

3. स बाल एव मात्रा च पित्रा चापि व्ययुज्यत ।

अयुज्यत गरीयस्या सरस्वत्या श्रुतेण च ॥

Anantisundarikathāsāra, I.

4. Vikramāditya I was the son of Pulakeśin. In A.D. 655, he captured the Pallava capital Kānci (see V. Smith, *EI*, 427, 436. Kielhorn, *EI*, VIII. App.; *IA*, VII. 219.

5. Narasimhavarman I ruled between 630-668 A.D. After the seige of Kānci he regained his sovereignty. During his reign Hiuen Thsang visited Kānci and stayed there for a considerable time (see V. Smith, *EH*, 473; 436; G. J. Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. of Deccan* (Pondicherry), 67-70; (*The Pallavas*, 70). If Hiuen Thsang visited the court of Harṣavardhana Śilāditya of Kanauj, it follows that Dandin and Bāṇa might have been contemporaries. Were they friends? Compare these passages:

अरत्नलोकसंहार्यमवार्यं सूर्यरश्मिभिः ।

दृष्टिरोधकरं यूनां यौवनप्रभवं तमः ॥ *Kāvyādarśa*, II 197.

केवलं च निसर्गत एवाभानुभेद्यमरत्नालोकोच्छेद्यमप्रदीपप्रभापनेयमतिगहनं तमो यौवनप्रभवम् ॥ —Kadambari.

Peterson (*Int.* to *Das.*) infers from this that Dandin must have been later than Bāṇa and places him in the 8th century A.D.

back and was given a place of honour at the royal court.[1] Matṛdaṭṭa[2] and Rāmaśārma[3] were his intimate friends.[4]

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1. M. Govindapai (Jl. of Andhra H.R. Scoict VII. I, 146, VIII. 1), discusses the Pallava chronology from Kalābharṭri to Paramesvaravarma II and tabelates it as follows:

1 Kalabhartri, 87-107 A.C.
|
2 Chuta-Pallava, 107-127 A.C.
|
3 Virakurcha, 127-147 A.C.
|
4 Skandasishya, 147-167 A.C. (*alias* Skandavarma I)
|
5 Kumaravishnu, 167-200 A.C. (*alias* Sivaskandavarma)
|
6 Buddhavarma, 200-228 A.C. (*alias* Skandavarma II)
|
7 Viravarma, 228-258 A.C.
|
8 Skandavarma, III 258-296 A C.

9 Simhavarma I, 296-315 A.C.
|
11 Skandavarma IV, 340-364 A.C.
|
13 Nandivarma I, 414-437 A.C.

10 Vishnugopa I, 315-340 A.C.
|
12 Simhavarma II, 364-389 A.C.
|
14 Vishnugopa II, 389-414 A.C.
|
15 Simhavarma III, 437-472 A.C.
|
16 Simhavishnu, 472-520 A.C.
|
17 Mahendravarma I, 520-555 A.C.
|
18 Narasimhavarma I, 555-595 A.C.
|
19 Mahendravarma II, 595-630 A.C.
|
20 Paramesvaravarma I, 630-660 A.C.
|
21 Narasimhavarma II, 660-685 A.C.
|
22 Paramesvaravarma II, 685-750 A.C.

2. Māṭṛdaṭṭa is the author of a commentary on Hiraṇyakeśi's Śrouṭa and Gṛhya Suṭras (*GOS*). He was probably a Nambudri Brahmin of Malabar.

3. Rāmaśarma is the author of Acyuṭoṭṭara Kāvya. Bhāmaha refers to him and criticises his verse:

सर्पातवासाः प्रगृहीतशार्ङ्गो मनोज्ञभीमं वपुराप कृष्णः ।
शतह्रदेन्द्रायुधवान्निशायां संसृज्यमानश्शशिनेव मेघः ॥—(II. 58).

4. मित्राणि मातृदत्ताद्याः केरळेषु द्विजोत्तमाः ।

Ḍandin was a specialist in the art of architecture. One day one Lalitālaya requested Ḍandin to go to Mahāmallapuram[1] and inspect his jointure of the broken arm of the idol of Trivikrama in the temple *then* touching the waters of the sea. Ḍandin went to Mahāmallapuram and appreciated the imperceptible conjunction of the broken parts of the arm. While he was offering his worship, a full-blown lotus was wafted by the waves of the sea, and when it touched the feet of the Lord, there arose from it the splendid figure of a Vidyādhara. The Vidyādhara bowed gracefully and vanished. Ḍandin's curiosity was awakened. His mind was set upon discovering the secret of the occurrence and on returning to Kāñcī, he sat in penance and in the trance of meditation, the story of Avantisundarīkathā was revealed to him. Such is the autobiography prefixed to the narrative of the splendid romance of Avantisundarīkathā.[2]

Ḍandin may therefore be safely assigned to the period 635-700 A.D.[3]

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1. This is now called Mahābalipuram in Chinglepet District, Madras Presidency.

2. In an anonymous commentary on Kāvyādarśa (I, 28) this work is mentioned as an ākhyāyikā आख्यायिकेति कादम्बर्यवन्तिसुन्दर्यादि ।
and Vādigaṅghāla says

आख्यायिका शूद्रकचरित्रप्रभृतिः सा आदिर्येषामवन्तिसुन्दर्यादिकथानाम् ।

and Vādigaṅghāla lived about the year 963 A.D.

It is interesting to note that in Svapnavāsavadatta (Trav. Edn, p. 59) Vidūṣaka says

मादाणिभवं अत्ताणं ओहसि अंकादुं । किन्तु इमस्सि राजंउळे अवान्तिसुन्दरी णाम जक्खिणी पडिवसदि ॥

The epithet Yakṣiṇī for Avantisundarī has a parity in that Mandākinī and Tārāvali are described here as Yakṣa women.

3. R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya (*Sah.* XIX. 222) says Dandin lived in 6th century, as he criticises Bhāmāha and is criticised by Vāmana. He says Daśakumāracarita is Dandin's work. R. C. Dutt (*Civ.* I. 18, 25, II. 298) says Dandin was an old man when Śilāditya (570-620 A.D.) reigned; M. Raṅgācārya (Int. to Kāvyādarśa, 9) gives date 6th century A.D. V. K. Chuplankar, *Essay on Dandin* (Bombay) says ("From a comparison of the story in Chapter V of Daśakumāracarita and Act V of Mālatīmādhava, he infers that Dandin must have been prior to or contemporary with Bhavabhūti.")

Weber (*IL*. 213, 232) mentions the possibility of Dandin having lived under an earlier Bhoja in the 8th century. For a similar view, see F. E. Hall. *Pref. to Vasavadatta*, 19 ff. Wilson (*Essays*, I. 346) relies on the mention of the race of Bhoja in the Daśakumāracarita and of the rarity of allusions to Yavanas and says that Dandin must have lived during the time of one of the immediate descendants of king

460. This specimen of poetic art was long lost in oblivion and the fall of the Pallava kingdom must have been the cause of it. The existence of the work had so far been gone out of recollection, that even among rhetoricians, it has been rarely noticed and Ḍāśakumāracariṭa, almost an epitome of it, has come to be regarded as Ḍanḍin's original work.

Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā relates almost the same story as the Ḍaśakumāracariṭa, except that in the former, the descriptions are very elaborate and narrative very complete, so that we have it in the tales of Śūḍraka, Vararuci, Kāḍambarī and Samudradaṭṭa[1] and Śaunaka and Bandhumaṭī.[2]

Only a fragment of the work was till recently available in print, but the whole work has been recovered by M. R. Kavi in Madras and is now being prepared for print.

Bhoja of Dhar, so that he places Dandin about the end of the 11th century. For a critics of this view, see Kale (Int. to Edn).

On Dandin generally; see Weber, *IL*. 213, 231; *Essays on the Ramayana*, 76; *ISt*. XIV. 65; and *Int. to Das*. I. 311; F. W. Thomas, *Kav*. 42; Peterson, *Subh*. 101, 130; Macdonell, *SL*. 332; Pischell, *Int. to Śṛṅgāraṭilaka* (Kiel) 13 ff. Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, *XXVII*, 31–5; *CC*., I. 213; *Int. to Vasavadatta* (Col. Un. series), Buhler, *IA*. IV. 83; Telang, *JBRAS*, *XVIII*. 158. Peterson, *Preface to Das*. also *IA*. *III*. 82; R. C. Dutt *Civ*, II. 298; Maxmuller, *India*, 332, 358. Ramakrishnakavi, *Mahakavi Dandi* (*Kalā*, I.) which contains the latest and the most learned account); M. R. Kale, *Int to Dasakumaracharita* (Bombay); Agashe, *Int. to Daśakumāracariṭa* (BSS); S. K. De. *SP*, II. 58, II. 74; Collins, in his Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Daśakumāracariṭa (Leipsig) places Dandin's literary activity before 585 A.D. Meyer, *Daśakumācariṭa* (Leipsig). B. Bhattacarya (*Jt. Dep. of Letters*, IX, 30–1) places him in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D.

1. Samudradaṭṭa is the hero of the drama Puṣpābhu(ḍu)ṣiṭaka, see chapter on Sanskrit Drama *post*.

2. Śaunaka was the pupil of Somaṭrāṭa. Once when they were on a visit to the court of the Kosala king, Śaunaka fell in love with the princess Bandhumaṭī and had secret intrigues with her. In the meantime, the king of Ṭrigarṭa to whom the hand of the princess had been promised came to take her, but Śaunaka managed to elope with her unseen in a boat down the Sarayu. The boat was wrecked and he lost sight of her. Lamenting her loss, he saw the corpse of a fair woman on the banks and taking her to be the princess, he cremated the body. He then resolved to give up his life and when preparing for it, he met a Ṭāpasi and in her hermitage Bandhumaṭī was safe. On hearing Śaunaka's voice, Bandhumaṭī came out and the lovers met. Bandhumaṭī explained that she was rescued by a cowherdess, but the latter was bitten by a snake and died at once and it was her corpse that he had cremated. There, by chance the father of Bandhumaṭī came, having been deprived of his kingdom by the king of Ṭrigarṭa irate at the loss of Bandhumaṭī's hand, Śaunaka fought and restored his father-in-law to his kingdom.

It is suspected that there must have been a drama somewhere of the name Bandhu-

Bṛhatkathā appears to have been the model for the construction. Vararuci is Kātyāyanā's son and lived in the days of King Mahāpadma. Śaunaka, the lover of Bandhumatī who was reborn as Śūdraka, reappears here as Kāmapāla. Likewise, Bandhumatī who transmigrated as Vinayavatī, queen of Śūdraka, is reborn here as Kāntimatī. Bandhumatī's maid who was born as the wife of Śūdraka becomes Tārāvalī here. Thus, Daṇḍin maintains an intimate connection with the ancient narratives and attempts as if to frame a sequel.

461. Chronology does not make it impossible that Daṇḍin knew Bāṇa and the proximity of dates suggests that Daṇḍin was Bāṇa's younger contemporary and probably a friend too. In Avantisundarī Daṇḍin narrates the story of Kādambarī and his narrative follows Bāṇa's Pūrvabhāga and diverges widely from the Pulinda's (Bhūṣaṇa's) Uttarabhāga. It is therefore inferred that Daṇḍin wrote his Avantisundarī before Bāṇa's son thought of concluding the narrative.

It is fairly certain that Daṇḍin studied and admired Kādambarī. He mentions it by name with the usual device of paronomasia:

वहुलभाषिणो बृहत्कथाजलाशयाः सेतुबन्धलग्नाश्च, नप्रमदस्पृशः कादम्बरीरसान दृष्टयः समन्दाक्षाश्च, विश्रुतबहुश्रुताश्च रामायणादि * * * भिज्ञाश्च दृष्टमहाभारता भीमगदाभिघातवार्तामुग्धाश्च ॥

A reading of Kādambarī by the side of Avantisundarī will display a conscious elaboration by Daṇḍin of Bāṇa's ideas, fancies and descriptions. Same situations are adopted, but the delineation is unique and the fault of the loan of situations is excused by the resplendence of amending shots of poetic imagery blended with the sweetest melody of expression. Extracts are printed at the end of this chapter.

462. Apart from the merit of the Kathā as a piece of literary art, it contains a laudatory preface in praise of several poets which furnishes a clue to some lost works and makes it a landmark in literary history. Reference is made there to Vyāsa,[1] Subandhu, Guṇāḍhya, Mūladeva,

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matī or Bandhumatī-Śaunaka: The conjecture is strengthened by the following verse in Kaumudīmahotsava.

शौनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविमारकं कुरङ्गीव ।
अर्हति कीर्तिमतीयं कान्तं कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥

1. The verse in praise of Vyāsa:

मर्त्येयन्त्रेषु चैतन्यं महाभारतविद्यया । अर्पयामास तत्पूर्वं यस्तस्मै मुनये नमः ॥

is quoted as Daṇḍin's in the anonymous Subhāṣitāvali (para 373 supra.)

Śūdraka, Bhāṣa, Sarvasena, Pravarasena, Kālidāsa, Nārāyaṇa, Bhāravi (?) Bāṇa and Mayūra, in a manner very probably indicating a chronological order among them.[1]

463. Avantisundarī-kathāsāra is a poetic summary of the katha, which in the merit of composition rarely falls short of the original which

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1. सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।
तस्यैव हृदयं बद्ध्वा वत्सराजो * * * ॥
* * * * तमानवदेवया ।
गोमुखान्वितया जातिः का बृहत्कथयोज्झिता ॥
सनारायणदत्ताया देवदत्ताश्रया कृतिः ।
मूलदेवोदि * * * * * * ॥
शूद्रकेणासकृज्जित्वा स्वच्छया खड्गधारया ।
जगद्भूयोऽभ्यवष्टब्धं वाचा स्वचरितार्थया ॥
सुविभक्तमुखाद्यङ्गैर्व्यक्तलक्षणवृत्तिभिः ।
परेतोऽपि स्थितो भासः शरीरैरिव नाटकैः ॥
राज्ञाश्रीसर्वसेनेन * * * * ।
* * * * * विजयं हरेः ॥
लिप्ता मधुद्रवेणासन्यस्य निर्विशा गिरः ।
तेनेदं वर्त्म वैदर्भं कालिदासेन शोधितम् ॥
चक्षुः क्षति * * * * * ।
* * * * * * * ॥
व्याप्तुं पदत्रयेणापि यश्शक्तो भुवनत्रयम् ।
तस्य काव्यत्रयव्याप्तौ चित्रं नारायणस्य किम् ॥
भिन्नस्तीक्ष्णमुखेनापि चित्रं बाणेन निर्व्यथः ।
व्याहारेषु जहौ लीलां न मयूरः * * * * ॥
* * * * * चित्रीयते मम ।
वर्णहीनापि या जाता जात्युत्कर्षगुणास्पदम् ।
धवळप्रभवा रागं सा तनोति मनोवती ।
कविगन्धर्वगजैरेभिः * * * * ।
* * * * न दामोदरवंशजः ॥
आवर्जने त्रिरश्वामप्येति हृद्य इव ध्वनिः ॥

Sarvasena's Harivijaya is mentioned by Hemacandra (*KS*, 335). Nārāyaṇa is probably Bhattanārāyaṇa, author of Veṇīsaṃhāra. The verse beginning with चक्षुः क्षति probably refers to Kumāradāsa. The verse वर्णहीना probably refers to Kādambari .

it sought to epitomise. At present the name of the author is unknown. It bears the Ānandānka at the end of each canto[1] and when we see that Bhoja and Hemacandra mention Pancaśikha's poem as of that anka,[2] is it possible that the author of this poem was PANCASIKHA? The extant work is also incomplete and stops in the seventh canto.[3]

464. It is a tradition that Daṇḍin wrote three works[4] and if we take Avantisundarikathā, in the place of Daśakumāracarita, the two other works are Dvisandhāna and Kāvyādarśa.

DVISANDHANA is a poem with a double entendre and narrated the stories of Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. Except in rare references to it by later writers[5] the work is lost. It served as a model for

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1. For instance,

मुक्त्वा शय्यां मिलितपुलकव्रातमुत्थाय भूयः ।
प्राप्तानन्दो विरतिसमये प्राक्तनीनां क्रियाणाम् ॥ Canto I.

2. मङ्गलाङ्कता यथा । अभ्युदयः कृष्णचरितें, जय उषाहरणे, आनन्दः पञ्चशिखस्यशूद्रक कथायाम् ॥—Kāvyānuśāsana 335.

यथाह शुको जरद्विरश्शूद्रककथायां ।—Śṛngāraprakāśa, XI.

3. For a complete account of the Kathā and Kathāsāra, see M. Ramakrishna Kavi, *Dandi* (*Kalā*, I). The 7th canto is a citrasarga, in which some particular alphabets are avowedly avoided.

4. त्रयोऽग्नयस्त्रयो देवास्त्रयो वेदास्त्रियो गुणाः ।
त्रयो दण्डिप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुताः ॥ *Hārāvali.*

Much thought has been expended on discovering the names of the three works here referred to as Dandin's. Pischell thought the third was Mṛtcakatikā, because the verse लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि is found there as well as in Kāvyādarśa (see Peterson, *Subh.* 130). Others thought that the third work was Chandoviciti, because in Kāvyādarśa Dandin ssys छन्दोविचित्यां सकलस्तत्प्रपञ्चो निरूपितः. There is no work known as Chandoviciti at all and it may mean only "a collection of metres." Chapters XIV and XV of Bharatasastra also goes under the name of Chandoviciti and Yādavaprakāśa's Bhāṣya on it is called Chandoviciti-bhāṣya. Even Varāhamihira (in his Bṛhatsamhita) says

विपुलामपि बद्ध्वा छन्दोविचितिं भवति कार्यमेतावत् ।
श्रुतिसुखदवृत्तसङ्ग्रहमिममाह वराहमिहिरोऽतः ॥

On this question, see R. V. Krishnamacharya, Int. to Vāsavadatta, xxxiv-vi.

5. Bhoja in his Śṛngāraprakāsa says (in Prakasa VII) दण्डिनो धनञ्जयस्य वा द्विसन्धाने and (in Prakāśa IX) रामायणमहाभारतयोर्दण्डिद्विसन्धानमिव and quotes the verse

उदारमहिमारामः प्रजानां हर्षवर्धनः ।
धर्मप्रभव इत्यासीत् ख्यातो भरतपूर्वजः ॥

several compositions of that style and even their name was adopted by Ḍhananjaya and Kavirāja.[1]

Kāvyādarśa, his well-known treatise on poetics, will be noticed in a future chapter.

Śivapancastavī is a small poem of devotion ascribed to Ḍandin called Anāmayastotra.[2]

465. **Dasakumaracarita** is in two parts; the former Pūrvapīthikā is in 5 chapters and the latter Uttarapīthikā is in 8 chapters. Rājahamsa, king of Magaḍha, had three ministers and in regular succession their sons became ministers too. When a war broke out between Rājahamsa and Mānasāra, king of Malwa, Rājahamsa sent away his pregnant wife to a rendezvous in the Vinḍhya mountains. He was severely wounded in battle and his chariot was drawn off by the frightened horses into the same forest. There he rested until he became conscious. When the queen heard the news of her missing husband, she resolved to die and as she was offering a prayer before hanging herself to a tree, Rājahamsa recognised her voice, and they were united. She gave birth to a son Rājavāhana. About the same time, his four ministers also got four sons, Pramati, Mitragupta, Mantragupta and Viśruta. Then the story is related how by chance five foundling boys were brought to the king, and were received by him with kindness. When of age, he sent them out on a campaign of conquest. When the princes were journeying in the Vinḍhyas, Rājahamsa was met by a brahmin Matanga and was induced to accompany him to Pātāla through an opening revealed to Matanga by Śiva in a dream. When they reached Pātāla, the queen of that land offered her hand and kingdom to Matanga and Matanga became king. In the meantime, not knowing the movements of Rājahamsa, the nine princes set out in different paths agreeing to meet later at Ujjain. Rājavāhana proceeded to Ujjain, and there married Avantisunḍarī, the daughter of that king. The princes met each other one after another and narrated their adventures. At the end of the narrative the princes captured Mālwa and proceeded to Puṣpapura and paid homage to the king and queen. The king distributed among them the various kingdoms they had conquered. Rājavāhana became king of the United kingdoms of Puṣpapura and Ujjain. Guided by Rājavāhana the princes ruled over

1. See paras 68 and 86 *supra*.
2. Ed. Madras and elsewhere.

their kingdoms justly and "enjoyed pleasures not easily attainable even by Indra."[1]

"Dasakumaracarita begins and ends in an abrupt manner and it introduces the reader at once to strange persons and strange events. Pūrvapīthika, preliminary chapter, is commonly ascribed to Dandin himself, but as it is somewhat less ambitiously written, and as the incidents related are, in one or two cases, briefly repeated in the body of the work, and with some contradictions, doubts have been started as to the accuracy of the attribution."

466. Sesa[2] or supplement to the Carita, a continuation and conclusion of the stories, is the work of Cakrapāṇi Dīkṣita, a Mahratta Brahmin. It displays an elaborate construction with an expression fairly equal to its precursor. Cakrapāṇi was the son of Candramauli Dīkṣita.

Because Pūrvabhāga differs in various manuscripts and in some even the story is altered (See *Tanj. Cat.* VII, 2998-3007), the oldest commentaries are only on Uttarabhāga and there is much similarity between Uttarabhāga and Avantisundarī. M. R. Kavi (Int. to Edn.) thinks that Dandin's work was lost and the story was re-written as Pūrvabhāga from materials available in translations or from tradition. He adds "Of the translations of Dasakumaracarita, the oldest is in Telugu by Ketana of about 1250 A.D. A comparison of his work with the original shows that the Purvabhaga corresponds exactly with the Telugu portion except that the story of Somadatta comes after the meeting of Rajavahana and Avantisundari, but before their marriage and that Uttarabhaga is very much condensed in Telugu. Most of the idioms peculiar to Telugu are also crudely found in Sanskrit in the Purvabhaga. Ketana states that he was writing in chapters the story

1. Ed. by H. H. Wilson; by Peterson (Bombay); by Buhler (Bombay); by T. Tarkavācaspati (Calcutta) with notes; by G. J. Agashe (Bombay) with introduction and notes. For a complete summary in English and notes, see Edn. by M. R. Kale (Bombay). See also Meyer, *Dandin's Dasakumaracaritam, die Abenteuer der zehn Prinzen*, Leipzig: Collins, *Geographical data of Raghuvamsa and Dasakumaracarita*, Leipsig. Tr. by Meyer, o. c. and by Haberland (Munich); by M. R. Kale (Bombay); by P. W. Jacob (*Hindu Tales*); by Wilson (*Essays on SL*, II. 160); by Jānakinātha, (*IOC*, VII. 1551). For Agashe's doubt on the identity of the authors of Daśakumāracarita and Kāvyādarśa, see *IA*, XLIV, 67.

2. *IOC*, VII. 1552.

M. R. Kale says that the Uttarapīthikā printed in his edition is not the same of Cakrapāṇi's work. But Uttarapithikā is the Daśakumāracarita proper intended by Wilson. In *CC*, I. 247 it is said that Padmanābha wrote Uttarapīthikā.

of Dasakumaras (ten young men) as related by Dandin in his prose work. These facts suggest whether the Purvabhaga was translated from Telugu putting Somadatta's story a little earlier in the Sanskrit rendering, Kanarese translation has quite a different story for this portion. Thus we are tempted to say that the first portion of Avanti was lost and was re-written by several unknown writers. Perhaps the friends of Dandin might have taken copies to Malabar and the ghats have protected them from the ravages of time and political catastrophes."[1]

But S. K. De takes a contrary view and says that Daśakumāracarita is the real work of Daṇḍin and Avantisundarī is the work of some later author. He says "It is well known that Dandin, the author of the Kāvyādarśa, refuses to admit the fine distinctions made by theorists between a katha and an akhyayika, but his own definition of these two species of prose composition is entirely negative and does not help us in fixing his conception of them. It is not until we come to Rudrata, who has accepted and generalised the characteristics of Bana's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the katha and the akhyayika respectively, that we find these two species entirely stereotyped in theory. It is possible, therefore, that the Avantisundarikatha was composed before this fixing of characteristics in Rudrata's time; and this would explain the apparent confusion of the characteristics of a katha and an akhyayika made by its author. But he could not have been very far from the time of the author of the Dasakumaracarita whose work he utilised and whose biographical details were not yet entirely lost in his time."[2]

467. There are poetic versions of Pūrvapīthikā, one by APPAYA DIKSITA, the author of Kuvalayānanda, printed at Serampore in 1804 and another by VINAYAKA. GOPINATHA Mahārājādhirāja undertook "the bolder task of ameliorating (samśodhana) the text. Like the two preceding, his introduction is in metre and in three sections, but they contain six hundred and seventy nine slokas and are therefore much more diffuse. In the body of the work the author reverts to prose, where his so called improvement—really a disfigurement, consists in the occasional amplification or explanation of the incidents of the original,

1. *Int. to Edn.* See also Agashe's Int. to Daśakumāracarita (*BSS*).
2. *IHQ*, III. 161.
3. *IOC*, 1764, VII 1553. Printed as appendix to Colebrook's edn. of Hitopadeśa.
4 *IOC*, 586, VII. 1553. It is in three chapters and begins with the story of Rājahamsa at Puspapura.

the text of which with such occasional interpolations or substitutions, is given without any alteration. The story is also carried on to completion."[1]

468. There are commentaries on Ḍaśakumāracarita by Śivarāma,[2] Gurunāṭha Kāvyaṭīrṭha,[3] Kavīndrācāryasarasvaṭī,[4] Haridāsa Siddhanṭavāgīśa,[5] Haripādachaṭṭopadhāya,[6] G. K. Ambedkar,[7] A. B. Gajendragatkar,[8] Revaṭīkānṭa Bhaṭṭācārya,[9] Jībānanda,[10] Tārānāṭha,[11] and some anonymous.[12]

There are epitomes, Ḍaśakumāracariṭasangraha, anonymous[13] and the other by R. V. Krishnamacharya.[14]

469. The greatness of Ḍandin as a poet has a traditional recognition. He has been known as Ācārya Ḍandin.[15] It is said that Sarasvaṭī declared him a poet[16] and that with Vālmīki and Vyāsa he was of the same rank.[17]

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1. *IOC*, 1850; VII. 1551.

2. Ed. Bombay. This is on the Purvapīṭhika only. He was the son of Kṛṣṇarāma and grandson of Ṭrilokācandra and brother of Govindarāma, Mukundarāma and Keśavarāma. His commentary Bhuṣaṇa (Ed. Bombay) relates only to Daśakumāracariṭa (8 Uchavasas) and not Purva and Uṭṭarapīṭhikas. He has also commented on Kādambarī (See Rajagrah Library Cat. 60). Ed. by N.B. Godabole and K.P. Parab (Bombay).

3. Printed, Calcutta.

4. Printed, Bombay.

5. Printed, Calcutta.

6. Printed, Calcutta.

7. Printed, Bombay with glossary.

8. Printed, Bombay with introduction and appendices.

9. Printed, Calcutta.

10. Printed, Calcutta.

11. *SKC*, 81.

12. Ed. Bombay. *CC*, II. 52.

13. *Opp*, II. 3165.

14. Printed, Srirangam.

15. So say the colophons of his works, as well as Bhatta Gopāla in the commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa.

See S. Pattabhiram: *Acarya Dandin as a critic*. Paper read at the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924.

16. In a rivalry between Kālidāsa and Dandin, Sarasvaṭī was called to declare merit. She said कविर्दण्डी कविर्दण्डी कविर्दण्डी न संशयः but when Kalidasa asked, कोऽहं रण्डे she said त्वमेवाहं त्वमेवाहं त्वमेवाहं न संशयः

17. जाते जगति वाल्मीकौ कविरित्यभिधाऽभवत् ।
कवी इति ततो व्यासे कवयस्त्वयि दण्डिनि ॥

470. Subandhu. The age of Subandhu as a writer of Sanskrit romance[1] has been a matter of literary speculation. His name is associated with VASAVADATTA. In the introductory verses to Harṣacarita, Bāṇa has a eulogy of poets and poems and there he mentions a Vasavadattā. It has been considered from this reference that Bāṇa had in mind Subandhu's writing, so that Bāṇa's date being known, the age of Subandhu was anterior to him.

In a similar preface to Vāsavadattā, Subandhu deplores the decay of poetic aesthetics after the days of Vikramāditya, the generous patron of letters :

सा रसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति नो कङ्कः ।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

On the identity of this Vikramāditya there has been a display of original research. But two considerations chiefly lead us to conclude

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1. On Subandhu generally, see Hall, Int. to Vasavadatta. R.V. Krishnamacharya (Int. to Vasavadatta) thinks Subandhu was a Vaishnavite following Mimamsa philosophy. Weber, I. 271 quoting Cunningham (*JASB.* XVII, 98-9) says there is a legend that Subandhu was a Kashmirian Brahmin.

2. R.V. Krishnamacharya thinks this verse here an interpolation as it is not found in some manuscripts. *Introduction to Vasavadatta*, xxxix.

Vāmana in his Kāvyālankāra has passage :

साभिप्रायत्वं यथा—
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः ।
कृतधियामित्यस्य च(व)सुबन्धु ॥

Some scholars have preferred the reading वसुबन्धु to च सुबन्धु. In Ms. No. 4 B 820 of Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, the reading is the latter. The discovery of Avantisundarikathā has set the difficulty at rest, for it is stated there that Subandhu was attached to Bindusāra, the son of Candragupta :

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् । तस्यैव हृदयं बध्वा ... ॥

The available Vāsavadattā of Subandhu is unconnected with Udayana Vatsarāja. There are no data to connect this Subandhu with Vāsavadattā mentioned by Patanjali. M. Ramakrishna Kavi (*Kalā*, I 70) however says so. R. V. Krishnamacharya (*o. c.* xlvii) says that there was one Vasubandhu, pupil of Manoratha, in the court of Vikramāditya Candragupta II. Takkakusu in his *Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu* finds a passage that king Vikramāditya of Ayodhya sent his crown prince Bālāditya to Vasubandhu to learn Buddhism. [*JRAS* [1908), 44]. Smith (*EH*, 292, 320) and Pathak take this Vikramāditya to be Skandagupta. But Bhandarkar says he was Candragupta II who lived in Gupta era 93 or 411 A.D. and identifies Bālāditya with his son Govinda Gupta [see also IA, XLI. 15]. Subandhu, therefore, it is suggested, saw that the ancient romance of Vāsavadattā so highly praised of Bāṇa was lost and with confidence in his literary ability, he set out to make up this loss. On this question, see R. Saraswati, *JMy*.

that Vāsavadattā mentioned by Bāṇa was not the work of Subandhu. Patanjali instances Vāsavadatta as an Ākhyāyikā and speaks of readers as Vāsavadattikas.[1]

In this allusion to Vikramāditya[2] there is express indication that Vikramāditya so lamented was the patron of the 'nine gems' and if as tradition says the patron of 'nine gems' was the founder of the Vikrama era in 56 B.C., Patanjali who flourished far earlier than that date could not have referred to this Subandhu's romance.[3] In his Śṛngāraprakāśa, Bhoja mentions an Ākhyāyikā Līlāvatī, now lost. But Nemināṭha Kavirājakunjara, the Canarese poet, has written a romance of that name, probably an adaptation of the Sanskrit original. It describes the love of Kandarpaketu and Līlāvatī and the story is almost similar to that found in this work, except that the name of the heroine had been altered from Līlāvatī to Vāsavadattā. Is it possible that the source of Subandhu's plot was the original Līlāvatī and that he narrated the same story in a new form, so as to illustrate the power of Sanskrit paranomasia? But Subandhu, the author of Vāsavadattā, is not a late writer. He is quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvyālankāra. An anonymous commentary on Vāsavadattā begins with a verse, which commences Bhāmatī, the commentary on Śankarabhāṣya by Vācaspatimiśra. It is therefore likely that this commentary was the work of Vācaspati, who lived in the 9th century A.D. and Vāmana was in the Court of Jayāpīḍa (779-819 A.D.) Subandhu mentions Bauddhasangaṭi, Uddyoṭakāra and a story of Śakuntalā (apparently as represented by Kālidāsa). Bauddhasangaṭi was a rhetorical work by Dharmakīrti,[4] and

1. See para 450 supra.

2. For the view that Patanjali's Vāsavadattā was not this Subandhu's, see Peterson's Introduction to Kādambari, 72 and R.V. Krishnamacharya, l.c. xxxvi.

3. "The romance of Vasavadatta referred to in Malatīmādhava as in like manner that found in Kathasaritsagara and which has been dramatised in Ratnavali resembles in scarcely a feature, barring the common appellation of their respective heroines"-Hall.

4. बौद्धसङ्गतिमिव अलङ्कारभूषिताम्. Śivavarāma in his commentary says that Bauddhasangaṭi was the work of Dharmakīrti. Hall (Int. to Edn.) accepts this statement. R. V. Krishnamacharya adopts the reading सत्कविकाव्यरचनामिवालङ्कारभूषिताम् and says that Alankāra was the name of a work by Dharmakīrti. Levi says that Dharmakīrti has not been known to be a rhetorician at all, (*Bulletin de 'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient*, III. 45). Thomas accepts this opinion (Int. to Kav. 48). S.K. De does not mention Dharmakīrti as a writer of rhetoric (*SP*. 48), but says that Bhāmaha adopted Dharmakīrti's Buddist doctrines, placing Dharmakīrti in the middle of the 7th century A.D., because he is not noticed by Hiuen Thsang (630-643 A.D.), but mentioned by I Tsing (673-693 A.D.) as a recent author. (See Takakasu, *Record of*

Uḍḍyoṭakāra,[1] the great logician, was the author of Nyāyávārṭika and these writers lived in the 6th century A.D.

471. " Subandhu's version of the story of Vasavadatta is quite different from that which Bhamaha criticises as quite incredible and opposed to to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political seience (lokasastra viruddha) concerning the conduct of a conqueror (Vijigishu). The story of Vasavadatta is as old as Patanjali, inasmuch as he refers to it in his commentary on Panini IV. 3. 57. One of the versions of the story based upon the Brihatkatha is found narrated in Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara and it seems to be the Brihatkatha version that Bhamaha has condemned as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political seience. Chandamahasena, the king of Avanti, made a large artifical elephant similar to the one reared by Udayana, the king of Vatsas. After filling it with armed soldiers, he sent it to the Vindhya forest bordering upon the Vatsa country with a view to entice Udayana to come out of his capital for capturing the elephant. As expected, Udayana came along to see and capture it, was himself caught hold of by Chandamahasena's soldiers and taken as a prisoner to Avanti where he married Vasavadatta. Bhamaha condemns this story as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world, inasmuch as no king like Udayana who was well informed and had able ministers to advise him could be believed to go out with no assistance to elephant forest at sunset, however fond he might be of elephants. It is also opposed to the dictates of political science inasmuch as no king like Udayana ever bent on making extensive conquests would be foolish enough to enter upon a risky adventure as he is said to have done. Subandhu's version of the story of Vasavadatta is not

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the Buddist Religion). Taranatha (*Geschichte*, 184-5) makes him contemporary of the Tibetan king Strong bstan-sgam-po who died in 650 A.D. So does Kern (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 130). Peterson and Hall (*Subh*. 47 *Int.* to *Vas.*) say that Dharmakīrṭi the writer on Alankāra, was identical with the Buddhist philosopher of that name. Ānanḍavarḍhana quotes verses by Dharmakīrṭi. Dharmakīrṭi is now generally placed between the 6th and 7th century A.D. Telang (*JBRAS*, XXVII, 147, places Dharmakirti in the middle of 6th century A.D. See Aufrecht, *ISt.* XVI, 204-7; *ZDMG*, XXVII, 44; *CC*, I. 268; Peterson (*JBRAS*, XVI, 172-3); Bhandarkar [*BR*, (1897) xxx]; Max Muller. (*India*, Index); Duff, (*Chronology*), *JBRAS*, XVIII. 18, 88 96, 148-150. For works and verses of Dharmakīrṭi in the anthologies, see Thomas *Kav*. 47-50 and Peterson, *Subh*. 46-8).

1. Uḍyoṭakāra's work is meant to be a refutation of Dingnāga's hetarodox views. If Dingnāga lived in 6th century, A D. Uḍyotakāra must have lived later. (On Dingnāga's date, see para 17 *supra*).

liable to such charges. If that work had existed in Bhamaha's time he would not have failed to notice it in this connection."[1]

The posteriority of Subandhu to Bāṇa is confirmed by internal evidence. To Bāṇa's works Subandhu was indebted at times for words, expressions, passages and situations, bordering on plagiarism.[2] The use of the word Indrāyudha indicates an allusion to the Candrāpīḍa's horse[3] of that name. The resolves of Mahāśveta and Kādambarī to give up their lives when their lovers were dead and the sudden interruption of their attempts by the intervention of a heavenly voice have their counterparts in a similar situation created for Kandarpaketu when he missed his sweetheart Vāsavadatta. Above all Subandhu has appreciated Bhavabhuti by drawing upon him for his fine expressions of poetic fancy. The instance given below is too glaring[4] to avoid the inference that Subandhu lived after Bhavabhūti and was a student of his plays. Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti were too original in their ideas and too conscious of their genius that a contrary inference is not possible. Subandhu appears therefore to have flourished between Bāṇa and Vāmana, that is, about the end of the 8th century A.D.[5]

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1. Mys. Arch. Rep. (1927), 25.

2. For instance, see the use of the phrases: किं बहुना, देवः प्रमाणम्, अचिन्तयच्च, आसीच्चास्य मनसि ।

3. वज्रेणैवेन्द्रायुधेन मनोजवनाम्ना तुरगेण सह नगरान्निर्जगाम । (Srirangam Edn. 339.)

4. Compare लीनेव प्रतिबिम्बितेव लिखितेवोत्कीर्णरूपेव सा
प्रत्युप्तेव च वज्रलेपघटितेवान्तर्निखातेव च । about 700 A.D.
सा नश्चेतसि कीलितेव विशिखैश्चेतोभुवः पञ्चभिः
चिन्तासन्ततितन्तुजालनिबिडस्यूतेव लग्ना प्रिया ॥—Malalimadhava.

हृदये विलिखितमिव उत्कीर्णमिव, प्रत्युप्तमिव कीलितमिव, निगळितमिव वज्रलेपघटितमिव, अस्थिपञ्जरप्रविष्टमिव, मर्मान्तरस्थितमिव, मज्जारसशबलितमिव कन्दर्पकेतुं मन्यमाना ॥
Srirangam Edn. 191-2.

5. Hoernle identifies Vikramāditya with Yaśodharman and dates Subandhu about 608-612 A D the latter being the date of Harṣa's coronation, see *JRAS*, (1903) 845, (1909) 89, 144, and see *contra* Fleet, [*JRAS*, (1904) 164]. V. Smith, [*ZDMG*, LVIII, 781-96] places Yaśodharman, as founder of Malva empire, in 533-583 A.D. Grey (Int. to Edn.) places Subandhu between Bāṇa and Udyotākāra, at least a century latter than Dandin between 550 A.D. and somewhere after 606 A.D. For this priority see Weber, *IAX*, I. 211-315, R. V. Krishnamacharya puts Subandhu after Bāṇa and before Vāmana. Hall (*Int.* to *Vas.* 11) places Subandhu before Bāṇa (see also Cowell's Preface to Nyayakusumanjali, VI); Cartellieri (*Das Mahabharata Subandhu and Bāna*, *VOJ*, II. 115, III. 145, XIII. 72) says Bāṇa knew Subandhu and composed his

472. Prince Kandarpaketu son of king Cintāmaṇi, saw the image of a fair damsel in dream and enamoured of her he not set with his friend Makaranda in quest of the original of that image. Halting under a shady tree for a night, he overheard the tale related by a parrot to its spouse, that Vāsavadattā daughter of king Śṛṅgāraśekhara of Kusumapura dreamt of a young man of splendid attractions and would not therefore choose any out of the several princes that were assembled at her Swayamvara. She now sent out her own maid Tamālikā as an emissary to gather news of that young man, who had captured her heart. Kandarpaketu was delighted and made friendship with Tamālikā. He accompanied her to Vāsavadattā's harem, and to avoid her proposed marriage with Puṣpaketu, a Vidyādhara prince, the lovers secretly eloped. On their way they felt tired and fell asleep. As Vāsavadattā awoke and went out to gather fruits and flowers she saw two rival Kirāta chiefs with their forces in pursuit of her, but in a fight between themselves they destroyed each other. But the Sage in whose garden Vāsavadattā had entered was incensed at the havoc made by the rival armies and cursed her to become a lifeless statue, as the real cause of the whole trouble, but at her importunities he limited the curse to the day of the casual contact of her lover Kandarpaketu. Kandarpaketu rose to find his sweetheart missing and when in despair he approached the waters of the sea to give up his life a heavenly voice assured him that he would soon be united with Vāsavadattā. So he rambled through woods and awaited the uncertain day, when by chance he happened to pass by a statue and discovering in it some likeness he embraced it, the statue gained animation and Vāsavadattā stood before him in all her original glory.

473. Subandhu has been praised by later writers,[1] Mankha, Rājaśekhara, Vāmabhaṭṭa Bāṇa[2] and is quoted in the anthologies.

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work to eclipse Subandhu's fame. Telang (*JBRAS*, XVIII. 147) puts Subandhu at the end of the 6th century or beginning of the 7th century and before Bāṇa and Dandin also. "At the time when Vāsavadattā was composed the teachings of Kumārila, had already borne fruit against sects, but in Kādambari, Harṣacarita and Daśakumāracarita, we find allusions to Mimāmsa to Bauddha and Jain systems though there is no allusion of contest between them." See also his introduction to Mudrārākṣasa, 55 note.

1. And probably by Vākpati in Gauḍavāho. See *CC*, I. 720 and R. V Krishnamacarya's Int. to Edn. xli.

2. प्रतिकविभेदनबाणः कवितातरुगहनविहरणमयूरः ।
सहृदयलोकसुबन्धुर्जयति श्रीभट्टबाणकविराजः ॥

In his Vāsavadattā, Subandhu's sole aim was to illustrate the potency of expression of the Sanskrit language and his dexterity in framing discourse made of equivoques in every syllable. To him the choice of the plot and ingenuity in its development was of secondary importance. In this field of literature Subandhu is without an equal. All nature and all art is familiar to him. There is not one mythological incident to which he has not alluded, not one word whose significance he has not understood, not one style of prose writing which he has not adumbrated and not one mode of expression which he has not invented for the glory of his tale. "What with the comprehensive range of his hagiology," says Hall, "his familiarity with the bye-paths of elder days, his matchless command of Sanskrit vocabulary, and his mastery over the anamolies of its grammar, he is indeed not seldom an enigma to his scholiasts······There is true melody in the long, rolling compounds, a sesquipedalian majesty which can never be equalled save in Sanskrit; and the alliterations have a lulling music all their own to ears weary of the blatant discords of vaunted modern 'progress'. There is, on the other land, a compact brevity in the paronomasias, which are, in most cases, veritable gems of terseness and two-fold appropriateness, even though some are manifestly forced and are actually detrimental to the sense of the passages in which they occur."[1]

There are commentaries on Vāsavadattā by Jagaddhara,[2] Trivikrama,[3] Timmayasūri,[4] Rāmadevamiśra,[5] Siddhacandragaṇi,[6] Narasimhasena,[7] Nārāyaṇa and Śṛngāragupta,[8] Sarvacandra,[9] Śivarāma,[10] Prabhākara,[11] Sarvarakṣita,[12] Kāśirāma,[13] Ranganātha,[14] R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya,[15] and some anonymous.[16]

1. On Subandhu generally, see Gray, 'Sivarama's Commentary on the Vasavadatta,' in *JAOS*, XXIV. 57-63. Manning, *Ancient and Mediaeval India*, II. 344-346, Mazumdar, A brief outline of the plot of the Vasavadatta. '*Who were the Kankas?*' (*JRAS*, 1907, 406). Strebly, '*Un Roman indien, Vasavadatta de Soubandhou*' in Revue politique et litteraire, LIV, 305 311; Telang, '*Subandhu and Kumarila*' (*JRAS*, XVIII, 147-167); Cartellieri, '*Das Mahabharata dei Subandhu und Bana*,' (WZKM, XIII. 57-74); *Subandhu and Bāṇa* (WZKM, I. 115-132).
2. *DC*, XXI. 8582; *Tanj*, VII. 801. He gives his geneology.
3. *DC*, XXI. 8329; *Tanj*, VII. 3018. He calls himself Medhāvi Trivikrama.
4. *DC*, XXI. 8330.
5. *CC*, I. 566.
6. *PR*, IV. 23.
7. *Oxf*. 156.
8. *CC*. I. 566; *Ulwar*, 967.
9. *IOC*, 543, 996.
10. *Oudh*, XV. 44.
11. Hall's Edn. 196-214.
12. *SKC*, 81.
13. *IOC*, 543.
14. *CC*, III. 120.
15. Printed, Srirangam with a long introduction.
16. *DC*, XXI. 8331. *IOC*, 543; *CC*, III. 120; *Tanj*, VII. 3020, 3022, 3023.

In Vāsavadattākathāsāra, T. Narasimha Iyengar gives an epitome of the story:

474. "Bāṇa's reference to Vāsavadattā probably refers to Vāsavadattā Nrittapāra of Subandhu or some other romance of the name metioned in Mahābhāshya IV. iii. 87. The available Vāsavadattā of Subandhu does not relate the story of Udayana's wife and has references to later authors as Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti etc."[1]

"Subandhu's version of the story of Vasavadatta is quite different from that which Bhamaha criticises as quite incredible and opposed to the usage of the world and to the dictates of political science (loka-sastra-viruddha) concerning the conduct of a conqueror (Vijigishu). The story of Vasavadatta is as old as Patanjali, inasmuch as he refers to it in his commentary on Panini IV 3,57. One of the versions of the story based upon the Brihatkatha is found narrated in Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara and it seems to be the Brihatkatha version that Bhamaha has condemned as incredible and opposed to the usage of

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1. (*a*) To Kālidasa—

विफलमेव दुष्यन्तस्य कृते दुर्वाससश्शापमनुबभूव शकुन्तला ।

Rhetoricians like Kuntalaka assert that Kālidasa introduced the curse of Durvāsas into the story of Śakuntalā.

(*b*) to Bhāravi—

ताळफलरस इवापातमधुरः परिणामे विरसः ।

Compare

"शरदम्बुधराभाया गत्वर्यो यौवनश्रियः । आपातरम्या विषयाः पर्यन्तपरितापिनः ॥"

(Kirātārjunīya, xi-12).

(*c*) to Bāṇa—

अनवरतदह्यमानकालागरुधूपपरिमळोद्गारेषु ।

is found in Kādambarī.

(*d*) to Udyotakāra—

न्यायविद्यामिवोद्योतकारस्वरूपाम् ।

(*e*) to Jaimini—

जैमनिमतानुसारिण इव तथागतध्वंसिनः ।

This refers particularly to Kumārila.

(*f*) to Bhavabhuti.

प्रियतमे मागच्छ मागच्छेति दिक्षु विदिक्षु च विलिखितामिव, उत्कीर्णामिव चक्षुषि, निखातामिव हृदये, प्रियतमां जुहाव ... ... हृदये विलिखितमिव उत्कीर्णमिव प्रत्युप्तमिव निगळितमिव वज्रशारघटितमिव ।

Cf. Mālatimādhava (V-10) लीनेव प्रतिबिम्बितेव etc., quoted in page 469 *supra*.

the world and to the dictates of political science. Chandamahasena, the king of Avanti made a large artificial elephant similar to the one reared by Udayana, the king of the Vatsas. After filling it with armed soldiers, he sent it to the Vindjya forest bordering upon the Vatsa country with a view to entice Udayana to come out of his capital for capturing the elephant. As expected, Udayana came alone to see and capture it, was himself caught hold of by Chandamahasena's soldiers and taken as a prisoner to Avanti where he married Vasavadatta. Bhamaha condemns this story as incredible and opposed to the usage of the world, inasmuch as no king like Udayana who was well informed and had able ministers to advise him could be believed to go out with no assistance to elephant-forest at sunset, however fond he might be of elephants. It is also opposed to the dictates of political science, inasmuch as no king like Udayana, ever bent on making extensive conquests would be foolish enough to enter upon such a risky adventure as he is said to have done. Subandhu's version of the story Vasavadatta is not liable to such charges. If that work had existed in Bhamaha's time he would not have failed to notice it in this connection. As Subandhu refers to Vikramaditya (i.e. Chandragupta Vikramaditya) in whose court Kalidasa, also said to have been a poet, it follows that the capital of Chandragupta Vikramaditya was a haven of poets and scholars like Kalidasa, Bhamaha, Subandhu and others and that each poet or scholar was familiar with the literary productions of others living in the place. Accordingly Bhamaha may be presumed to have been earlier than Subandhu and a little later than Kalidasa, as he refers to Kalidasa and not to Bhamaha."[1]

475. **Narakanthirava Sastri** of Kāśyapagotra and of Vattipalli family was a professor in the Sanskrit College, Tirupati about 1900 A.D. Many of his poems are said to be locked up at Kalahasti. Besides stotras on Śrī Venkateśa and Gnānaprasūnāmbikā, which have been printed, his summary of the story Abhinava-Vasavadatta in āryā metre is a running narration.[2]

476. **Anandadhara's Madhavanalakatha** relates the story that Vikramāditya regaled himself in an enigmatic conversation between his friend Māhavānala and Kāmakandalā, a damsel of his Court, and when the latter was overcome, she was given away to the victor. The

1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1927), 25.
2. His pupil B. Sesha Sastri has written lyrical poetry, and lives at Tirupati.

prose is interspersed with occasional poetry. It appears to be older than the 10th century A.D.[1]

477. **Dhanapála** was son of Sarvadeva and brother of Śobhana[2] of Kāśyapagotra. Alienated from his family on some domestic differences, he gave up his home and rambled through the Universities of India. In a few years he grew well-versed in literature and arts, and when he returned he was received by his brother with remorse and affection. He calls himself son of Goddess of Learning. He seems to have been a convert to Jainism with all his family. He was a contemporary of Halāyudha,[3] Padmagupta, Dhananjaya and Devabhadra[4] and at the durbar of kings Sīyaka and Vākpati of Dhāra was hailed as the foremost of the learned of his day.

He composed his romance of TILAKAMANJARI[7] to please his royal patron, who though versed in all art and literature was anxious to have an idea of the stories of the Jaina theology. This long romance was being handed over part by part to the king and once when yet it

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1. *CC*, II. 101; *CAL*, B. 133; *IOC*, VII. 1558; *SKC*, 81, Tr. of 9th oriental confece, I. 430. There are plays of the name of Mādhavānalā (*CC*, I. 118), by (i) Ānandadhara (ii) Kavīśvara (*CC*, I. 450; *PR*, I. 118; V. 428) and a Madhāvānala-Kāmakandalā-kathā (*PR*, V. 429, *CC*, III. 97).

2. Śobhana was a staunch Jain and converted his brother Dhanapāla into his faith after prolonged efforts. He was known as Śobhanamuni. He lived in the Court of Dhāra in the 10th century. His stuti also called Caturvimśatikā consists of 4 groups of verses, the first in praise of 24 Tīrthankaras, the second in praise of all the Jinas, the 3rd in praise of the Jain doctrine, and the fourth in praise of various deities. The verses are so constructed that the second and fourth line of each agree to the letter in sound, but bear different meanings. Dhanapāla wrote a commentary on it. Translated and edited by Jacobi (*ZDMG*, XXXII. 509). On the com. see Buhler, *Sb. Akad. Wien*, (1882), 570-2. See *PR*, I. 69, *app*. 101, III. *app*. 22, iv. 121. Weber, *ISt*, II. 914. Śāntisuri's Prabhāvakacarita, xvii, 814.

3. On Dhanapāla genereally, see *PR*, III. Ap. 91, 133; IV, lxi; Weber, *ISt*, II, 1117. Buhler, *Sb*. (1882), 568-72; Hall's Int. to Daśārupa (Col. Un. series, xxiv-v; Bhāvadatta's Int. to Tilakamanjarī,

4. Dhanapāla, the author of Bhavisayattakaha is different from this author. He was a member of the Dhakkada Bomia family of Dhanasiri. See Int. to Bhavisayattakaha (*Ed. GOS*, Baroda, by C.D. Dalal and P.D. Gune).

M. Duff (*Chronology*) says he was a protige of kings Munja and Bhoja. See also *IA*, II. 166 and IV. 59, and Paiyalacchi, 277. Merutunga in Prabandhacintāmaṇi (Ed. Calcutta), 52-62, mentions Dhanapāla and Śobhana as at the court of king Bhojai Buhler calls this wrong (*Rep*. IV. 73-75).

5. Author of Kavirahasya.

6. Author of Katharatnakośa, see *PR*, III. App. 91.

7. Ed. Bombay.

was incomplete the king fell out and ordered the manuscripts to be burnt away. Dhanapāla was inconsolable, but his young daughter Ṭilakamanjarī had without his knowledge committed to memory every line of the story and she accosted him with a smile and could transcribe the work by her recitation: and the beloved father gave her name to his work.[1]

Ṭilakamanjarī is an elaborate tale. It describes the love and union of Ṭilakamanjarī and Samaraketu, and is a regular image of Kāḍambari and every occasion of note in Kāḍambari finds a parallel here. Easy in expression and full of imajination, Ḍhanapāla was a successful follower of Bāṇa. The prefatory verses are laudatory of great poets[2] and the Paramāra kings, and among these are Bāna, Bhavabhūṭi, Rājaśekhara, Ruḍra, Mahenḍra, Karḍamarāja. There is a fine epitome of it by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya.[3]

His other works are in Prakrit. Ṛṣabhapancāśikā,[4] a collection of 50 verses in honour of Ṛṣabha, the first prophet of the Jains, Paiyalacchi Nāmamāla,[5] which was completed in Samvat 1029 (A.D. 972-3), a Prakrit vocabulary and Pancamīkahā.

478. Soddhala was the son of Soora, grandson of Sollapeya and great-grandson of Candrapaṭi. He belonged to Valabha branch of the Kāyasṭha Kṣaṭriya caste, of which Kālāḍiṭya, brother of Śīlāḍiṭya, was the founder. He lost his father when yet a child and was brought up by his maternal uncle Gangāḍhara. He studied under Canḍra, and

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1. See Meruṭuuga's Prabanḍhacinṭāmaṇi; *PR*, IV. lxii.
2. The following reverses are interesting.

प्रसन्नगम्भीरपथा रथाङ्गमिथुनाश्रया । पुण्या पुनाति गङ्गेव गां तरङ्गवती कथा ॥
केवलोऽपि स्फुरन् बाणः करोति विमदान् कवीन् । किं पुनः क्लृप्तसंधानपुलिन्दकृतसंनिधिः ॥
निरोद्धुं पार्यते केन समरादित्यजन्मनः । प्रशमस्य वशीभूतं समरादित्यजन्मनः ॥
भद्रकीर्तेर्भ्रमत्याशाः कीर्तिस्तारागणाध्वनः । प्रभा ताराधिपस्येव श्वेताम्बरशिरोमणेः ॥
सूरिर्महेन्द्र एवैकः वैबुधाराधितक्रमः । यस्यामर्त्योचितप्रौढिकविविस्मयकृद्वचः ॥
समबान्धकविध्वंसी रुद्रः कैर्नाभिनन्द्यते । सुश्लिष्टललिता यस्य कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी ॥
सन्तु कर्दमराजस्य कथं हृद्या न सूक्तयः । कविस्त्रैलोक्यसुन्दर्याः यस्य प्रज्ञानिधिः पिता ॥

These last two verses show that Karḍamarāja was the son of Ruḍra who wrote the romance Ṭrailokyasunḍari.

3. *Sah.* XIII.
4. Ed. by Klatt (*ZDMG*, XXXIII. 445); *PR*, I. Ap. 85, 92, III. Ap. 38.
5. Ed. by Buhler (*BB*. IV. 70-166). It was written as Dhanapāla says to please his sister Sundari 'who was walking in the blameless way.'

then went to the Court of Sṭāṇaka (Thana), the capital of Konkhaṇa. He was patronised by three royal brothers Chittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuni Rāja who succeeded each other on the throne. Chitta and his brother lived in the 11th century A. D.[1] He was also honoured at the Court of Vaṭsarāja, the Calukya King of Lāṭa. His Udayasundarī-Kaṭhā was probably composed between 1026 and 1080 A.D. during the reign of Vaṭsarāja.[2] It seems that Vaṭsarāja once taunted Soddhala that the composition of stray verses was of no merit and the real joy was in the making of a poem, 'a garland of precious pearls.'[3] Soddhala took the hint and in a few days composed his Kaṭhā. He glories in his Kṣaṭriya descent and calls himself equal to Bāṇa and Vālmīki. His ideas, fancies and expressions, all admirable, rank him foremost among the writers of romances in Sanskrit literature.[4]

UDAYASUNDARIKATHA is a tale in 8 Uchvasas and describes the events that led to the marriage of Udayasundarī, daughter of Śikhandaṭila, king of the Nāgaloka and Malayavāhana, king of Praṭisṭhāna. In the first chapter the poet describes his own geneology and the greatness of his race, and the occasion for his composition; and the story begins in the second chapter.

479. **Vadibhasimha** was an ascetic of the Digambara Jaina sect, pupil of the Sage Puṣpasena. His real name was Odeyaḍeva. "He puts down his interlocutory antagonists as the lion does the elephant and so was he Vadibhasimha." His tutor is the sole object of worship to him, "whose greatness transforms fools into geniuses." He lived in the southern Districts of the Madras Presidency, where some of the Tinnevelly sects have such appellations.

In his GADYACINTAMANI, a narrative in 11 lambhas he describes the life of King Saṭyaḍhara and his son Jivanḍhara, culminating in the latter seeking peace in asceticism. Based on the Guṇabhadra's Uṭṭarąpurāṇa the plot runs in easy language, in close imitation of the situations and descriptions of Kāḍambarī. The ethical import is all-supreme, that "vice ever faileth." His Kṣṭracudāmaṇi is a poem in

1. See for their inscriptions dated 1026 A.D. and 1060 A.D.; *IA*, V. 277 and *JBRAS*, XII. 329. See also *IA*, IX. 33.

2. Vaṭsarāja propably died before 1050 A.D. because his son Trilocanapāla made a gift in 1050 A.D. as king (*IA*. XII. 196).

3. एकैकशः प्रकीर्णैः मुक्तामणिभिः किमेभिरेभिस्तु ।
यस्सृजति हन्त हारं तस्यान्यः कोऽपि परिभोगः ॥

4. Ed. *GOS*. Baroda, with a valuable introduction.

11 chapters on the life of Jīvandhara and is in most places a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil work Jīvakacintāmaṇi.[1]

The similarity of thought and expression between two sets of general advice addressed to the royal princes in Gadyacintāmaṇi and Kādambari and the close resemblances in the construction of their narratives furnish a test for the date of Vādībhasimha. On hearing the false news of Bhoja's death, Kālidāsa is traditionally known to have exclaimed अद्य धारा निराधारा निरालम्बा सरस्वती ; these words were repeated in the talk of the mob, on the untimely demise of the king Satyandhara caused by the treacherous policy of minister Kāṣṭhāngāra. King Bhoja flourished in the 11th century A. D. and Vādībhasimha who must have therefore come after him may be assigned to the 12th century A.D.[2]

480. **Vidyacakravartin's Gadyakarnamrita** "deals with the 90 days' battle of Śrīrangam between Narasimha II, son of Tribhuvanamalla Vīraballāla of the Hoysāla dynasty and the combined armies of the Pāndyas, the Magadhas and the Kādavas (Pallavas) about a few years before Vīrasomeśvara's marriage and accession to the throne in 1234 A.D. Kailāsa the abode of Śiva is the scene of the narration and Vyāsa reads the work before Śiva and his followers in Kailāsa." True to its name, it is an ambrosial solace to the hearers.[3]

"The poet traces the cause of the war between the Pandya and the Hoysala kings to a mythical feud between Parasurama, Siva's disciple, and Skanda, Siva's son, who, owing to their mutual curse to be born as human beings, were born on the earth, one as the Pandya King and the other as Hoysala Narasimha II and entered into a terrible war with each other. The real cause of the war seems to be the rivalry between the Pandya King and Tribhuvanachakravarti Rajarajadevachola in alliance with Narasimha II of the Hoysalas. Just when Narasimha was about to celebrate the marriage of Somesvara, his son by his first wife Kalavati, who died about three years after his birth, Rajarajachola's territory was invaded by the combined army of the Pandyas, the Magadhas, and the Kadavas. Before Narasimha could send his army to help Rajaraja against the combined army, Rajaraja was taken prisoner by the Kadava King and imprisoned in the fortress of Jayantamangala. On hearing the news, Narasimha made

1. Ed. Madras; *TC*, II. 1642.
2. Ed. Madras by T S. Kuppusami Sastri with an Introduction.
3. *Mys*. 261.

a hurried march to Jayantamangala and defeating and slaying the Kadava king (called Nijahu ?) released Rajaraja. Then marching with his army to Srirangam, he engaged the combined army in battle for 90 days at Srirangam, and routed it out. Thenceforward the Pandyas became tributary vassals to the Kuntalesvaras, i.e. the Hoysalas.

The portion of the manuscript in which the genealogy of the bride is given is wanting in the Library copy. All that can be made out from what is contained in the manuscript is that Nandideva and Kshemaraja, sons of Vallabha king of Guzrat, were driven out of their kingdom on account of their wickedness, that while Nandi married a princess of Paramara dynasty, Kshemaraja married Surapala's daughter and that both lived under his protection. When on the death of Surapala Guzrat fell into the hands of enemies, Nandideva migrated to Kanchi and lived there. The manuscript abruptly ends here. It may, however, be safely conjectured that the bride selected for Somadeva was a descendant of the family of Nandideva of Guzrat. The information thus supplied by the manuscript regarding the fall of the Pandyas and the revival of the Cholas corroborates that recorded in the inscriptions of the Hoysalas. No inscription of the Hoysalas fails to mention the part played by the kings of this line in putting down the Pandyas and rendering the power of the Cholas firm."[1]

481. Agastya's Krsnacarita relates the story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as narrated in Bhāgavaṭa. Agasṭya's identity with Viḍyānāṭha has been noticed along with his other works. Agasṭya's prose is not less enchanting than his poetry. So it is said at the end of a manuscript:[2]

अनादृत्य श्लाघ्यान् भुवि कविनिबन्धानिव तर्तिं
कृतौ वैयासिक्यां रचयितुरगस्त्यस्य विदुषः ।
वसन्ती वाग्देवी कृतिनिरसनाग्रे वितनुते
निपर्यङ्कं पङ्केरुहि महति शङ्के विहरणम् ॥

Agasṭya lived in the court of king Prabāparuḍraḍeva of Warangal who ruled in 1294–1325 A.D.[3]

482. Vamana's ambition was to emulate Bāṇa of Kāḍambarī fame in the field of romance and, as he says, his resolve was to remove the deep-rooted ill fame that after Bāṇa there was no poet capable

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1. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* (1924), 12. On the author, see para 100 supra and the Journal *Tirupati Sri Venkatesvara*, I.
2. *Tanj*, VII. 2994.
3. See para 126 *supra*.

of fine writing in prose.[1] Bāṇa was of the Vastsagotra and in that same gotra, Vāmana was born. He thought he had a quasi-hereditary claim to gain a name in the same field, he was Bāṇa incarnate and called himself Abhinava Bāṇa. Bāṇa glorified his patron Harṣa and this suggested to Vāmana the theme, that is, the life of his patron, Vemabhūpāla, known also as Vīranārāyaṇa. Thus came VIRANARAYANACARITA or VEMABHUPALACARITA.[2]

Vemabhupala or Viranārāyaṇa was the Reddi King of Addanki. He ruled in 1403-1420 A.D. at Kondavidu. From the progenitor of the dynasty the descent is traced and the genealogy begins from King Prolla. The adventures of this King led to his romantic marriage with princess Ananta, daughter of King Vikramasimha in Ḍakṣiṇāpaṭha. Among five sons born of this union was Māca. Māca had three sons of whom Pedakomatīndra was the eldest. By the grace of the gods, he had a son Vemabhūpa and he is the hero of this romance. Then follow the expeditions of Vema in all quarters with descriptions of situations full of poetic effusions in language at once melodious and expressive.[3]

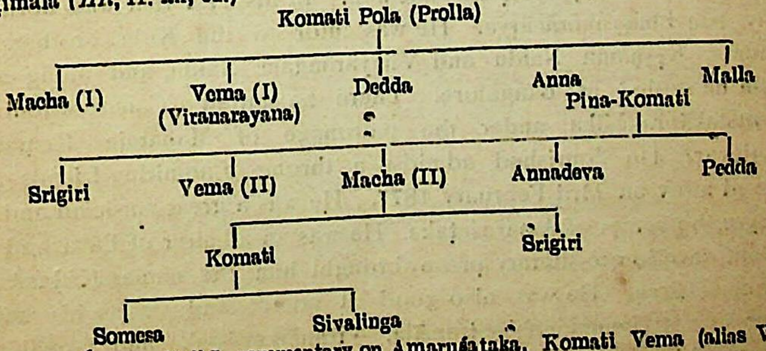
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1. बाणकवीन्द्रादन्ये काणाः खलु सरसगद्यसरणीषु ।
इति जगति रूढयशसो वत्सकुलो वामनोऽधुना मार्ष्टि ॥

2. See para 128 *supra*.

3. Ed. Srirangam. *DC*, XXI. 8334. For an epitome in Sanskrit by R. V. Kṛṣṇamāchārya, see *Sahridaya*, XVII; for a critique by Rāmalingasarma, see *Ibid*, XIX. 170.

The genealogy given by Vāmana differs slightly from that given by Śivalingabhupāla, a scion of this house, in his commentary on Haradaṭṭacārya's Giriśastutisuktimāla (*HR*, II. xii, 91.)



In his Śṛṅgāradīpikā, commentary on Amaruśataka, Komati Vema (alias Vīranārāyaṇa) says King Vema, built steps to Śrīśaila temple and his eldest brother Māca (I) had three sons Reddipola, Komatīndra and Nāga (*HR*, X. 68, 84-5). *SR*, II. 198-4. On Vema's (Annavema's) inscription, see *EI*, III. No. 10 and No. 39.

सर्वोत्कर्षेण वर्तमानः साक्षाल्लक्ष्मीसमुच्चारितजयशब्दः विश्वविश्वम्भरापालमौळिमालामकरन्दसुरभितचरणारविन्दो जयति विश्वाधिकविभवो वेमभूपालः ॥

To one who has studied Kāḍambarī or Harṣacarita, it may seem that Vāmana's performance is not original. That is not Vamana's fault, for in the province of prose Bāṇa had probably exhausted all feats of petic art and expression. There is much that is exquisite and appreciable in Vāmana's work and if it was imitation, it was an imitation by one who was great enough to do it.

483. **Devavijayagani** was pupil of Rājavijayasūri of Tapāgaccha. His RAMACARITA in prose was written at Śrīmālapura in Marusṭhalī or Marved in the year 1652 Samvat (1596 A.D.) in the reign of Akbar. In the composition of his work he followed Hemacanḍra's Rāmāyaṇa and "he wrote it in prose, though there was a Ramacaritra in verse in the Prakrit as well as Sanskrit, to divert himself and also to put an end to his karman."

484. **Srisaila Diksita or Tirumalacarya** was the son of Bhāṣyakāra-ācārya and Ṭiruvengadamma. He was born in May 1809 at Chinnampattu in Chinglepul District. He belonged to the Saptagoṭra sect of Sri Vaiṣṇava brahmins of Ṭirumaliśai and their home is traced to Tirukandiyur in Tanjore District. His father died when he was a few months old and his mother's father brought him up as his child. He studied at Triplicane and became proficient in literature and philosophy. His exposition of Śribhāṣya earned for him the appellation Śribhāṣyam Ṭirumalācārya. In his 24th year was born his only son Bhāṣyakārācārya. He was tutor to the Kola brothers of Madras, Kṛṣṇama Naidu and Vijayarangam Naidu, and along with them he settled at Bangalore. There he started a Canarese Journal, Karnātakāprakāśika under the patronage of Maharaja Krsnaraja Wodeyar. He flourished admidst a throng of admiring friends and passed away on 23rd February 1877. He was a great musician and set to lyre the verses of Amaruśaṭaka. He was an admirer of Bāṇa and his ardent devotion to literary prose brought him the name Kāḍambarī-Ṭirumalācārya. He was also good at poetry and among his minor poems are Hanumannakṣaṭramālā, Vīrānjaneyāṣṭaka and Gopālāryā. Among his minor prose works are Bhrāṇṭivilāsa, an adaptation of Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors, and Kāverīgaḍya, a description of his pilgrimage to Ṭalakāverī in Coorg.

By far the monument of his glory is ŚRIKRSNABHYUDAYA.[1] In exquisite prose, he narrates in two parts the whole story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, of whom he was a devotee, and his inimitable manner of expression, rendered resplendent by the solemnity of the theme, can scarcely be surpassed in literature. Like many poets who as votaries of Kṛṣṇa wrote about him, his prose seems inspired and by its merit will make up for the scantity of the volume of Sanskrit prose literature.

485. **Timmakavi** was the son of Jaggakavi of Kucimanci family and of Kaundinyagoṭra and lived at Candrampālayam near Pittāpur. His son Venkatrāyudu died about 60 years ago. He attained his skill in composition by the grace of Kukkuteśwara (near Pitapur) and was profiicient in all the Sastras. His SUJANAMANAH-KUMUDACANDRIKA is a Sanskrit rendering of a Telugu work Rasika-janamanobhirāma written by his great-grand-father Timmakavi. The story is related by Indra to Mahābhāga of Kerala in which Karālavakṭra, a king of Kerala, falls in love with a girl in the course of a hunting expedition and marries her, while attempting to pursue a parrot, which she liked to have, into a Siva's temple, he fell down and died muttering the name of Śankara and thereby obtained salvation.[2]

486. **Ahobila Nrisimha** was the son of Rāmakṛṣṇādhwarin and grandson of Nāyanasūri of Kāśyapagoṭra a brahmin of Telugu Veginati Sect. His was a family of poets patronised for seven generations by the kings of Mysore. He was in the Court of King Kṛṣṇarāja Odeyar III (born 1795 A.D.) of Mysore. Taunted by one Nārāyaṇa-paṇḍiṭa with ignorance of Sanskrit poetry, he vowed to produce a work equal to Kādambarī which Nārāyaṇa happened at the moment to be teaching his pupils and wrote his Abhinava-Kādambarī or Ṭrimūrṭi-kalyāṇa. In two parts it relates the adventures of his patron Kṛṣṇa Rāja and is interspersed with verses. The name Abhinava-Kadambari has no meaning except that the poet expected to vie with Bāṇa in his composition.[3]

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1. The Purvabhāga has been editted in *Sahṛdaya*, XIII and XIX with an introduction where his letters are also printed. The manuscript of the second part is with Mr. B. Ramacarya, 45, Hospital Road, Bangalore to whom the reader is referred for more details on the author's life.

2. *TC*. II. 2274. In Veeresalingam's Telugu Poets there is a confusion between the two Timma Kavis. B. Ramasomayajulu (*Bharati* II. 17, 25) places him in the beginning of 17th Century A.D.

3. *Mys*. 263. See para 287 supra.

487. **Appasastrin** was born at Rasivade in Kolhapur in a family of learned Brahmins. Early in his life he completed his studies. His first writings were contributions to the Sanskrit Journal Sanskṛta-candrikā, of which he later become the editor. Along with it he conducted the paper Sūnṛtavādin on general topics, in which he demonstrated the capacity of Sanskrit being a general Vernacular. He bore the titles Vidyāvācaspati and Vidyālankāra. He passed away in his 40th year in 1913 A.D. He wrote easy commentaries on some plays.[1]

His LAVANYAMAYI is a Sanskrit adaptation of Bankim Chandras' Bengali romance of that name.[2]

488. **Krsnamacarya R.** (M.A.) was the son of Paravastu Rangācārya of Śrīvatsagotra. He lived in 1869-1924. He was superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in Madras. His critiques on Kālidasa's poems are unique and well-known. His Sanskrit prose is enchanting and his writings abound in his Sanskrit Journal, Sahṛdayā. Among his minor prose pieces are Pātivratya, Pāṇigrahaṇa and Vararuci. His *Susīlā* is a romance inculcating social morals on the standards of Hindu ethics.

489. **Anantacharya** is a lineal descendant of Mudambi Nambi, one of the seven spiritual successors of Rāmānuja. He was born in 1874 in the house of Prativadibhayankara of Kāñcī. He is learned in all the Sastras and his disciples are all over India; for their ministration he tours round India, lecturing on Vaiṣṇava philosophy ann theology on which he has written a number of works. He is the editor of a series of works on Nyāya and Vedānta and a literary journal, Manjubhāṣiṇī.[3] His Valmīkibhāvadīpa[4] is an exposition in verse of the real spiritual meaning of Rāmāyaṇa with a gloss of his own added to it. His SAMSARACAKRA is a Sanskrit rendering in easy prose of a Hindi novel of Jagannāthaprasāda.[5]

490. **Krsnamacarya (R. V.)** is the son of Venkateśa of Śrīvatsagotra. He was born about 1874 and is was the chief Sanskrit Pandit in the Government College, Kumbakonam. At a very early age, he became proficient in all the śāstras and Vyākaraṇa is his special

1. For a short account of his life see *Sahridaya*, XVIII. 274.
2. Ed. Bombay and Madras.
3. He lived in 1362-1454 A.D.
4. For further information about him, see his of tours is not from time to time from Kanchi.
5. Ed. Conjeevaram. See page *supra*.

study. His discourses in Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam have been highly appreciated and in one of the assemblies of Cochin he was awarded the Maharaja's medal and a title Paṇḍitarāja. Above all the agility of his prose is unique and by appliying it to critical and historical essays, he has demonstrated that the Sanskrit language is capable of expressing modern ideas with as much ease, as did the glossators in their controversial philosophical literature. Trained in an atmosphere of inquiry and research, he has enriched literary history by his tracts on the authorship of Pārvatīpariṇaya, and Priyadarśikā, on Vāmana's Kavyālankārasūtravṛtti, on Vāsavadattā and on Meghasandeśa, prefixed as introduction to the Vani Vilas editions of these works. His abridgments of Kādambarī, Harṣacarita, and Vemabhūpālacarita have made these romances accessible to the indolent adult and the unlearned youth. Besides several works on grammar and logic he prepared anthologies Mahākavisubhāṣita, Subhāsitaśataka, Bhartṛhari-subhāsitasangraha, and composed the rhetorical works, Prastutānkuravimarśa and Trilupṭakautuka and glosses on Vṛttivārtika and Citramīmāmsa and the minor poems, Vāṇīvilāpa, Anyapadeśa, Kalāpivilāpa, Vāyasavaisasa, Śrī-Deśika-trimsat, Dharmarājavimśati, and Bhāratagīta (ode to India) and Cakravarticatvārimśat (India's coronation song). He wrote commentaries on Vāsavadattā, Priyadarśikā, Acyutaroyābhyudaya, Vemabhūpālacarita, Kirātārjunīya, and Gadyatraya. Of these, his commentary on Vāsavadatta has evoked much praise and it was described as "an earnest attempt to bring out what Subandhu might have really meant and to minimise the necessity for resorting to forced interpretation." Sāhityaratnamanjūṣa is a treasury of chosen quotations from various writers on the lines of Bartlett's 'Familiar quotations from English Writers.'

491. **Rajagopala** Cakravartin (of Keṭāndipatti) was born in 1882. His father Cakravarti Gītācārya[1] was a professor of Mimāmsa in Sanskrit College, Mysore. Rājāgopāla inherited the poetic instinct and early in life he visited the courts of several Indian States and was honoured by them with titles and presents.[2] In 1922 he became the head of the Department of Sanskrit Literature in the Central College, Bangalore, the chief institution of the Mysore University. By the romances of SAIVALINI[3] and KUMUDINI, semi-original in plot,

1. Among his works are Kṛṣṇarājodayacampu.
2. Among his titles are Saralakavisari, Kāvyaviśārada, Vidyābhuṣaṇa, Vidyāvācaspati, Mahāvidvān, Gnāṇaguṇākara.
3. Printed, Mysore.

partly based on vernacular tales, his name is well-known. These are also his works in prose, Vilāsakumārī and Sangara, and in verse Tripod (on the Oracle of Delphi), Padyaharṣacarita, Gangātaranga, Madhukaradūta and Viyogivilāpa; and Tirthātanam is a poem in 4 chapters describing his pilgrimage through India. His Kavikāvyavicāra is an original work combining literary history and poetic criticism and incorporates the results of latest historical research. He passed away in October 1934.

492. **Kalyanarama Sastri** (P.K.) is the son of Subbalakṣmī and Parithiyur Kṛṣṇa Sastri, the famous scholiast of Rāmāyaṇa of South India. He is a retired officer the Registration department in Madras, and now lives at Tanjore. He inherited his father's talents and among his works a romance KANAKALATA,[1] an adaptation of Shakespeare's Lucrece, is a specimen of simple but eloquent expression.

Parithiyur Kṛṣṇa Śāstrin, his father, was the second son of Rāmasvāmi Śāstrin. He was born in 1842 at Kadagambadi, Tanjore District. His father and grandfather held high offices in the Tanjore State and were well known for their piety and learning. He studied under Vydyanātha Dīksita of Sengalipuram. Learned in all the sastras, he was particularly good in poetic literature. His exposition of Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas was exquisite and he was accorded the highest appreciation. He passed away in 1911. His Rasaniṣyandinī, a commentary on select passages of Rāmāyaṇa, has preserved for us a glimpse of his exposition. His KAUMUDISOMAM, a play[2] themed on love, reflects Rāmāyaṇa in its grandeur. His Mīnakṣīśataka Mālinīśataka, Hanumatśataka and Lakṣmīnṛsimhaśataka are poems of devotion and Kalivilāsamaṇidarpaṇa is satirical.

493. **Kapisthalam Krsnamacarya (B. A)** was the son of Rangācārya of Kauśikagotra of Tirupati. His father's brother Kapisthalam Deśika Acārya is an authority on dialetics and philosophy. Kṛṣṇamācārya was born in 1883 and among in 1934 poetic instricts manifested themselves at a very early age. Besides critical essays on various topics of Sanskrit Literature, which have been noticed in relevent contexts, he wrote the poem Vilāpataranginī and a bhāṇa Rasarnāvataranginī. His romance MANDARAVATI is a loveable composition. Modelled on the design of the well-known romances, it has

1. Printed partly in Sahṛdaya and partly in Tanjore.
2. Printed, Madras.

an originality of narration and description and a graceful blend of classical and modern imagery. He passed away in 1933.

His father Rangācārya was a great rhetorician. He lived 1856-1918. His Alankārasangraha is a lucid exposition of the principles of poetics, and among his poems are Subhāsitaśataka, Sṛngāranayikātilaka and Pādukāsahasrāvatārakathāsangrakha. On Godā he wrote a Cūrṇikā and like Bhajagovinda, his Rahasyatrayasāraratnāvali and Sanmatikalpalatā is philosophical.[1]

494. Jaggu Alwar Aiyangar known otherwise as Kavivara Jaggu Sri Vakulabhūṣaṇa belongs to the family of "Bala Dhanvi" (Komandur Elayavalli) of Melkote, Mysore. He is the son of Tirumārāyana. Alwar is a living poet of high order. His JAYANTIKA is a romance like Kādambarī of exquisite beauty written when he was 20. Of his two dramas as Syamantaka and Adbhutāmśuka, the latter is almost an introduction to Veṇīsamhāra. Among his minor poems are Karuṇārasataranginī and Hayagrīvastuti.

His brother **Singraiyengar** wrote Śrīkṛṣṇarājacampū, Yaduśailacampū, Kṛṣṇakathārahasya, Citrākūtodanta (Yamaka). His uncle Venkatācārya born in 1873 wrote poems Granthijvaracarita, Rāmānujamatābhasavilāsa, Kaverīmahimādarsā or Śrīkṛṣṇarājasetubandhana (on Kannambadi dam), Yādavāgirimāhātmyasangraha, Vyāghrataṭākabhūvivaraṇavarṇana (on Hulikeri Tunnel works), Kākānyoktimālā, Campakānyoktimālā, Kastūrikānyoktimālā and some stotras. His Divyasūrivaibhava is in prose. His grandfather Śingrācārya lived in 1831-1885 and wrote Sampatkumārastotra, Kalyāṇīpancaka and Vṛttamuktasāravalī.

495. Rajamma was born at Bangalore in 1877. She is fifth in descent from Pradhānī Gopālayya, minister of Tippu Sultan of Mysore. Her parents were Gangādharayya and Rāmālakṣmī. She married A. Sambasiva Ayyar, a lawyer of Mysore. She is the Sanskrit Pandit in Lady Willingdon Training College, Madras. Her CANDRAMAULI is a novel on modern lines depicting social life and evils.[2]

496. Narayana Sastri Khiste, Sāhityācārya, is the son of Bhairavanāyaka. He is the librarian of Saraswati-Bhavan at Kasi. He wrote the lives of five great scholars, VIDVATCARITAPANCAKA in simple and elegant prose, interspersed with verses which make a

1. He wrote an exposition on इयं सीता verse of Rāmāyaṇa.

1. Printed, Madras.

pleasant reading of imaginative poetry[1] These pieces were composed about 1928.

(i) **Manavalli Gangadhara Sartri C. I. E.** was an Andhra Brahmin and son of Nrisimha Sastri. He was born at Yasaragatta near Bangalore in 1854. Nrisimha settled at Kasi and wrote Kavyatmasamsodhana. Among the learned men under whom Gangadhara studied were Rajarama Sastri and Bala Sastri whose lives he wrote in exquisite verse. He became a professor of Sanskrit in the College at Kasi in 1879. In a great assembly convened to see his Satavadhana, he was asked to complete a *Samasya* :

बभौ मयूरो लवशेषसिंहः

He framed the verse at once, displaying the regular series of Sanskrit consonants and thus illustrated the ductility and pliability of the Sanskrit language.

अनेकवर्णक्रमरीतियुक्तः कखागघाङच्छजझा ञटौ ठः ।
अडण्ढणस्थोऽथ दधौ न पम्फुल् बभौ मयूरो लवशेषसिंहः ॥

Here is the commentary.

सपरिकरस्य शिवस्य वाहनेषु कतमो वर्षासु मोदते इत्येवं पृष्टः कोऽप्युत्तरति, अनेकेति । अथ निदाघोत्तरम्, अनेकवर्णानां क्रमरीत्या युक्तः पीतनीलादिविविधवर्णविशिष्टः, कखागघाङा कखेन हासेन अनायासेनेति यावत्, अकां कुटिलगामिनां सर्पाणां अघं, भक्षणरूपमञ्चति, पूजयत्याद्रियत इति तादृशः, अच्छं शोभनं जातो यो भूषणरूपः यस्य सोऽच्छजझः, ञानां विराविणां, टं ध्वनिं स्वरवमाधुर्येण ठति प्रतिहन्ती तिरस्करोति यस्तथाभूतः, अडण्ढणेऽचपलः लवौ न्यूनौ नानावर्णवत्त्वादिगुणैः शेषसिंहौ यस्मात्तादृक् मयूरोऽपरपक्षिहंसादिवत्, तः क्षीणतां खेदमिति यावत् । नदधौ, प्रत्युत पंफुल्लसन् प्रमोदातिशयं भजमानौ बभौ ॥

This composition must enchant any reader, as it did that assembly. Later he wrote works on Grammar and a gloss on Rasagangadhara. He became Mahamahopadhyaya in 1887 at Queen Victoria's first Jubilee, and a C. I. E. at King Edward's Coronation. He passed away in 1914.

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1. Sar. Bhar. Series (No. 27), Benares.
For instance :

विद्वत्कुलप्रसवभूमिरितिप्रसिद्धा कैलासतः प्रियतरा शिवराजधानी ।
यस्याः पदाब्जनिकटे विलुठत्यजस्रं मन्दाकिनी शिवशिरोवरवैजयन्ती ॥
राकाशशाङ्कहिमकुन्दमृणाळनाळकैलासकाशसदृशी जनिताऽन्यकीर्तिः ।
व्याप्याखिलामपि धरामनवाप्तपारां वाग्देवताश्रवणपूरपदं जगाहे ॥

(ii) **Damodara Sastri** was born in the village Ārohaṇa near Kāśī in 1848 A.D. He was the son of Bālakṛṣṇa Śāstri of Bhāradvājagotra In 1879 he became professor of Vyākaraṇa in Benares Sanskrit College and a Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1899. He passed away in 1909.

(iii) **Kailasacandra** was born in 1830 in Rāḍhīya family of Bhāradvājagotra in the village of Ḍhātrī in Bengal. He was the son of Ghanaśyāma and Ādaramaṇi. He became professor of Nyāya in Benares Sanskrit College in 1869 and became Mahāmahopādhyāya. He was known generally as Mahāśaya. He passed away in 1908.

(iv) **Sivakumara Sastri** was born at Undi near Kāśī in 1848 A.D. He was the son of Rāmasevakamiśra and Matirāṇī. Lakṣmīśvaradeva, the Chief of Ḍvāravanga was his patron. The story of the House of Lakṣmīśvara from the days of its founder Maheśa Takkura was described by Śivakumāra in his poem Lakṣmisvarapratāpa. So was the life of the great Yogin Bhāskarānanda in his poem Yatīndrajīvana-carita. He bore many titles, such as Vidyāmārtānda Panditārāja. He passed away in 1919.

(v) **Ramakrishna Sastri,** known as Ṭāṭya Śāstri, was born in 1846 A.D. at Naghur. He was the son of Mahādeva of Pattavardhana. He lost his parents when yet very young and he was brought up by his uncle Nageswara Bhatta and educated at Kāśī. He was for some time in the Sanskrit College of Lakṣmīśvaradeva and latterly professor in Benares Sanskrit College. He became Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1909. He wrote works on Grammar and passed away in 1916.

497. **Sesasayee** was a Sanskrit Pandit of Trivadi College and Madura College and died in 1932 at Kumbakonam. He wrote the story Aṣṭāvakrīyam in prose.[1]

498. **Srisaila Tatacarya**, or Ṭirumalai Ṭāṭācārya, son of Venkatavarada, lived at Kāñcī 63 years and died in 1925-6. His genius was versatile. Besides the plays of Yugalāngulīya and Vedānta-desikacarita, he wrote Ḍurgeśanandinī and Kṣatriyaramaṇī, translations of Bengali novels.[2]

There is Sanskrit rendering of Indranātha's Bengali story Gaura-candra.[3]

1. Printed, Kumbakonam.
2. Printed, *Sah, Vol seq*, XIII.
3. *Jl. of Sam. Sah. Par.*, XV. 380.

499. Haricarana Bhattacarya, Vidyāratna, Kāvya-Vyākaranā-tīrtha, was born in March 1879, of a learned Brahmin family of Kanurgaon, Vikrampore in East Bengal. He is Professor of Sanskrit, Metupolitan College Calcutta. His father, Pandit Durgācarana Smrit-tīrtha, settled in Calcutta in 1910 and has since been residing there with his family. His KAPALAKUNDALA composed in 1918 is a Sanskrit translation of the famous Bengali novel of Bankimcandra. Besides his poems Karnadhārā and Rūpasunirjhara his rendering of Fitzerald's version of 'Omar-Khaiyam' in Sanskrit verse in 75 stanzas in the Śārdulabikridita metre is superb. Haricarana has been graciously serving in the Metropolitan Institution founded by the illustrious Pandit Iswarachandra Vidyasagar.[1]

500. Narasimha (acārya) is son of Mahābala of Kotīśvara in South Canara, a Brahmin of dvaita persuation. He was born in Śubhakrt (1902-3) and having lost his father in childhood he was bred up and educated by his uncles. He is a Śahityaśiromani of the Madras University and professor in Sri Chamarajendra Sanskrit College, Bangalore. His novel SAUDAMINI in 8 chapters describes the secret marriage of king Śūrasena of Magadha with Śaudāminī, daughter of king Kānapāla of Vidarbha, the loss of his kingdom at the hands of a rival suitor Vijayavarman, the wanderings of the married couple in distress, the unswerving lovalty of the princess to her lover in his woes, and the reconquest and restoration to fortune and pleasure. Among other works of this author, are Bhāratakathā and a Vyāyoga Pratijnā-Bhārgava and an epitome of Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi.[2]

501. Sarvabhauma's Arthasangraha describes the story of Rāmāyana, but the peculiarity of its composition is that the narration is in the form of qualifying adjectives with instrumental endings in relation to Rāma.[3] Mahābhārata-Kathānaka is a prose summary of the story.[4]

Virincīnāthacarita is a long work by Virincinātha of the Dindima family relating the greatness of the Deity of that name at Virincipuram.[5]

Ravivarmastuti[6] is a eulogy in prose of Mrtyunjayaswāmi of Tirunāva in Malabar and Ravivarman was probably the well-known

1. Printed Calcutta.
2. Printed, Bangalore.
3. *BTC*, No. 1014.
4. *CC*, III. 95.
5. See *CC*, I. 578.
6. *OML*.

king, who patronised Vāsudeva, the poet. He also wrote a poem Ḍamayantīpariṇaya.

In SAMYOGITASWAYAMWARA in 6 pairs Paraśurāma, surnamed Vaiḍya, describes the marriage of Samyogiṭā, daughter of Jayacanḍra, a Rastraudha King.[1] He also wrote a small prose piece Parihāsācaryā. Varaḍakānṭa Viḍyāraṭna wrote Gaḍyāḍarsā.[2]

Vijayapurakaṭhā, a brief history of the Muhammadan kings of Bijapur[3] and Vellapurīśagaḍya, an account of Vellore and its ruler Keśavarāja[4] are in prose. So is Maheśa Thakur's Sarvaḍeśavṛṭṭānṭanṭa-sangraha, which contains a history of Akbar's reign.[5]

Among short pieces published in Sahṛḍayā must be mentioned the story of Othello,[6] Maḍālaśācariṭa,[7] Avikrīṭacariṭa and Svārociṣacariṭa,[8] Amśumālīcariṭa (story of Hamlet),[9] Anuhlāḍacariṭa,[10] Moghapāḍacariṭa and Pracyuṭacariṭa,[11] Śrikṛṣṇalīlāyiṭa,[12] Aṭirūpacariṭa,[13] Raṭivilāpa,[14] Uḍayanakaṭhā[15] by Venkatarāmaśarman, Uḍayanacariṭa by Ananṭā-cārya,[16] and Pṛṭhvīrājacariṭa by K. V. Subramanya Sastrin,[17] Viḍhivilāsa by Sānkara-Subrahmaṇya Śāsṭrin,[18] Vijayinī of Paraśuramāśarman[19] Manmaṭhonmaṭhana by Muddu Vittalācārya,[20] and Rajanī by Reṇu Ḍevi.[21]

1. *Sah.*, XIII.
2. Printed Calcutta.
3. *IO*, VII. 1573.
4. *Taylor*, I. 22.
5. *CC*. I. 701 ; *IO*, VII. 1573.
6. III. 55.
7. IV. 35.
8. IV. 110, 148.
9. VI. 37.
10. VI. 67.
11. VII.
12. XIV & XV, by Pandita Śaṭāvaḍhāni Śrīnivāsācārya.
13. XIV & XV, by Gopālaśāsṭrin.
14. XVI. 105, 172.
15. XXII. 326.
16. XXIII, 97.
17. XXIII. 116, XXIV.
18. XXIII, 249.
19. XXIII, XVI. 25.
20. XXII.
21. *JI*, *Sam*. *Sah*. *Par*. XI.

Menakā by D. T. Tātācaryasiromaṇi,[1] Parasurāmacaritra by D. Venkatesvaraśāstrulu[2] are appearing as serials in Udyānapatrikā, Trivadi, Tanjore District.

On the lines of Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare, Mahāliṅgaśāstrin has written summaries of Bhāsa's plays and Medepalli Venkataramanacarya, of Shakespeare's plays.[3]

V. P. Tatake's Manoramāmādhavam,[4] Śrīkanthasāstrin's Yāminīvinodakathā,[5] Brahmavidyādhvarin's Pramathacaritra and Tārakabrahmakathā,[6] and Venkāmātya's Śudhājharī[7] are in prose.

The following Jain stories in prose are printed: Kāmaghatakathā, Cauryāsīprabandha, Rūpasenacaritra, Bhāvacandrasūri's Amaradattamitrānandacarita and Dhanadattacarita, Devarājagaṇī's Gadyapāndavacarita, Indrahamsagaṇī's Pratyekabuddhacaritra, Hamsagaṇī's Bhuvanabhānucaritra, Jayakīrtisūri's Śrīpālacaritra, Hirālāla's Prādeśinṛpacaritra.

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1. He is Mimamsa professor in Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi.
2. He is Sanskrit Lecturer, High School, Parvatipur.
3. Printed, Madras. On the author, see chapter on Sanskrit Drama *post*.
4. Printed Bombay.
5. He is the brother of Rāmaśāstrin, who wrote Sītāravāṇasamvādajhari See 1. of Mys. Sanskrit College, II. 244.
6. *Mys.* 638.
7. *Mys.* 268. On the author, see chapter of Sanskrit Drama *post*.

CHAPTER XX.

Gadyakavya—(*contd.*)

502. Curnaka etc. Among minor styles of gaḍya or prose are Mukṭaka, Vṛṭṭagandhi, Uṭkaliķāprāya and Cūrṇakā or Curṇikā. There are defined and illustrated by Viśvanāṭha.

Chanḍomanjarī divides Gaḍya into three classes (i) Vṛṭṭaka (ii) Uṭkalikāprāya and (iii) Vṛṭṭagandhi and defines them thus :

अकठोराक्षरं स्वल्पसमासं वृत्तकं मतम् ।
तत्तु वैदर्भरीतिस्थं गद्यं हृद्यतरं भवेत् ॥
भवेदुत्कलिकाप्रायं समासाढ्यं दृढाक्षरम् ।
वृत्तैकदेशसम्बन्धाद्वृत्तगन्धि पुनस्स्मृतम् ॥

and gives the following instances :

(i) स हि त्रयाणामेव जगतां गतिः परमपुरुषोत्तमो दृप्तदानवभरेण भंगुराङ्गीमवनिमवलोक्य करुणार्द्रहृदयस्तस्या भारमवतारयितुं रामकृष्णस्वरूपेणांशतो यदुवंशेऽवततार, यस्तु प्रसङ्गेऽपि स्मृतोऽभ्यर्चितो वा गृहीतनामा पुंसां संसारसागरपारमवलोकयति ।

(ii) प्रणिपातप्रवणसप्रधानाशेषसुरादिवृन्दसौन्दर्यप्रकटाकिरीटकोटिनिविष्टस्पष्टमणिमयूखच्छटाच्छुरितचरणनखचक्रविक्रमोद्दामवामपादाङ्गुष्ठनखशिखरखण्डितब्रह्माण्डविवरनिस्सरच्छरदमृतकरप्रकरभासुरसुरवाहिनीप्रवाहपवित्रीकृतविष्टपत्रितयकैटभारे क्रूरतरसंसारसागरनानाप्रकारावर्तमानविग्रहं मामनुगृहाण ॥

(iii) जय जय जय जनार्दन सुकृतिमनस्तडागाविकस्वरचरणपद्म पद्मपत्रनयन पद्मापद्मिनीविनोदराजहंस भास्वरयशःपटलपरिपूरितभुवनकुहर हरकमलासनादिवृन्दारकवृन्दवन्दनीयपादारविन्दद्वन्द्व निर्मुक्तयोगीन्द्रहृदयमन्दिराविष्कृतनिरञ्जनज्योतिःस्वरूप नीरदरूप विश्वरूप अनाथनाथ जगन्नाथ मामनवधिभवदुःखव्याकुलं रक्ष रक्ष रक्ष ॥

503. Dandakas are abnormal poetic compositions beyond the ken of ordinary versification. They read like prose, but the arrangement of the words follow a melodious setting. Vṛṭṭaraṭnākara defines them thus :

यदिह नयुगळं ततः सप्त रेफास्तदा चण्डवृष्टिप्रपातो भवेद्दण्डकः ॥
प्रतिचरणविवृद्धरेफाः स्युरर्णार्णवव्यालजीमूतलीलाकरोद्दामसङ्ख्यादयः ।
प्रचितकसमभिधो धीरधीभिः स्मृतो दण्डको नद्वयादुत्तरैः सप्तभिर्यैः ॥

Nārāyaṇa in his commentany mentions other classes thus :

(i) नयुगलगुरुयुगेर्वयकाराः कवीच्छानुरोधात्तदा यत्र वश्यन्त एषोऽपरोदण्डकः पण्डितैरीरितः सिंहविक्रान्तनामा ॥

(ii) यत्र रेफान् कविस्स्वेस्च्छया पाठसौभाग्यसापेक्षयारोपयत्येष धीरैस्स्मृतो दण्डको मत्तमातङ्गलीलाकरः ॥

(iii) लघुर्गुरुः क्रमेण यत्र यत्र बध्यते सुधीभिरिच्छया सदण्डकस्त्वनंगशेखरस्स्मृतः ॥

(iv) स्वेच्छया रजौ क्रमेण सन्निवेशयत्युदारधीः कविः सदण्डकस्स्मृतो जयत्यशोकमञ्जरी ॥

(v) सगणः सकलः खलु यत्र भवेत्तमिह प्रवदन्ति बुधाः कुसुमस्तवकम् ॥

(vi) यकारैः कवीच्छानुरोधान्निवद्धैः प्रसिद्धो विशुद्धोऽपरो दण्डकः सिंहविक्रान्तनामा ॥

एवं मेघमालाकुसुमास्तरणोत्तरकामबाणादयो दण्डकाः षड्विंशत्यक्षराधिकाक्षरपदाः कविप्रयोगानुसारेण ज्ञेयाः ॥

504. Syamala-dandakam is a proso-poetic piece in praise of Sarasvaṭī. Like many works of that species, ḍandakam, the recital of it is melodious. The authorship is attributed to Kālidāsa, but in a manuscript of the work discovered by T. S. Kuppusami Sastri of Tanjore PURANTAKA is distinctly named as the author. Purānṭaka was the son of Māḍhava. He was the worshipper in the temple of Mahākāli. When King Bhoja of Ḍhār vanquished the mlecchas who were plundering the treasures of the Śankara Math at Ḍwāraka, he saw this work of Purānṭaka and granted him a hundred agrahārams on the banks of the Narmaḍā and this was in Śāka 923 (1101 A.D.)[1]

1. See *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1917-8) 224.

धाराधीशो धराधीशो धारायां धनदोपमः ।
वभार राज्यं भोजाख्यो दानमानैश्च पण्डितान् ॥
म्लेच्छानमोचयद्वीरो द्वारकायां विराजितम् ।
शंकरार्यगुरूणां स्वमोषिणो मतदूषिणः ॥
लोकाक्षिरससंख्याक (९२३) शकाब्दे पूर्णिमातिथौ ।
श्रावणे मासि विप्रेभ्यः कविभ्यो व्यतरन्मुदा ॥

ग्रामान्सोमोद्भवातीरे शतं यो गिरिशप्रियः । सरस्वतीकण्ठभूषां सरसालंकृतिं कृतिं ॥
प्राणयत्कीर्तिकायस्य प्रायच्छत्तस्य नित्यतां । जीयतात्तद्यशो नित्यमाचन्द्रार्कद्युभूषणं ॥
महादेवद्विजश्शैवो महाकालस्य पूजकः । पुरान्तकस्तस्य पुत्रः पुरारेः कृपयाभवत् ॥
श्यामलायाः प्रसादाद्यः श्यामलादण्डकं व्यधात् । वाग्देवी यस्य वश्याभूद्वाचो वाचस्पतेरिव ॥
तस्मै ग्रामान् शतमदात् * * * * * * ॥

माणिक्यवीणामुपलालयन्तीं मदालसां मञ्जुलवाग्विलासाम् ।
माहेन्द्रनीलोत्पलकोमलाङ्गीं मातङ्गकन्यां मनसा स्मरामि ॥
जय मातङ्गतनये जय नीलोत्पलद्युते ।
जय सङ्गीतरसिके जय लीलाशुकप्रिये ॥

जय जननि सुधासमुद्रान्तरुद्यन्मणिद्वीपसंरूढबिल्वाटवीमध्यकल्पद्रुमाकल्पकादम्बकान्तारवासप्रिये कृत्तिवासप्रिये ।

* * * * * *

वपुः श्यामलं कोमलं चारुचन्द्रावचूडान्वितं तावकं ध्यायतस्तस्य लीलासरो वारिधिस्तस्य केलीवनं नन्दनं तस्य भद्रासनं भूतलं तस्य गीर्देवता किङ्करी तस्य चाज्ञाकरी श्रीः स्वयं सर्वमन्त्रात्मिके सर्वयन्त्रात्मिके सर्वतन्त्रात्मिके सर्वशक्त्यात्मिके सर्वविद्यात्मिके सर्वपीठात्मिके सर्वगे सर्वरूपजगन्मातृके पाहि मां पाहि मां पाहि देवि तुभ्यं नमो देवि तुभ्यं नमः ॥

An imitation of this work is Komalāḍandakam by Varaḍa Kṛṣṇamācārya of Valattur, Tanjore District. He died 50 years ago. He also wrote Kacaśaṭakam and Viḍhavāśaṭakam.

505. There are Ḍandakas relating to Rāma (*DC*, XVIII. 7125); Nṛsimha (*Ibid.* 6707, 7034); Ranganātha (*Ibid.* 6840, 7105); Śrīranga (*Ibid.* 7106); Lakṣmī (*Ibid.* 6872); Komalā (*Ibid* 6866); Arbujavallī (*Ibid.* 6862); Karigiri (*Ibid.* 6707); Hayagrīva (*Ibid.* 6844, 7208, *TC*, IV. 4642); Gopāla (*Ibid.* 6969); Garuda (*Ibid.* 6705, 6893); Hanūmaṭ (*Ibid.* 6695, *TC*, III. 4129); Ṭyāgarāja (*DC*, XIX, 7447); Acārya (*Ibid.* 7265, XVIII. 6707. 6862); Akhilāndaṇāyakī (*TC*, IV. 5820); Veḍānṭaḍeśika (*DC*, XIX. 7266); Varaḍaḍeśika (*Ibid*, 7262); Varavaramuṇi (*Ibid.* 7272, *TC*, IV. 4737); Candī (*TC*, III. 4063); Sūrya (*TC*, IV. 5813); Śiva (*Ibid.* 5451).[1]

1. A composition in the Daṇḍaka metre in praise of the goddess Lakṣmī.

जयतु जयतु शेषशैलाधिपामन्दलीलासहानन्दवेलातिगाम्भोधिडोलायमानोर्मिजालामितोल्लासनालापमालासुधालालनीयोरुबालामृतांशूपमासक्तफाला मदोद्यन्मरालाङ्गनाचारुहेलाप्रचारा मदालानमाद्यद्घटालाभदापाङ्गजालाभिरम्मा प्रवालायिताङ्घ्रिर्विनीलालका क्षोणिनीलासपत्नी द्रुसालावलीकुञ्जशालाचरद्गोपबालावलम्बा मदम्बा श्रियै कल्पताम् ।

* * * * * *

जय जय जगदम्ब दासोऽस्म्यहं ते रमावासकान्ते त्वमेवाखिलस्य प्रपञ्चस्य मातेति वाण्या पुराण्या महत्यापि सत्यापितं सोऽहमेवं भवत्याः किशोरोऽस्मि भृत्योऽस्मि दासोऽस्मि तस्मात्कृपाङ्गैरपाङ्गैः प्रसन्नं शिशुं मां कुर्वेहं चानवद्यात्मसक्तोऽस्मि संद्योतसे त्वं परं ज्योतिरिलम्ब मह्यं दयेथाः सुधाराशिकन्ये रमे पद्महस्ते प्रसीद प्रसीद प्रसीदाम्ब मे ॥

506. Gadyas. Among Gaḍyas are those relating to Siva (*DC*, XIX. 7567); Mahāḍeva (*Ibid.* 7507); Namaśśivāya (*Ibid.* 7502); Mallikeśvara (*Ibid.* 7592); Lakṣmī (Ed. Bombay),[1] and Gaḍyaṣatkam on Pūrṇasṭhiṭeśa, Rughuvīra, Āḍināṭha, Śaṭhagopa, Kurukāvallī and Śrīvīreśa (*DC*, XIX, 7272; *TC*, IV. 4651); Candraprabhā (*DC*, XVIII, 6735); Mahāvīra (*Ibid*, 7101); Śrīnivāsa (*Ibid*, 7168)[2]; Pancaprakāśa (*Ibid*, 6792, 7667); Ṭīrṭhankara (*Ibid*, 7648); Basava (*Ibid*, 7439, 7687; *DC*, XVIII. 6792, 793, called also Uḍāharaṇagaḍya); Veḍānṭadeśika (*Ibid*, 7272, *DC*, XVIII, 6873); Varaḍaḍeśika (*Ibid*, 7261); Akṣaramāla (*Ibid*, 6799); Ācārya (*Ibid*, 6862).

507. Curnika (चूर्णिका). There are Cūrṇikas on Ḍevī (*DC*, XVIII, 6815); Śrīnivāsa (*DC*, XIX, 7385); Venkateśa (*Mys.* 262 probably by King Ṭirumalarāya of Vijianagar); Nigamānṭācārya (*DC*, XIX, 7272, 7281); Śveṭārāṇya (*DC*, XXVI, 9771, XIX, 7637); and Anugrāhacūrṇikā (*DC*, XVIII, 6844, 6815).[3]

508. Tunaka (तूणक)

पङ्कजासनार्चितं शशाङ्कशोभिताननं कङ्कणादिदिव्यभूषणाङ्कितं वरप्रदम् ।
कुङ्कुमाङ्कितोरसं सशङ्खचक्रनन्दकं वेङ्कटेशमिन्दिरापदाङ्कनं भजामहे ॥

DC, XVIII. 7169.

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1. The author of this piece Purisai Śrīrangācārya of Tirupati was a great scholar, an authority in dialectics and phylosophy. He died about 1927. His Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil lyric Ṭiruppāvai is classical, like which there is another work (*DC*, XVIII, 7232).

2. अयं किल सकलचराचरदिगन्तसन्ताननिरन्तरान्तर्बहिर्व्यापिश्रेष्ठाखण्डब्रह्माण्डप्रपञ्चं पञ्चशरप्रपञ्चकोटिसुषुमाविलासवशीकृतत्रिविष्टपत्रिविष्टपेशकिन्नरकिंपुरुषसिद्धविद्याधराप्सरोयक्षरक्षोगन्धर्वगरुडपन्नगाविलासिनीगणम् ।

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लोकश्वरसाध्याधिकारवरदावनरक्षणपरं परादपि परं श्रीमद्वेङ्कटाद्रिनिकेतनं हरिं भजे ॥

DC, XVIII. 7168.

3. श्रीमत्प्रालेयशैलराजकुमारि, कौमारि, क्षीरपारावारकन्यामणिमनोहरगम्भीरदक्षिणावर्तनाभिविवरकंजातसंजातपुरन्दरवृन्दारकसंदोहमस्तकन्यस्तविपुलतटघटितचित्रामूल्यनवरत्नकिरणदीपिकासमुच्चयनीराजिततरुणप्रवाललतानितान्तारुणप्रभापटल[न]विधूतमृदुलकोमलपदारविन्दयुगले ।

निजभक्तजनानुग्रहकारणश्रीदेशिकस्वरूपिणि श्रीमहात्रिपुरसुन्दरि पाहि मां पाहि मां नमस्ते नमस्ते नमस्ते नमः ॥

509. Bhujanga (भुजङ्ग). There are poems in Bhujanga form relating to Rāvaṇa *DC*, XIX, 7535); Vighneśvara (*Ibid.* 7559); Vīrabhadra (*Ibid.* 7545, : Śiva (*DC*, XVIII. 7212 *TC*, IV. 5932); Viṣṇu (*Ibid.* 7159, 7233); Bhavānī (*Ibid.* 6823); Devī (*Ibid.* 6815); Gayatri (*Ibid.* 6718, *TC*, II. 1195); Hanūmat (*Ibid.* 6696); Nṛsimha (*Ibid.* 6862, 7033); Rāma (*Ibid.* 7120);[1] Śārngapāṇi (*TC*, II. 2043).

510. Khadgas (खड्ग) are on Pārvati (*DC*, XIX. 7252, 7666) and Draupadī (*DC*, XXI. 5323).

511. In the Sanskrit Texts available in Bali,[2] there are some stavas in prose, which may probably have also a mystical value. For instance:

विष्णुस्तवः

नमोऽस्तु पुरुषोत्तमाय परमारिपुपरपुरहरणपराक्रमाय परमबलभटोलटोललोलितगलितमहाबलाय च जाग्रत्सुप्ततूर्यचतुर्भुजाय नारायणाण नरसिंहवामनाय नारायणार्दनाय नरगदायुद्धेदानवान्तकरिपुमर्दनपाञ्चजन्यसुदर्शनायुधाय दैत्यदानवयक्षराक्षसपिशाचभूतगणधरधरणीधरधीरदराय च गन्धर्वमधुरगीतसुरविद्याधरऋषिप्रभृतिसेविताय च परमरिपुरावणार्जुकधेनुकप्रलम्बकेशराविष्टकालनेमिगजबलतुरगामिसिसृगालादिनिधनाय च पुरुषोऽनन्तसमुद्राश्रयः खरवरवरेन्द्रः श्रीप्रियो धनदाप्रियो वैश्रवणाङ्कोऽस्मान् रक्षतु अस्मन् गोपयंतु स्वाहा ॥

1. प्रभो पारिजातस्य मूले पवित्रे विचित्रे सुचित्रे शुभे हैमहर्म्ये ।
लसद्रत्नपीठे कृतावाससीतासमेतोज्ज्वलाकल्प राम प्रसीद ॥
चण्डकरान्वयमण्डन रक्षोमण्डलखण्डनपाण्डितबाहो ।
कुण्डलमण्डितगण्डतलं ते नाथ नमामि नमामि नमामि ॥

2. Balidvipagrantha (*GOS*. 67).

CHAPTER XXI

Campu

512. Campu. A species of composition with mixed prose and poetry came into vogue about the beginning of the Christian era. We have passages in the Purāṇas, where prose comes amidst verse, but there is no instance of classical poetry of this recognised class known earlier. A narrative in mixed prose and verse has been called CAMPU.[1] This variety of composition enlarges the scope and ease of the poet's expression and entertains the reader by the presentation of combinative of varying melodies.[2] Bāṇa mentions HARICANDRA as a writer in prose,[3] but it is doubtful if the work Bāṇa had in mind is Jīvandhara-campū. The earliest works of this class are not now known, but after the 10th century A.D. Campūs became very popular and they were largely composed in South India.

513. Trivikrama or **Simhaditya**[4] was the son of Nemāḍiṭya (Ḍevāḍiṭya) and grandson of Śrīḍhara of Śāndilyagoṭra. He was a

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1. Bhoja thus praises Campu style of composition :

गद्यानुबन्धरसमिश्रितपद्यसूक्तिः हृद्यापि वाद्यकलया कलितेव गीतिः ।
तस्माद्दधातु कविमार्गजुषां सुखाय चम्पूप्रबन्धरचनां रसना मदीया ॥

Viśvanāṭha, in Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa instances Deśarajacariṭa and defines Campu thus :

गद्यपद्यमयं काव्यं चम्पूरित्यभिधीयते ॥

2. "Outside of India the commingling of prose and poetry in the same composition is found in the Chinese romance *P'ing. Chan Ling Yen* (Tr. Julien), *P'ing-Chan-Ling-Yen*, (Les Loux Feunes Filles lettrees, 2 Vols., Paris, 1660). In Sa'di's *Gulistan*, in *The Thousand Nights and One Night*, in the Old Picard *Aueassin et Nicelette*, in Morse Sagas and in Middle Irish tales and histories (cf. Wiudischon, Irische Texte, 3, 447–449, Leipzig, 1891-1897) ; and in Beccaccio's L'Amete, as well as in the Saturae Menippae of Marro. (cf. MacCulloon, *Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, pp. 480-481."

3. See para 47 *supra*.

पदबन्धोज्ज्वलो हारी कृतवर्गक्रमस्थितिः ।
भट्टारहरिचन्द्रस्य गद्यबन्धो विभाव्यते ॥

4. M. Duff (*Chronology*) conjectures that he was probably the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhāskara of the court of Bhoja. but this seems to be wrong. Ṭrivikrama composed the inscription in Nausari grant (*JBRAS*, XVIII, 257).

Ṭrivikrama, author of Kuvalayāśvavilāsacampu (printed Granṭharaṭnamāla), Ṭrivikrama, author of Vyajokṭiśaṭaka (*CC*, II. 147), Ṭrivikrama, author of Rāmakīrṭi-Kumuḍāvali, (*PR*, III, ap. 395), Bhāvaṭa Ṭrivikrama (*Subh*), Ṭrivikrama, the lexicographer, Ṭrivikrama of Punyagrāma, author of Pancāyuḍhaprapancabhāṇa (*Opp*, 9050) and Ṭrivikrama, author of Śataśloki (*PR*, I. 119; III. 398) are different persons.

poet of the court of the Rāṣṭrakūta King Indra III (914-916 A.D.)[1] who captured Kanauj and gave the final blow to the Pratihāra dynasty then under King Mahīpāla. He mentions Bāṇa in the introductory verses of his Damayantīkathā and is himself quoted by Bhoja in the Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa. Once during his father's absence from court, an adversary challenged competition. The king sent for Trivikrama and ordered him to answer. Contemplated with devotion, Sarasvatī blessed Trivikrama with the poetic instinct until his father arrived and with this gift he overcame his adversary by composing Nala's story ex tempore. The father returned while yet the story was incomplete and in that unfinished state, in 7 chapters, the work has come to us and that is DAMAYANTIKATHA or NALACAMPU.[2]

His language is avowedly involved and ordinary expression was in his view not appreciable poetry.[3] His object was in part to illustrate the merit and potency of verbal forms in Sanskrit and in this respect he approved of Subandhu. For the beauty of a particular fancy, he has been known as Yamunā-Trivikrama.[4]

There are commentaries by Candapāla,[5] Gaṇavinayagaṇi,[6] Dāmodarabhatta,[7] Nāgadeva,[8] and one anonymous.[9]

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1. *EI*, I. 340; VII. 30, 36, 43; IX. 18: *Mys, Arch. Rep.* (1924) 62; V. Smith, *EH*, 429, 437.

2. There is a Damayantīpariṇayakāvya anonymous (*CC*, I. 58).

3. किं कवेस्तस्य काव्येन किं काण्डेन धनुष्मतः ।
परस्य हृदये लग्नं न घूर्णयति यच्छिरः ॥
अप्रगल्भाः पदन्यासं जननीरागहेतवः ।
सन्त्येके बहुलालापाः कवयो बालका इव ॥—*Nalacampu*, I. 5, 6.

4. उदयगिरिगतायां प्राक्प्रभापाण्डुताया-
मनुसरिति निशीथे शृङ्गमस्ताचलस्य ।
जयति किमपि तेजः सांप्रतं व्योममध्ये
सलिलमिव विभिन्नं जाह्नवं यामुनं च ॥—*Ibid.* VI. 1.

See Candapāla's commentary thereon, *IA*, XII. 224.

5. He was the son of Yaśorāja, *PR*, IV. 36, VI. 324; *SKC*, 68; *IOC*, 1520. Ed. Bombay. He probably lived about 1230 A.D. See *Weber's Cat*, II. 1205.

6. It was composed in 1590 A.D. He is the same as the author of the commentary on Raghuvaṃśa and Hanumat Kavi's Khandapraśastikāvya (*Mys* 244). He was the pupil of Jayasenasūri, who composed his Vicāraratnasangraha in *Sam*, 1569 (See *PR*, IV. xxv, *IOC*, 1924, *Tanj*. VII. 3056).

7. Mentioned in preface to Bombay Edn.

8. *BTC*, 159.

Opp, 211.

Maḍālasācampū is also attributed to him.[1]

Besides works noted in paras 78-85 Lakṣmidhara's Nalavarṇanakāvya,[2] Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's Naiṣadhānanda, the plays Vidhivilasita and Nalavikrama[3] embrance the story of Nala.[4]

"The earliest reference to PRAGVATA dynasty of kings is found at the close of Chandapala's commentary on Trivikramabhatta's NALACHAMPU. Speaking of himself the commentator styles himself as the brother of Chandasimha, the eldest son of Yasoraja of the Pragvata dynasty. The Guruganaratnakara furnishes some more interesting details about the history of the Pragvata line of kings. Their capital is said to be Samadhika in Guzrat. The Guruganaratnakara begins the line with Chaitrasimha, the elder brother of the father of the famous Somasundaragani. Their genealogy is stated to be as follows: (1) Chaitrasimha (2) Indrajit or Ilabutada, son of (1), (3) Kala, son of (2), (4) Kala had six sons called (i) Nada, (ii) Veda, (iii) Saḍagangude, (iv) Samala, (v) Dhira and (iv) Vira. Samala had four sons called (i) Sajjana, (ii) Nimba, (iii) Mana, and (iv) Lampaka. (5) Sajjana is said to have migrated to Malava with the family of Nimba when kings chased and driven out by enemies to hills and caves perished in numbers and when Sajjana was the only protector of the Aryas against the Mahammadan invaders and thieves. He resided at Parna Vihara. His wife was called Purnadevi. (6) Karma, son of (5) married Somi in A.D. 1446. He became the head of the Jaina Sangha and changed his capital to Agara. He had three sons, called (i) Ratna, (ii) Sujesa and (iii) Megha and also three daughters named Khambhi, Maniki, and Charuhiru. Of these Ratna married Revum and had a son called Karma and a daughter named Rahi. Sajesa married Hyaman and had a son called Jiva, while Megha had two daughters Dapu and Ranji. Karma is said to have been a more generous king than Vastupala and others. He is said to have been honoured even by Khans, Khojas, Mirs, and Ummars and to have been ever ready to relieve the distress of the poor by establishing feeding houses. When

1. Ed. Bombay, See *Weber's Cat.*, II. 1205. *CC*, I. 426. Maḍālasa a poetess is quoted by Śārngadhara. On the story of Maḍālasa, there are also the plays, Maḍālasāpariṇaya (anonymous) and Maḍālasānātaka by Rāmabhatta (*CC*, I. 426) and Maḍālasā, a romance by Bhavadeva (Printed Bombay.) For Maḍālasollāpana, see Mārkandayapurāṇa (*Fl.* 480).

2. *CC*, I. 280.

3. See Index for other works.

4. Mentioned in *ND*.

there was a drought in Malava, Megha is said to have showered his gold among the poor and is also said to have received the title of Mafer Malik from the Sultan. Ratna, Megha, and others are said to have obtained a Farman (order) from the Sultan and made a pilgrimage to Ratnamala, Iladurga, the capital of Bhanu, Jerikapalli, Arbudachala, Sirohika, and other sacred places of the Jainas." (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1929, p. 14).

514. **Somadeva**[5] traces his spiritual discent through Nemiḍeva to Yasoḍeva[6] and was a Jain. He was patronised by the eldest son of Prince Arikesari of the Calukya race, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūta monarch Kṛṣṇarājaḍeva.[7] He wrote his YASASTILAKACAMPU in Ṣaka 881 (951 A.D.)[8] In seven āśvāsas this book relates the story of King Yaśoḍhara, Lord of Avantī, with his capital Ujjain, the machinations of his wife, his conversion to Jaina faith, his assassination and rebirth. The last three chapters form a popular hand book of devotion supplementary to, and explanatory of, the sacred texts of Jainism.[9]

As a landmark in the history of poetic literature, it is particularly valuable. Somaḍeva names several authors[10] who adored the religion

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5. Somaḍeva, the author of Kaṭhasariṭsāgara and Somaḍeva, the author of Rasendracudamaṇi, *PR*, I. 81; IV. cxxxv and Somaḍeva, the author of Abhilaṣiṭārṭha-cinṭāmani are different persons.

6. See *PR*, II. 33-49, 156 IV. cxxxv.

7. Arikesari was the patron of the Canarese Jain poet Pampa. Bhandarakar (*EHD*. 56; *PR*, II. 47-49) gives the dates 867, 873 and 875 Sāka for this monarch.

8. Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Śruṭasāragaṇi.

9. The colophon says:

शकनृपतिकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वेकाशीत्याधिकेषु गतेष्वङ्कतः (८८१) सिद्धार्थसंवत्सरांतर्गतचैत्रमासमदनत्रयोदश्यां ... ...पांड्यसिंहलचोलचेरप्रभृतीन् महीपतीन् प्रसाध्याममेलयाटवीप्रवर्धमानराज्यप्रभावे श्रीकृष्णराजदेवे सति तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनः समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दमहासामंताधिपतेश्चलुक्यकुलजन्मनः सामंतचूडामणेः श्रीमदरिकेसरिणः प्रथमपुत्रस्य श्रीमत् वाद्यराज्यप्रवृद्धमानवसुंधरायां विनिर्मापितमिदम् ।

For a complete account of the poem, see *PR*, IX. 33-49.

10. *PR*, IV. ii. 113 Aṭsava, Bhāravi, Bhavabhuṭi, Bharṭṛhari, Mentha, Kantha, Guṇādhya, Bhāsa, Kāliḍāsa, Bāna, Mayura, Nārāyaṇa, Kumāra (Kumāradāsa?), Māgha and Rājaśekhara and to a Chapter on Kavyam by Bharaṭa भरतप्रणीतकाव्याध्याये See also Introduction to Kāvyamīmāmsa, *G.O.S.* No. 1, xv.

of Jina and, as an incident of the narrative mentions some ancient poets,[1] whose names we have yet to hear elsewhere.

The colophon to his Nītivākyāmṛta mentions another work of his, Mahendramātalisanjalpa. Nītivākyāmṛta follows Cāṇakya's Arthaśāstra.[2]

515. Bhoja was the celebrated king of the Paramāra dynasty.[3] His capital was Ḍhāra.[4] He ascended the throne in A.D. 1018 and had a glorious reign till 1063 A.D. He was the son of Sindhula. His father died when young and on account of his minority, his uncle Munja[5] ascended the throne. The young prince became very popular and learned in all arts and sciences. Aggrieved by the prediction of an astrologer that Bhoja would reign for 55 years[6] Munja conceived the idea of murdering him and ordered his tributary Vatsarāja to carry out the design in the jungle. The latter, unwilling though he was, could not disobey. He took the boy to his house, and concealed him there. So when he presented to the king a sword besmeared with the blood of some animal in proof of his act, the king asked him if the prince said anything before his execution and he gave a green leaf in which was written a verse in the prince's hand, portraying the hollowness of

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1. *PR*, III. तरुणीलीताविलास, कविकैमुदीचंद्र, विदग्धमुग्ध, नीतिसेन, मानधनंजय, कविकोविद, अभिमानमहधिर, अन्याधिदुर्बल, कुसुमायुध, सुजनजीवित, मुग्धांगनाकेलिकुतूहल, विलासिनीलोचनकज्जल, सरस्वतीकर्तवकौतुक, प्रौढप्रियापांगनवोत्पल.

These names seem to be appellations.

2. *Cat. C.P.* xxxi.

3. Bhoja was contemporary of King Ananta of Kashmir (1028–1089 A.D.). See *Raj*, VII, 190-193, 259. On Bhoja's time, see inscription (*IA*, VI. 53) dated Sam. 1078 (1021 A.D.) and Keilhorn's calculations, *IA*, XIX., 361; also *EI*, I. 232; *IA*. (1907), 170; *ibid.* (1912), 201. On Bhoja generally, see Seshagiri Sastri, *IA*, I. 340; Lassen, *Zeitsch fur die*, *Kundedes Morg*, VII 294; *IAlt.*, III. 848; *JA*, (1844), 250; 354; *ibid.* (1854), 281. Reinaud, *Mem. surl' Inde*, 261. For copper plate grants of rulers of Malwa, see *Transactions of Royal Asiatic society*, I. 230-239; *IAOS*, VII; *IA*, XIX 345; *Colebrooke's Mis. Essays*, II. 297-314, 462.

4. Abdul Fazl in his Aini Akbari says that Bhoja removed his capital from Ujjain to Dhāra. See Seshagiri Sastri's account, *IA*, I. 319.

5. On king Munja, see para 395 *supra*.

6. The prediction ran thus:

पञ्चाशत्पञ्चवर्षाणि सप्तमासा दिनत्रयम् । भोजराजेन भोक्तव्यः सगौडो दक्षिणापथः ॥

temporal fortunes.[1] The king read the verse and fell down struck with grief and when the secret was disclosed, Bhoja was brought to him he was all repentent. He installed the prince on his throne and entered the forest as an ascetic.[2]

Like his uncle Munja, he cultivated the arts of peace and war. Although his fights with neighbouring powers, including the armies of Muhammad of Ghazni, are now forgotten, his fame as a patron of learning and man of letters remains undenied and he has been regarded as a model king according to the Hindu standards. Works[3] on astronomy, philosophy, architecture, grammar, medicine, trade secrets, law and general literature, are attributed to him. A mosque at Ḍhāra now occupies the site of the king's Sanskrit college, in a temple dedicated appropriately to Sarasvaṭī, the goddess of learning.[4] "The great Bhojpur lake[5] a beautiful sheet of water to the southeast of Bhopal, covering an area of 350 sq. miles formed by masonic embankments closing the outlet in a circle of hills, was his noblest monument and continued to testify to the skill of his engineers until the 15th century when the dam was cut by order of a Mahammadan king and the water drained off. The bed of the lake is now a fertile plain intersected by the Indian Midland Railway."

The literary merits and patronage of king Bhoja have been well described by Ballāḷa (Vallabha[6]) in his Bhojaprabandha. An amusing piece of proso-poetic composition, it purports to commemorate the liberal patronage of Bhoja and introduces a number of celebrities like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūṭi, Ḍandin and, Māgha as interlocutors in short dialogues, in which they display their readiness of wit, brilliancy of imagination and beauty of expression. It consists of two parts; the

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1. मान्धाता च महीपतिः कृतयुगालङ्कारभूतो गतः
सेतुर्येन महोदधौ विरचितः क्वासौ दशास्यान्तकः ।
अन्ये चापि युधिष्ठिरप्रभृतयो याता दिवं भूपते
नैकेनापि समं गता वसुमती नूनं त्वया यास्यति ॥

2 The story is dramatised in the Bhojarājānka a piece in one Act by Sundara Virarāghava, *TC*, II. 3413.

3. For a complete list of his works, see *CC.*, I. 41, II. 95. See also *ZDMG*, XXVII, 67; *BR.* (1897), XXXVII; *SKC.* 376. For all quotations from Bhoja's works in the anthologies, see F.W. Thomas, *Kav.*, 63.

4. Arch. Sur. Rep. (1903–4), 238.

5. Malcolm, *Central India*, I. 25; Kinclaid, *IA*, XVII. 350.

6. V. Smith, *EH.* 395.

former describes the events showing how Bhoja succeeded to the throne of Malavas after his uncle Munja, and the latter has a series of anecdotes about Bhoja and his relations with the many poets and literary lights that thronged his Court.[1]

There are works by the name of Bhojaprabandha by Meruṭunga,[2] Rājavallabha,[3] Vaṭsarāja,[4] and Śubhāśīla,[5] by Padmaguptạ,[6] and anonymous poem, Bhojaprabandhasāra.[7]

Besides are Bhojacariṭra[8] and Bhojarājāsaccariṭa, a play in two acts by Vedāṇtavāgīsā Bhattācārya.[9]

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1. The author is called Vallabha-pandita in a Ms. (*DC*, XXI. 8166). Published with a French Translation and commentary by T. Pavie in *JA*, IV. 210 et. seq., and the composition is there assigned to 13th Century A.D. Ward (*History of Religion and Literature of the Hindus*, I. 516) calls it a work of Bhoja himself which is obviously wrong. See also Hall (Vasavadatta 7); Lassen, *IA*, III. 836, T. Pavie (*JA*, LXIV. 185-230, LXV. 385-431, LXVI. 76-105); L. Oster (*De Rezensionen des Bhojaprabandha, Darmstadt*), Seshagiri Sastri (*On some eminent characters in Sanskrit Literature*, *IA*, I. 340); Weber, *SL*. 215, 225 note); see also *PR*, IV. 28; V. 366; G.P. Quackenbos, (*Sanskrit poems of Mayura*, Col. Un. Series, New York, 42) assigns it to 16th century following Aufrecht (*C. Bodl.* 151).

"In his Bhojaprabandha, Merutunga states that in samvat 1078 when Bhoja ruled over the Malava circle, Bhima, the paramount sovereign of the Chalukya race, governed Gujarat. This cannot be the date of Bhoja's accession. According both to Merutunga and Rajavallabha, Munja, the uncle and predecessor of Bhoja, crossed the Godavari against the counsel of his aged minister Rudraditya and invaded the dominions of Tailapa, the founder of the later Chalukya dynasty of the Dekkan. He was defeated and taken prisoner. At first he was well treated by his captor, but when secret intrigues for his release were discovered, Tailapa subjected him to indignities and put him to death. This last fact is mentioned in Tailapa's inscriptions also. Now Tailapa, we know, died in 920 Saka or after 919 years of the era had elapsed. This corresponds to 998 a.d., wherefore Munja must have been slain by Tailapa before that year. A Jaina author named Amitagati tells us at the end of his Subhashitaratnas amdoha, as was first pointed out by Colebrooke, that he wrote or compiled the work in Samvat 1050 or 994 a.d. while Munja was reigning at Dhara. Munja therefore must have been put to death by Tailapa between 994 and 998 a d., or about the year 996. Bhoja was crowned king after him, and since he is said to have reigned for fifty-five years, he must have died about 1051 a.d."

2. *CC*, I. 418.
3. *Oudh*, VIII. 8; *Taylor*, I. 63.
4. *CC*, I. 418.
5. *PR*, III. 405.
6. It is mentioned in the introduction to Yukṭikalpaṭaru (Bombay Edn).
7. *Opp.* 3667.
8. *CC*, III. 90.
9. *CC*, I. 418, *IO*, 584.

In Kavisamayavilāsa, Revaṇa Ārādhya, the great Vīra Śaiva teacher, who lived about the 10th century A.D., relates humorous stories about poets in Bhoja's assembly.[1]

Among poetic works[2] said to have been composed by Bhoja, are an Ākhyāyikā Śṛṅgāramanjarī[3] and a poem Vidyāvinoda, a stotra Śivadatta and a commentary on Śivatotra called Śivatatvaratnakalikā. Subhāṣita is an anthology. Saṅgītaprakāsa and Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, treatises on music and rhetoric, will be noticed later on.

516. Bhoja's RAMAYANACAMPU[4] is a very popular work in poetic literature. It embraces the exquisite story of Rāmāyaṇa and the composition with the blended melody of prose and verse in it has the charm of royalty in it. It is now acknowledged generally that Bhoja's work extended only to the Kiṣkindhākānda[5] and that there it was left incomplete, unless the rest of it has been lost. The story of the Yuddhakānda was made up by Lakṣmaṇakavi later on.[6]

Is this campū the work of king Bhoja of Dhāra? The colophons to manuscripts[7] call the author Vidarbharāja and do not mention the name

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1. *Mys*, 243.
2. These works are mentioned in the introductory portion of Yuktikalpataru.
3. The Ms. is preserved in the Jessalmeer Library. See para 451 *supra*.
4. *Ed.* Bombay and Madras.
5. There is no truth in the story that the work was composed jointly by Bhoja and Kālidāsa, unless it can be imagined that Padmagupta alias Parimala Kālidāsa had any hand in it.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8207. So says Lakṣmaṇa himself at the end of his work. And Venkatādhvarin says in his Uttaracampu

यः काण्डानिबबन्ध चम्पुविधया पञ्चापि भोजः कविः ।
यो वा षष्ठमचष्ट लक्ष्मणकविस्ताभ्यामुभाभ्यामपि ॥

and Venkatakṛṣṇakavi in his Uttaracampu-Rāmāyaṇa,

श्रीभोजलक्ष्मणकवीन्द्रकृते प्रबन्धे
लग्नं वचोऽल्पमपि मे भविता रसाढ्यम् ॥

and likewise Nārāyaṇa in the commentary, Padayojanā

लक्ष्मणमहाकविः श्रीमद्भोजराजप्रणीतचम्पुरामायणस्य परिपूर्तये अवशिष्टं युद्धकाण्डं प्रारिप्सुः ॥ (*DC*, XXI. 8215)

and Kāmeśvarasuri in his commentary on the Yuddha-kānda (*TC*, II. 2372) says.

षष्ठं श्रीलक्ष्मणीयं विषमललितशब्दाभिरामं च काण्डम् ॥

7. *Tanj*, VII. 3120 et seq.

इति श्रीविदर्भराजविरचिते चम्पूरामायणे ।

Bhoja. In the manuscripts of Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa &c.[1] admittedly a work of king Bhoja of Ḍhāra, the name is so mentioned in the colophon. Ḍhāra is in Malwa and Vidarbha is Berar. There is therefore the geographical difficulty against the identification. But tradition has associated it in the Bhoja of Malwa[2] and how, if at all, any such confusion has come in, it is not now possible to answer.[3]

517. **Lakṣmaṇa**[4] was the son of Gangādhara and Gangāmbikā and lived in Sanagara village probably in the Circars. He wrote also the BHARATACAMPUTILAKA, on the story of the Māhābhārata.[5] It is said Anantabhaṭṭa criticised this work and himself wrote a Rāmāyaṇacampū.

Lakṣmaṇa's father Gangādhara wrote a campū Madrakanyāpariṇaya[6] and Gangādhara's father Daṭṭāṭreya wrote Daṭṭāṭreyacampū.[7]

518. Besides Lakṣmaṇa, this work of supplementing the missing story of the Yuddhakānda was done by Rājacūdāmaṇi Dīkṣita;[8] by Ghanaśyāma[9] and by Ekāmranātha.[10]

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1. इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्री भोजदेवविरचिते सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे ।
इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्री भोजदेवविरचिते शृङ्गारप्रकाशे ।
„ (*TC*, IV. 4873), *Tanj*, IX. 4099 ; also Ekamranāṭha (*TC*, IV. 4935) ; Rāmānuja (*ibid* 5130). Likewise see for other works of his, (*TC*, IV. 4881). Karuṇākara in his commentary (*TC*, IV. 5459) says that Bhoja wrote this campu to illustrate his views on grammar contained in his Sarasvaṭikanthābhāraṇa (*TC*, IV. 4881). But as he couples the name of Bhoja and Kalidāsa, his ideas appear unreliable.

2. For instance, Ghanaśyāma (*Tanj*. VII. 3149) says
अथ विदर्भदेशाधिपतिः कविवदान्यः स्वयं कविः भोजराजः पञ्चकाण्डीं ॥ * +

3. On several Bhojas, see R. Mitra, *JASB*, XXXII. 93 ; Weber, *IL*, 201 note, *ISt*, I. 312 ; Lassen, *IAK*, III.

4. Lakṣmaṇakavi in his Kṛṣṇavilāsacampu describes the birth of God Vilāsakṛṣṇa in Gingee (S. Arcot Dist.) to confer wealth on Kṛṣṇarāja king of that place. He was the son of Rāmānuja (*DC*, XXI, 8191). There is another work of the same name by Narasimha, son of Anantanārāyaṇa of Ātreyagotra in 16 cantos on the story of Bhāgavata with an anonymous commentary (*DC*, XXI. 8193).

5. *DC*, XXI. 8263.

6. *Mys*. 267, *DC*, XXI. 8265.

7. *DC*, XXI. 8625.

8. *Adyar*, II 22.

9. See *Int.* to Maṇidarpaṇa (*TSS*, Trivandrum). In his introduction to his Kāvyadarpaṇa, he says he composed it in a day (*DC*, XXII. 8615-16).

10. *HR*, III. No. 1681.

11. *DC*, XXI. No. 2256.

519. There are commentaries on Bhojacampū by Nārāyaṇa,[1] Rāmacandra,[2] Kāmeśvara,[3] Mānaveḍa,[4] Ghanaśyāma[5] and one anonymous.[6]

520. The sequel to this work embraces the Uṭṭarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.[7]

There are other Uṭṭaracampūs by Yaṭirāja,[8] by Sankarācārya,[9] Hariharānanḍa,[10] by Venkaṭāḍhvarin,[11] by Garaḷapuri Śasṭrin,[12] and by Rāghavācārya.[13] They narrate the story of the abandonment of Sīṭā, the birth of Kuśa and Lava, the reappearance of Sīṭā and the return of Rāma to his divine abode.

RAGHAVACARYA[14] was the son of Venkatārya and Śrīṣāilāmbā of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra. He lived at Trivellore, Chenglepat District and was a follower of Rāmānuja.[15] He was probably also the author of the Bhaḍrācalacampū, composed at the instance of a local magnate Sunḍareśa.[16]

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1. *DC*, XXI. 8212. Nārāyaṇa was the son of Nageśvara and disciple of Gopālenḍrasarasvaṭi. He was the tenth in descent from Mallināṭha of Kolacala family and must have therefore lived about the end of the 15th century. He says in prefatory verses that Mallināṭha was honored by King Vīrarudra of Warrangal and his grandson Peḍḍabhatta (Commentator on Naishada etc.) was bathed in gold by King Sarvagna (Singa). At the invitation of King Prauḍhaḍevarāya of Vijianagar (1414-1446) A.D. Mallināṭha wrote Vaiśyavamśasuḍhārṇava. *Mys, Arch, Rep.* (1927); 26. Peḍḍabhatta's son Kumāraswāmin wrote a commentary on the Praṭāparuḍrayaśobhuṣaṇa. See para 31 *supra*.

2. *DC*, XXI. 8216 and *TC*, II. 1895, 1454. Rāmacanḍra was the son of Kondapandita of Śāndilyagoṭra. He has also commented on Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛṭa (see para 293 *supra*).

3. *TC*, II. 2372; III. 3789. Kameśvara was the son of Gangāḍhara of Kodamarṭi family, and disciple of Viśveśvara, probably of the Circars.

4. *TC*, III. 4020. See para 176 *supra*.

5. *DC*, XXI. 8219.

6. *HR*, III, No. 2170.

7. Printed, Mysore. *DC*, XVI. 8180.

8. *NW*, 302.

9. *NW*, 292.

10. *NW*, 270.

11. Printed, Mysore.

12. Printed, Mysore. His son Kāvyaṭilaka Ayyāśāstrin is now living in Mysore.

13. *Rice*, 248.

14. *DC*, XXI. 8184.

15. Rāghava of Vinjimuri family, the author of Śṛngāraḍīpakabhāṇa was a native of Conjeevaram and was a different person. See *DC*, XXI. 8534.

16. See *DC*, XXI. 8582. It describes the importance of Bhaḍrācala, the scene of the well-known story of Ramadas in the Andhra Country.

521. Abhinavakalidasa (of Vellala family, apparently of the Andhra country) has not left us his real name. His pupil Kavikunjara in his Rājaśekharacarita mentions him as a poet of the Court of a South Indian King Rājaśekhara whose capital Vidyānagara was on the Pinākinī (north Pennar). Rājaśekhara's queen was Bhavānī and his contemporaries were Rajendra Cola (1004–1016 or 1016–1064 A.D.) and Vijayavarma Pāndya. If Rajendra Cola flourished in the 11th century A.D. Rājaśekhara must have also lived about that time.[1] This Abhinavakālidāsa wrote Bhāgavaṭacampū,[2] Abhinavabhāraṭacampū,[3] Bhagavaṭpādasapṭaṭi[4] and Kalividambana.[5]

Thus he begins Bhāgavaṭacampū :

कल्याणं नः प्रभूतं कलयतु ललितालापशैलेशबाला-
लीलान्नालानुकूला शिशिरकरकलाभानुमालाजटाला ।
एषा शेषाहिभूषा परिकलितसुधापूरधारानुकारा
भद्रा मुद्रा विनिद्रा पुरहरणविधौ कापि कारुण्यपूर्णा ॥
प्रालेयाचलभागधेयभवनं कल्याणजालास्पदं
जाटाटीरतपःफलं किलकिलक्ष्लीलाशुकाह्लादितम् ।
बिभ्राणं परिमौलि कञ्चन सूधाधाराधरं सादरं
यन्मे भद्रमसुद्रमाकलयतामानन्दकन्दं महः ॥

It is doubtful whether the poet was identical with Kṛṣṇamūrṭi ,son of Sarvasāstrin of Vāsisthagoṭra who calls himself Ábhinava-Kālidāsa. and wrote the poem Yakṣollāsa[6] and the bhāṇa Madanābhyudaya.[7]

522. Padmaraja was a Niyogi Brahmin of the Avasarāla family of which it is said he was the progenitor. He was the minister to Nilādri Rao, Chief of Pittāpuram (Godavari District) who ruled about 1800 A.D. He is also known as Ambhoja or Varṇādhika Bhoja.[8]

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1. See *JMy*, XI. 77.
2. Printed, Bombay. The commentator Akkayasuri of Mokṣgunda family calls the poet as of the Vellala family (*DC*, XXI. 8262.)
3. *Rice*, 246.
4. This is in praise of Śankarācārya.
5. Or. Ms. Library, Madras.
6. See para 819 *supra*. *TC*, II. 2066.
7. *TC*, II. 2078.
8. Avanchi Rāmaśāstri belonged to the family of Padmarāja and wrote commentaries on Bhāraṭacampu, Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛṭa and Bhojacariṭa. He died about 1900 A.D. Rāmakavi the commentator also wrote Rāmābhyudayacampu and Sāhiṭyasāra. His brother's grandson Subbaroyaśāstri died 12 years ago and wrote Rāvuvamśamukṭāval

His Bālabhāgavata,[1] a campū in six cantos, is an exquisite piece of poetry, relieved by flowing lines of prose with a tendency to alliteration which makes the composition musical.

याः सलीलमपुरस्कृतजीमूताः सौदामिन्य इव कामिन्यः कमनीयतरकबरीभराः परिवव्रन्तः पुरगतमनवरतमखिलभुवनाधारनिजोदरं क्षीरोदधिप्रणयिनं घनमेनम् । याः सहेलमुपवनविहारिणीर्हरिणा सह हरिणीदृशो लतालूनानूनसूनोपकल्पिताकल्पाः क्रन्दन्तो द्रुतमनुययुरपह्रियमाणसर्वस्वा इव रोलम्बाः सकुटुम्बकाः ॥

चिरमधिगतामृद्धिं लुम्पन् पलाशपतेर्भृशं
सपदि रचयन्नामोदाश्वञ्छ्रियं सुमनश्चयम् ।
प्रसवमहितां लक्ष्मीं चैत्रो लतास्विव तास्वलं
युवतिषु हरिस्तन्वन् प्रीत्या शशास जगच्चिरम् ॥

There are commentaries on it by Rāmasvāmi, son of Venkatakṛṣṇasūri and grandson of Rāmanāthasvāmi of Devulapalii family and of Kaundinyagotra[2] and by Rāghavācārya.[3]

Dharmasudhī mentions a work of his, as Bālabhāgavatam.[4]

523. There was an Abinavakālidāsa Gopālaśastrin in the Court of Yuvarāja, a king of Udayārpalayam, 6th ancestor to the present Zamindar. He wrote a Bhāgavatacampū. Once displeased by having been given a last rank in a levee he wrote this verse :

मार्जारी इव वंशतल्पमसकृत्तन्त्रीं प्ररां प्रामिति
प्रोद्घर्षन्त इमे किलात्र युवरङ्गेन्द्रोर्विलेख्याः पुरः ।
मन्दस्वन्दसमीरशावकवलन्मल्लीमतल्लीवना-
भोगोद्दामपतत्प्रसूनततिवद्वर्षन् गिरं दूरतः ॥
अज्ञानामवनीभुजामहरहस्स्वर्णाभिषेकादपि
ज्ञातुश्श्रीयुवरङ्गभूबलरिपो श्वावैव सम्मानना ।
सारासारविवेकशून्यतरुणीसम्भोगसाम्राज्यतः
सारङ्गेन्दुमुखीविलोकनसमुत्कण्ठैव यूनां मुदे ॥

Other poets bearing this name are, Nṛsimhakavi, author of Nanjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa, Mādhava, author of Sankṣepa-Sānkaravijaya[5] and Kaliyugakālidāsa, author of Śṛngāraśekhārabhāṇa or Śṛngārakośabhāṇa

1. Printed Rajahmundry. *DC*, XXI. 2249.
2. *DC*, XXI, 8251.
3. *Ibid*, 8255.
4. See *TC*, III. 1100.
5. Printed *GOS*, Baroda.

of Kāśyapagotra.[1] Śrīkantha son of the latter wrote Kandarpadarpaṇabhāṇa. They lived at Kāñcī and were devotees of Śrī Ekāmranātha there.[2]

524. Somasekhara or Rājaśekhara of Kollūri family lived at Perur, Godavari District and belonged to a family of phisicians. He was grandson of Nārāyaṇa great in Mīmāmsa. He was honoured by Peshwa Madhava Rao (1760-1772 A.D.). To vie with Sāhityaratnākara of Dharmasudhī, he wrote his Sāhityakalpadruma.[3] His Bhāgavatacampū relates the story of Kṛṣṇa.[4]

Bhāgavatacampū of Rājānātha[5] and of Cidambara[6] have been noticed elsewhere.

525. Kavikunjara, pupil of Abhinava-Kālidasa, wrote Rājaśekharacarita. It is a work like Bhojaprabandha. Generally inculcating morals it collects stories said to have been narrated by Rasikaśekhara, a pupil of Abhinava-Kālidāsa to his friend Subuddhi quoting fine verses of Navīna-Kālidāsa and other poets of King Rajaśekhara's Court.[7]

अत्र खलु प्रशस्तमतिरभिनवकालिदासस्य सुकवेरन्तेवासी चिरतरतदीयसहवाससमुपचितरसिकतोत्सेकः श्रीमान् रासकशेखरो नाम । तस्य खलु बालमित्रं सुबुद्धिर्नामान्वर्थनामा कदाचित् सुभाषितशुश्रूषया स्वमित्रं रसिकशेखरमवादीत् ।

सुभाषितामृतास्वादसादरोऽस्मि चिरादहम् ।
परिपूरय कामं मे सखे रसिकशेखर ॥

तदेतद्वयस्यवचनमाकर्ण्य रसिकशेखरः प्रत्यवादीत् । स्निग्ध सुबुद्धे यदि तव सुभाषितशुश्रूषा, तर्हि ।

राजशेखरभूपस्य सभायां मधुरा गिरः ।
नवीनकालिदासादिगदिताः श्रोतुमर्हसि ॥

इदमाकर्ण्य सुबुद्धिरवादीत् ।

* * * * *

1. *TC*, I. 989; III. 3891.
2. *HR*, III. No. 1683, *Tanj.*, VIII. 2875. He refers to his father as Kaliyuga Kālidāsa.
3. Ed. in part, Amalapur. *TC*, III. 3789. There is another anonymous work of that name, *Bik*, 287.
4. *TC*, III. 3145 Introduction gives author's genealogy.
5. *DC*, XXI. 8256. The name is differently given in different manuscripts Rāmabhadra and Raghunātha (see *Tanj*, VII. 3085-8).
6. *DC*, XXI, 8258; *Tanj*, VII. 3082.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8167; *JMy*, XI. 76-79.

स्कन्धे कृष्ीवल हलं कलयन् क यासि ?

भाणव्यः—गच्छामि ते निकटमेव विभो

राजा— किमर्थम् ?

हा हन्त कर्षणपरास्तव वैरिभूपा
वृत्तिं हरन्ति न इति त्वरयाभिधातुम् ॥

राजा नितान्तसन्तुष्टस्तस्मै निजकर्णगते स्वकुण्डले प्रायच्छत् ।

Among the poets that appear in the course of the narrative are many: Ḍurjaya, Sūkṣmamaṭi (palmist), Sāranga, Ḍaivagnavallabha (astrologer), Soma, Kāmalīlā (poetess), Kāśīpaṭi, Sānanḍa Raṭnākara (of Śrīranga), Kutumbakavi (of Maḍhurā), Lokānanḍa, Sūkṭisāgara, Maḍhurāngī and Laliṭāngī (of Malva), Vimalāngī, Kanakavallī, Cāṭucakravarṭin Ṭippāvaḍhāni, Kavirāja, Kuppa and Lingabhatta (of Kāñcī), Sanṭāna of Kunṭala, Śuka, Vasanṭa, Līlākara, Kānṭisinḍhu, Sunanḍa, Lakṣmiḍhara, Bāḍhavya.

"Like the Bhojacharitra the Rajasekharacharitra also wholly consists of verses composed in various meters in praise of the king by local and foreign poets named above. Apart from these poetical flights describing the fame of the king's generosity and bravery there are no other incidents of the king's life noticed in this Charitra. There is, however, one interesting incident which deserves to be mentioned here, as narrated in this work:—

After his arrival at Vidyanagara, Durjaya, a poet of the Chola country, seems to have succeeded in winning the favour of Rajasekhara and becoming the leader of the poets at his court, so much so that no poet would find access to the court without Durjaya's introduction. When finding it hard to get access to Rajasekhara's court through Durjaya, Saranga, Somaka, and other foreign poets left the country for good, some poets headed by Navina Kalidasa formed a plot to bring disgrace to Durjaya and get him banished from the Court of Rajasekhara. They went in a body to Durjaya and requested him to introduce them to the king as poets worthy of hearing. When asked by Durjaya what they studied, Kalidasa said that they all studied three cantos of *Raghuvamsa* and four Sandhis in the *Prakriyakaumudi*. As to their poetical skill, Kalidasa sang the following verse:—

शुक्लवत् बकवच्चैव कुष्ठवत्कुक्कुटाण्डवत् ।
राजशेखर ते कीर्तिः पुनः काकपुरीषवत् ॥

"Like a white thing, like the bird, like white leprosy, like hen's egg, O! Rājaśekhara, thy fame is also like the fæces of a crow."

Then Śṛṅgāraśekhara sang:

मर्कटाननवच्चैव रक्ततित्तिरिचूर्णवत् ।
प्रतापतपनो भाति राजशेखर भूपते ॥

"Like the hip of a monkey and like the powder of a red tittiri thy valour shines, O king Rajasekhara."

Then pretending to be pleased with the poetical flight of the poets under disguise, Durjaya took them to the king and introduced them as types of poets that then generally laid claim to the gift of poetical talent. In reply to the question put by the king about their country and learning. Navina Kalidasa said:—

"We have been under the patronage of that famous king who is known by the name Punyakoti, devoted to the performance of Vedic rites, learned in the Mimamsa Sastra, a generous patron of learning and now under your protective care. Having heard of your generosity towards learned men and having taken the permission of our patron, we are come here. O king Rajasekhara to seek your protection. I am called Navina Kalidasa. The others are Sringarasekhara, Mandara. Lalitalapa, Srikama, Kamalakara, Gunakara, Rajahamsa, Sridhara and Kavisekhara. As to our learning, we are all capable of composing a drama or a poetical work of the type of the epics in a day, and are well versed in the two Mimamsasastras, the Sankhya of Kapila, the grammar of Patanjali and also Astronomy and Astrology."

Then pleased with the account of the poets the king asked Durjaya to read the verses of the poets in the paper which he held in his hand. Accordingly he read the verses 'suklavat', etc. mentioned above. When wondering at the difference in tone between what he heard and saw from Navina Kalidasa's poetical narration and the verses attributed to the poets as read by Durjaya the king turned his eyes towards Kalidasa. The latter said that but for those wretched verses they would have found no access to the king and Durjaya was so jealous of other poets that he had no scruples to misrepresent them to the king; he misrepresented both Arinan and Saranga as poets whose verses would spell untold misery on their own patron and thus got them out of Rajasekhara's court; and he succeeded in getting rid of Somaka also for the latter's guilt of association with prostitutes. Then

Rajasekhara was enraged at Durjaya's bad conduct and banished him from his court."[1]

526. **Anantabhatta** is according to tradition a rival of Abhinava Kālidāsa, who wrote Bhāgavatacampū.[2] To vie with his work, Ananta composed a Bhāgavatacampū himself and Bhāratacampū. The latter was quoted freely by Nārāyaṇa Bhattātri of Malabar in his Prabandhas and was commented on by Mānaveda. Nārāyaṇa and Mānaveda flourished in the 16th and 17th century.[3] Ananta must have lived not later than the 15th century and if Abhinava Kālidāsa, lived in the 11th century Ananta must have also lived in the 11th century A.D.

Bhāratacampū[4] has been held on high esteem. Ananta is rightly proud of his poetry.

Thus he begins:

शरदिन्दुविकासमन्दहासां स्फुरदिन्दीवरलोचनाभिरामाम् ।
अरविन्दसमानसुन्दरास्यामरविन्दासनसुन्दरीमुपासे ॥

कल्याणं वो विधत्तां करटमदधुनीलोलकल्लोलमाला-
खेलल्लोलम्बकोलाहलमुखरितदिक्चक्रवालान्तरालम् ।
प्रत्नं वेतण्डरत्नं सततपरिचलत्कर्णतालप्ररोह-
द्वाताङ्कूराजिहीर्षादरविवृतफणाशृङ्गभूषाभुजङ्गम् ॥

तुहिनकिरणवंशस्थूलमुक्ताफलानां विपुलभुजविराजद्वीरलक्ष्मीविभूम्नाम् ।
हसितसुरपुरश्रीरस्ति सा हस्तिनाख्या रिपुजनदुरवापा राजधानी कुरूणाम् ॥

and thus he ends:

राज्ञां मौलिपरम्परां चरणयोः पाणौ प्रदानश्रियं
बुद्धौ राजनयोदयं हृदि कृपां सत्यं रसज्ञाञ्चले ।
बाहौ सागरमेखलां वसुमतीं मस्ते किरीटं मुदा
कुर्वन् धर्मतनूभवश्चिरमसौ गोपायति स्म प्रजाः ॥

1. *CASB*, 62; There is a commentary by Nārāyaṇa.
2. See para 174-6 supra.
3. Ananta, author of Sāhityakalpavallī (*CC*, I. 13), Ananta, author of gloss on Candrāloka (1635 A.D. *CC*, I. 13), Ananta, author of Kamāsamuha (*IO*, 396; *PR*, III. 366) are different authors.
4. Printed Madras and Bombay. Here are verses in his praise:

i. उन्मीलदम्बुजकदम्बकसौरभीणामुन्नृत्यदीशमुकुटीतटिनीसखीनाम् ।
आचान्तवैरियशसाममृतोर्मिळानां वाचामनन्तसुधियो वसुधैव मूल्यम् ॥

ii. दिगन्तरलसत्कीर्तिरनन्तकविकुंजरः ।
प्राणैस्तुल्यं सरस्वत्याः प्राणैषीच्चम्पुभारतम् ॥

There are commentaries[1] on Campū-Bhārata by (i) Kuravi Rāmalinga,[2] son of Ṭirumalaroya of Āṭreyagoṭra[3] (ii) Mallādi Lakṣmaṇaswāmin, (iii) Nārāyaṇaswāmin, (iv) Kumāraṭaṭārya,[4] (v) Narasimhācārya[5] and (vi) one anonymous.[6]

There are other works on the same theme: Bhāraṭacampūṭilaka by Lakṣmaṇa,[7] Mānaveḍacampūbhāraṭa by Mānaveḍa,[8] Bharaṭacariṭa of Bhāgavaṭa Kṛṣṇaśarmā,[9] Abhinavabhāraṭa by Śrīkantha and Canḍrasekhara.[10]

527. Cidambara was the son of Ananṭanārāyaṇa and grandson of Sūryanārāyaṇa. He was patronized by King Venkata I (1586–1614) of Vizianagar. His Pancakalyāṇacampū and Rāghavayāḍavapāndavīya (Kaṭhāṭrayī)[11] have been noticed elsewhere.[12] Bhāgavaṭacampū relates the story of Bhāgavaṭa by itself.[13] Śabḍārṭhacinṭāmaṇi narrates the story of Rāmāyaṇa and Bhāgavaṭa at a time.[14] Ciḍambaravilāsakāvya in 5 cantos describes the tales of Lord Naṭarāja of Cidambaram.[15] Śleṣacinṭāmaṇi, a small poem, displays his skill in paranomasia.[16]

His pupil Śrīkantha alias Nanjunda, son of Śāmayārya of Āṭreyagoṭra wrote Maḍanamahoṭsavabhāṇa, staged at the festival at Bālavyāghrapurī (Sirupuliyur).[17]

528. Mitramisra, the author of Vīramiṭroḍaya, wrote Ānanḍakanḍacampū, on the early life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He was a Sannāḍhya

1. *IO*, 1523.
2. He was a grantee under King Poda Venkata of Penugonda in *TC*, II. 1097; *DC*, XXI 8202. 1632 A.D.
3. *DC*, XXI. 8202.
4. *TC*, III. 3532, *DC*, XXI. 8204.
5. *Tanj*, VII. 3105–15; *TC*, I. 96; *DC*, XXI. 8203. He lived at Kumbakonam.
6. *Opp*, II. 5240.
7. *DC*, XXI. 36263. He is the same as the author of Yuḍḍhakānda sequel to Bhojacampu.
8. *TC*, II. 2586; *DC*, XXI. 8167. There is a commentary on it, *TC*, II. 2595. In *TC*, III. 3997 there is a Campusankṣepa, a summary in verse. See para 176 supra.
9. Printed, Madras.
10. *Mys*. 263.
11. For commentaries, see *DC*, XXI. 7908.
12. See para 92 supra.
13. *DC*, XXI. 8258.
14. *Tanj*. VI. 2840.
15. *Ibid*. VI. 2742.
16. *Ibid*. VI. 2848.
17. *DC*, XXI. 8442.

Brahmin and belonged to the Pancha Gauda class. His patron Rāja Vīrasimhaḍev of Orcchā ruled in 1605–1627 A.D. and was probably identical with Bir Singh Deo, who is said to have killed Abul Fazal, the scholar of Emperor Akbar.[1]

529. Venkatadhvarin or Venkatācārya was the son of Raghunāṭha and Sīṭāmbā of the Āṭreyagoṭra. His grand-father Śrīnivāsa[2] known as Appayaguru was the nephew of the great Tatacharya (Pancamatabhanjana Ṭāṭācārya)[3] of Conjeevaram, a contemporary of Appayadīkṣiṭa. He was a descendant of Pranaṭārṭihara, a desciple of Rāmānuja. The famous Vāḍihamsāmbuḍa, the teacher of Veḍānṭaḍeśika, was his ancestor too. Venkatāḍhvarin was born at Arasāṇipālai near Conjeevaram (Kāncī) and lived in Conjeevaram. He was a staunch follower Veḍānṭaḍeśika. His literary activity was coeval with that of Nīlakantha, who lived in the latter half of the 17th century. He was wellversed in all sciences and had a good intinct for poetry. He was for some time the chief Pandit at the Court of Pralayakāveri. His versatile learning is manifest from the various species of his compositions.

His famous work is VISVAGUNADARSANAM.[4] It is a proso-poetic composition. Two Ganḍharvas Viśvāvasu and Kṛśānu are supposed to take a birdseye view of countries in their aerial car, the former generous in appreciation of merits, the latter ever censorious. This work was intended to expose the faults of the manners and customs of his time.[5]

Thus it begins:

श्रीराजीवाक्षवक्षःस्थलनिलयरमाहस्तवास्तव्यलील-
ह्लीलाब्जान्निष्पतन्ती मधुरमधुझरी नाभिपद्मे मुरारेः ।
अस्तोकं लोकमात्रा द्वियुगमुखशिशोराननेष्वर्प्यमाणं
शङ्खप्रान्तेषु दिव्यं पय इति विबुधैः शङ्क्यमाना पुनातु ॥

* * * * * *

1. Printed Sarasvaṭi Bhavan Series, Benares.
2. Śrinivāsa's second son Varaḍa is the author of bhāna Anangajīvana and a poem Kṛṣṇābhyuḍaya (*DC*, XXI. 8342).
3. Ed. Bombay. Tr. in English in part, Sahrdaya.
4. See para 212 *supra*. This Ṭaṭaḍeśika lived in 1509–1591 A.D. He adopted his brother's son who is now familiarly known as Kotikanyakāḍānam Ṭātacārya. (1572—1632 A.D.)
5. In Saḍdarśana-suḍarśana (To. IV. 5437) the poet's criticisms on Thengalal Vaiṣṇava sect are vindicated.

विश्वावलोकस्पृहया कदाचिद्विमानमारुह्य समानरूपम् ।
कृशानुविश्वावसुनामधेयं गन्धर्वयुग्मं गगने चचार ॥
कृशानुरकृशासूयः पुरोभागिपदं गतः ।
विश्वावसुरभूद्विश्वगुणग्रहणकौतुकी ॥

and thus it ends :

प्रकाशदोषप्रचुरेऽप्यमुष्मिन् ग्रन्थे मदीये करुणानुबन्धात् ।
प्रसादवन्तो न कृशानवन्तु परं तु विश्वावसवन्तु सन्तः ॥

It is said that in consequence of such censure on the world around him, he lost his sight and his praises of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu in a thousand verses called Lakṣmisahasram[1] and Śrīnivāsasahasram[2] cured him. In these poems, the author has excelled in the display of verbal ingenuity and poetic imajery.

There are commentaries on Viśvaguṇādarṣa by Kuravi Rāma, a writer of the 19th century who was patronised by the Zamindar of Karvetnagar;[3] by Prabhākara, son of Lakṣmīḍhara.[4]

Venkatāḍhvarin's works are many. Yāḍava-Rāghavīyam, which relates the story of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, at a time, by reading the verses in their natural and reverse order.[5] Uṭṭaracaṛiṭa relates the tale of the banishment of Sīṭa and the birth of Kuśa and Lava and was meant to be sequel to the Rāmāyaṇacampū of Bhoja.[6] Varaḍābhyuḍaya or Hasṭigīricampū[7] describes the greatness and religious glory of the shrine of Ḍevarāja at Kāncī. Ācāryapancāśaṭ[8] at is a short panegyric of Veḍānṭaḍeśika. Śravaṇānanḍa is a collection of verses on various topics and displays much originality.[9] Subhāṣiṭa-Kausṭubha[10] is an anthology

1. Ed. in Telugu (Karvetnagar, 1890) with the commentary by Kauśika Gopālācārya of Śriperumbuḍur. There is also a commentary called Surabhi by Vireśwarasamy, son of Venkatasamy of Devarakonda family. *TC*, III. 3018.

2. This work is not now traceable.

3. His descendant Challaya Sastri was living in 1895 at Inamenamellur in North Arcot District. He also commented on Campubhāraṭa, Daśarupa and Kuvalayānanḍa. He wrote other works in Telugu. See *HR*, I. (1895). xi.

4. *TC*, IV. 4626. The manuscript was completed in Śaka 1817.

5. See para 90 supra. *DC*, XX, 7956, with commentary on it. *DC*, XX. 7957.

6. *DC*, XXI. 8180. Printed in Telugu (Bangalore) with a commentary by Ṭirumalācārya, Pandit, Maharajah's College, Mysore.

7. *DC*, XXI, 8281, Ed. Mysore, 1908 with a commentary by Cakravarṭi Ayyangar of Nallāncakravarṭi family.

8. *DC*, XIX. 7267.

9. Printed, Jl. of Mysore Sans. College.

10. *DC*, XX. 8096.

in five chapters, describing the character of ignorance, vice, virtue etc. Pradymnānanda[1] is a drama in six Acts and describes the marriage of Pradyumna with Rati born as the daughter of the demon Sambara. Śṛingāradīpikā is a Bhana. Subhadrāpariṇaya is a play of which two acts only are found now at Araśāṇipalai.

530. The device of description planned in Viśvaguṇadarśam has been adopted in some later works. Ṭatvaguṇādarśam[2] describes the comparative merits of the tenets of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the form of a dialogue between Jaya and Vijaya. The author Annayārya was the son of Śrīnivāsa Ṭāṭārya of the Śrīśaila family. He was the brother of Śrīnivāsācārya, the author of Ṭatvamārtāṇda and Jijnāsādarpaṇa and Pandit of the Court of King Venkata, son of Rāghava of the Kosala race.

531. **Dattatreya** Sastri was son of Vāsudeva and Ambikā. His grandfather was the famous Janārdana Nigudakara. He lived in the village of Pangrada in Konkana in 1863-1918. In 1891, he was made Principal of Sanskrit College at Rajpur. He bore the title Vidyāraṭna. Besides a poem Raghuvamśasāra, and glosses on Janakīharaṇa, Buddhacarita and Raṭnāvali and a play Rukminīharaṇa, he wrote a campū Gangāguṇādārśā. There on the plan of Viśvaguṇādarśa, demerits and merits of the Ganges are espoused in a dialogue by two Gandharvas, Hāhā and Hūhū and the greatness of Gaṅgā finally asserted.[3]

532. RAGHAVACARYA was the son of Śrīnivāsācārya and grand-grandson of Venkatācārya of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra. He was a desciple of Ranganāṭha, apparently a head of the Ahobilam Mutt. The poem teems with alliteration. In Vaikunthavijayacampu[4] the gives a description of the various shrines visited by Jaya and Vijaya in the course of a pilgrimage.

533. NILAKANTHA, was the son of Rāmabhatta of Kaundinya goṭra and a disciple of one who bore the title of Ḍanṭidyoṭidivāpradīpa.[5] In his Kaśikāṭilakam, two Gandharvas are sent out by

1. *DC*, XXI. 8432. This was composed in the year Prajoṭpaṭṭi which is likely equal to 1571 A.D.

2. *DC*, XXI. 8223. There is a commentary on it by the author himself (*Ibid.* 8225).

3. Printed Bombay.

4. *DC*, XXI. 8298.

5. *TC*, III. 2763.

Kubera in search of Śiva, who had, as Nārada informed him, gone to Avimuktapuram, and in the guise of mortals, they visit various sacred shrines, which they describe as they go.

534. SAMARPUNGAVA Dikṣita who was the son of Venkateśa of Vadhūlagotra and brother of Suryanārāyaṇa and Dharma. He lived at Tiruvalangadu in North Arcot District, Madras, about the middle of the 17th century. His Tirthayātrāprabandham[1] describes the holiness of several sacred shrines and waters visited in the course of a pilgrimage.

535. VENKATAKAVI was the son of Vīrarāghava of Bālaśayana or Ilampalli family and lived at Ginjee in South Arcot District. He salutes Vedāntadeśika and was therefore of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava sect.[2] In Vibhudhānandaprabandham he describes various sacred shrines of India visited by two persons Bālapriya and Priyamvada in the course of their journey to Badarikāśrama to attend the marriage there of Sīlāvatī and Makaranda son of Kandarpa, king of a place called Kamalinī. The story is a fiction and is narrated in a conversation between two parrots.

536. In Śrutakīrtivilāsacampū SURYANARAYANA of Bhāradvājagotra describes the several places visited by a Brahmin Śrutakīrti a native of Virincīpūram near Nellore.[3]

537. RAMACANDRA was the son of Keśava and fifth in descent from Ratnakheta Śrīnivāsa[4] must have therefore lived the latter half of 17th century A.D. His Keralābharaṇam describes the merits and demerits of various countries and their usages in a dialogue of two spies Milinda and Makaranda who were sent out on a tour of inspection, in the course of a debate between Vasistha and Viśvāmitra in the Council of Indra.[5]

538. **Sankara Diskita,** son of Bālakṛṣṇa of Bhāradvājagotra, was a poet of the Court of King Sabhāsimha of Bundlekand. He died

1. *DC*, XXI, 8226.
2. *DC*, XXI, 8285.
3. *DC*, XXI, 8593.
4. *Tanj.* VII 3035. Ratnakheta had three sons Keśava, Ardhanārīśvara and Rājacudāmaṇi. Keśava's son was Patanjali, his son was Keśava, and Kesava's son was Rāmacandra.
5. On Rātnakheta, see para 151 *supra*.

in 1780 A.D. Besides the play Pradyumnavijaya,[1] he wrote Gangāvatāracampū on the story of the Ganges and Sānkaracetovilāsa, a campū on the life of Mahārāja Cetasimha (Cheytsingh) who was a magnate of Benares in 1770-1781 A.D. in the time of Governor-General Warren Hastings.[2]

539. Sonthi Bhadradri Ramasastry (1856-1915) was a Velanati Vaidiki Brahmin of Pithāpur in Codavary District, He was the son of Gangārāmayya of Gauṭamagoṭra. A great Sanskrit Scholar and poet, he adorned the Courts of the Zamindars of Urlam and Lakkavaram. Besides Mukṭāvali a drama and Śrīrāmavijaya, a poem, his Sāmbarāsuravijaya, a Campū, is a favourite of pandits as a work of literary art.

540. In **Jayarama's** Rāḍhāmaḍhavavilāsacampū, the loves of Rāmā and Kṛṣṇa are depicted and in the latter the court life of Sahaji Bhosle.[3]

541. On Ramayana. Campūrāghava of Āsūri Ananṭācārya (*Printed*, Bezwada: composed, in 1868 A.D.) with the commentary of Āsūri Venkatanarasimhācārya; Rāmayaṇacampū by Sundaravallī, daughter of N. Narasimha Aiyangar, Mysore (*Printed*, Bangalore: composed in 1916 A.D); Campūrāmāyaṇa of Āṇivivilla Siṭārāmaśāsṭrin[4] of Kākaraparṭi, Kṛṣṇa District (*Printed*, Madras); Amogharāghava by Ḍivākara, son of Viśveśvara (*TC*, V. 6365).[5]

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1. *CC*, I. 352; Wilson's *Theatre*, II. 402. Śankara, author of Śaraḍāṭilakabhāṇa (*CC*, I. 642; Wilson's *Theatre*. II, 384.) and Śankara, author of Gāuriḍigambara (play, *CC*, III. 37) are different authors.

2. See Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, II. 455.

3. Printed Bombay. There is an introductory essay on the rise of Maharata kingdoms. See also Puruṣottama's Śivakāvya on the subject of Maharata history, Ed. by J. B. Modak, Bombay.

4. He also wrote Siṭāramaḍayālaharī, printed there.

5. He was different from Divākara, son of Udbāhusundara who wrote the play Lakṣmīmānaveḍam (*TC*, V. 6351). Amogharāghava was composed in Śaka 1221 (1299 A.D.). There are fine verses in praise of Valmiki and Kāliḍāsa.

वाणी वासमवाप यस्य वदनद्वारि प्रतीक्ष्येव ह-
त्पद्मस्थाम्बुजनाभनाभिनिवसल्लोकेशसेवाक्षणम् ।
वल्मीकप्रभवाय कल्मषभिदे तस्मै परस्मै नमो
रामोदात्तचरित्रवर्णनवचःप्रोद्योगिने योगिने ॥
रम्याश्लेषवती प्रसादमधुरा शृङ्गारसङ्गोज्ज्वला
चाटूक्तैरखिलप्रियैरह रहस्संमोहयन्ती मनः ।
लीलान्यस्तपदप्रचाररचना सद्वर्णसंशोभिता
भाति श्रीमति कालिदासकविता कान्तेव तान्ते रता ॥

Raghunāṭhavijaya by Kṛṣṇa Kavi (*Printed*, Bombay); Rāmacaryāmṛta by Kṛṣṇayyangārya (*Printed*, Mysore); Kuśalavacampū by Venkaya Sudhī (*Mys.* 264); Rāmākathāsudhodaya by Śrīnivāsa (*Ibid.* 269); Rāmābhiṣeka by Devarājadeśika (*Ibid.* 269. *TC*, II. 21); Sītāvijaya by Ghaṇṭāvatāra (*Ibid.* 272); Rāmacandracampū (i) by Rāmacandra, son of Paṭanjali and great-grandson of Raṭnakheta (*HR*, II. vii.) and (ii) by Viśvanāṭha [*Mitra* 1870]; Rāmābhyudaya by Rāma, (*TC*, II. 1818) of Devulapalli.

Kakusṭhavijaya by Vallīsahāya of Vādhūlagoṭra (*IO*, 1539); Sīṭācampū of Gundu Rāmaswāmi Śāsṭrin of Agasṭyagoṭra;[1] Māruṭivijaya of Raghunāṭha (*Tanj.* VII 3115); Hanūmadapadāna (*TC*, IV. 4397); Āñjaneyavijaya by Nṛsimha (*Mys.* 261) Lakṣmaṇābharaṇiya (*Opp.* II. 3361.)

Uṭṭarakāṇḍa of Rāghava of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1918); Rāmacampū of Bandlamūdi Rāmaswāmi (*Printed*, Madras); Uṭṭaracampū (i) of Brahmapandiṭa, (ii) of Rāghavabhatta, and (iii) of Bhāgavanṭa (*Tanj.* VII. 3031); Rāmābhiṣeka of Devarāja, son of Padmanābha (*TC*, II. 2127; *Mys.* 269);[2] Abhinava-Rāmāyaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa Dānṭa composed in Śāka 1789 (*Bhandarkar's list*, 1893, Part I.), Rāmāyaṇa of Rāmānuja of Vādhūlagoṭra (*DC*, XXI. 8504).

542. **On Bhagavata.** Bhāgavaṭacampū of Rāmabhadra[3] (*Tanj.* VII. 308); Kṛṣṇacampū (i) of Śeṣasudhī,[4] and (ii) of Paraśurāma (*Gough*, 106); Ānandadāmodara of Bhuvaneśvara (*CASB*, 23); Vasudevanandinī of Gopalakṛṣṇa[5] (*CC*, I. 161); Praṇayimādhava by Mādhavabhatta (*Bhandarkar's List* (1893), I. 110); Mukundacāriṭa by Śrīnivāsa (*Mys.* 268); Kṛṣṇānandakanda by Miṭramiśra (*CC*, I. 258); Ānandabṛndāvana (i) by Paramānandadāsa (*Printed*, Benares) (ii) by Kavikarṇapūra (See para 223, *Supra*); (iii) by Keśava (*NW*, X. 16) and (iv) by Mādhavānanda (*Oudh*, XXI. 92); Bālakṛṣṇacampū by Jivanajiśarma (*Printed*, Bombay); Mādhavacampū by Ciranjīva[6] and Mandāramaranda by Śrīkṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Bombay); Śrīkṛṣṇācampū (*Mys.* 271); Gopālacampū (i) by Jīvarāja (*CC*, I. 161), (ii) by Kiśoravilāsa

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1. He died at Velangi near Cocanada in 1918-19. He also wrote a play Uṣāpariṇaya.
2. He also wrote Kirāṭārjunīyacampu and Aryāmanjarī (*CASB*, 26.)
3. Completed in Durmaṭi year.
4. The manuscript is with P. V. Subramanya Sastri, Rajole, Godavari Dt.
5. Among his other works there noted are Ambādviśaṭi, Āryāvarṇanamālikā, Kumārakarṇāmṛṭa, Saubhāgyalaharī, Pañcadaśavarṇamālikā and other sṭavas.
6. He also wrote Vidvanmodaṭarangiṇī (Printed, Calcutta).

(*CC*, III. 35), (iii) by Viśvanāthasimha [*Mitra* (1870)]; Kṛṣṇavilāsa (i) by Lakṣmaṇa (*DC*, XXI. 8191) and (ii) by Narasimhasūri, son of Anantārāya (*DC*, XXI. 8193); Yādavacampū (*Opp.* 5140); Kṛṣṇavijaya (i) by Vīreśvara (*TC*, II. 2200); (ii) by Kṛṣṇa Śāstrin (*Rice*, 248) Rukmiṇīcampū by Govardhana, son of Ghanaśyāma (*CC*, I. 527); Santanagopālaprabandha (*DC*, XXI. 8307); Kālindīmukunda (*DC*, XXI. 8186, 8567);[1] Jayarāma Pande's Rādhāmādhavavilāsa (*Printed*, Bombay).

543. On Mahabharata. Bakavadha (*TC*, III. 0411); Kumārābhyudaya (*TC*, III. 3521); Subhadrāharaṇa (*TC*, III. 3422); Pancendrōpākhyāna (*TC*, III. 3420) on the marriage of Draupadī; Kumāravijaya by Bhāskara, son of Śivasūrya (*TC*, IV. 5818); Kumārodaya (*TC*, IV. 5894); Nayanidarśana (*Trav.* 80).

544. On Puranas. Vallīpariṇaya of Yajnasubrahmaṇya (*Printed*, Madras); Padmāvatīpariṇaya of Śrīśaila (*Printed*, Karvetnagar); Madrakanyāpariṇaya of Gangādhara (*Mys.* 267; *DC*, XXI. 8265); Rukmiṇīpariṇaya by Ammal (*Mys.* 270) and by Venkatācārya of Prativādibhayankara family (*TC*, II. 3599); Parvatipariṇaya by Rāmeśvara of Kandukūri family (*TC*, III. 4138); Satrājitīpariṇaya by Kṛṣṇadāsa Gangaya, son of Rāmeśvara of Śaunakagotra[2] (*TC*, III. 2732).

Kalyāṇavallīkalyāṇa by Rāmānuja of Vādhūlagotra (see *DC*, XXI. 8275); Uṣāpariṇaya (*DC*, XXI. 8185); Kalyāṇacampū by Pāpayarādhya and Gaurīpariṇaya by Pinnavenkatasūri on Pārvatī's wedding (*TC*, V. 6575, III. 3081); Mīnākṣīpariṇaya by Ādinārāyaṇa (*Mys.* 267); Rukmiṇīvallabhapariṇaya by Nṛsihmatāta (*Ibid.* 170); Pāncālīswayamvara (*DC*, XXI. 826); Mīnākṣīkalyāṇa by Kandukūri Nāganātha of Madura (*DC*, XXI. 8270); Padmāvatīpariṇaya by Śrīśaila (*Printed* Karvetnagar); Damayantīpāriṇaya (*TC*, V. 6415); Godāpariṇaya by Vedādhinātha (*DC*, XXI. 8196).[3]

Tripuravijaya (i) by Atirātrayajvan[4] and (ii) by Nṛsimha[5] (*Tanj*, VII. 3044-6); Karṇānanda by Kṛṣṇadāsa (*Ulwar*, 1552); Kalākamudī by Kumāra-Cakrapāṇi (*CC*, I. 777); Kāvyakalāpa by Mahānandadhīra;

1. The author's great-grand-father wrote a commentary on Naiṣadha of which manuscript is dated 1834 A.D.

2. He was patronised by Amarendra Sobhanādri, Zamindar of Nuzvid.

3. About Āndāl of Śrīvilliputtur (Śrīdhanvinavyāpuri). For a play on the same theme, see *DC*, XXI. 8399.

4. See para 165 supra. For Tripuradahanacampū, see *Tanj*, VII. 3048.

5. See para 154 supra.

sambhava by Śarabhoji[1] (*Tanj*. VII. 3033); Śivavilāsa by Virūpākṣa (*Tanj*, VII. 3166); Śivacampū by Kavivāḍiśēkhara on the story of Mārkandeya (*DC*, XXI. 8305; *Tanj*. VII. 3163); Kiśoracarita (*CC*, I. 108); Vīracampū by Padmanānda (*PR*, I. 101)[2]; Gangāvilasa and Jagadambā by Gopāla, son of Mahādeva (*CC*, II. 32, 37); Bhārgava-campū by Rāmakṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Bombay).

Nṛsimhacampū by (i) Bhattakeśava, son of Ananta of Laugakṣi family of Puṇyastamba on the Godāvari (*Printed* Bombay, *Tanj*, VII, 3079; (ii) by Daivajna Sūrya (*Tanj*, VII. 3073; see para 96 supra); (iii) by Sankarṣaṇa (*Tanj*, VII. 3076); Śambarāsuravijaya by Bhadri Rāmaśāstrin of Gautamagotra; Candraśēkharacampū by Rāmanātha (*Printed*, Benares and Calcutta);[3] Dattātreyacampū by Dattātreya of Ātreyagotra, (*DC*, XXI. 830);[4] Bāṇayuddhacampū by Kochunni Tambiran;[5] Vikramasenacampū by Nārāyaṇa, son of Gangādhara (*Tanj*, VII. 3153).[6]

Aniruddhacarita (i) by Devarāja, son of Raghupati of Sāndilya-gotra, (*IO*, 1740; *Oudh*, VIII. 8); (ii) by Sāmbasiva (*Mys*. 263; *Rice* 246); Bāṇāsuravijaya (*SR*, I. 77; *IC*, III. 78); by Surapuram Venkatācārya (*Ibid*, 266); Anjanēyavijaya (i) by Nṛismhakavi *Ibid*); Ānandakanda by Mitramiśra (*Ibid*. *CC*, I. 258); Bhāgīrathīcampū by Acyutarśarman (*Printed*, Bombay; composed 1814 A.D.); Lakṣmīśvaracampū by Ananta-sūri (*Printed*, Bombay); Rameśvaravijaya by Śrīkṛṣṇa (*Printed*, Madras); Gājendracampū by Panta Vittala (*Printed*; composed, in 1864 A.D.);

1. This was probably composed by Cokkannakavi (Cokkanātha) see *BTC*, 157, *CC*, I. 111.

2. It is not known if Kārtavīryaprabandha mentioned] as Aśvinī Mahārāja's in *Trav. Cat.* 182 is identical.

3. He died at Cocanada in 1915-16. He also wrote a play Muktāvalī. The manuscripts are with his son Gangādhara Śāstri, City Press, Cocanada.

4. It gives the story of the incarnation of Mahādeva in the house of King Poṣya of Brahmāvarta.

5. See para 180 *supra*. He was Elayarāja of Cranganore and died about the year 1927. He is the brother of the present Elayarāja Kunjunni Tambiran, who is an authority on Nātyaśastra. He wrote also Kṛṣṇāvatāradandaka and completed Rāmavarman's Rāmacarita with Uttara-Rāmāyaṇa of which the manuscript is in the palace at Cranganore. On Rāmavarman, see para 177 *supra*. He lived in Kollam 975-1025 and wrote also Vallyudbhava (poem). Kunjunni Tambiran wrote commentary on Śitāpādādikeśastava and died 19 years ago. Kunhanrāja wrote commentary on Śrīpādasaptati and died 14 years ago. Rama Varma M.A. of Cranganore wrote a poem Kaumudī, which is an adaptation of Goldsmith's Hermit.

6. See para 164 *supra*, Nārāyaṇa was another son of Gangādhara son of Tryambaka.

Sūdarśanacampū by Kṛṣṇānanda (*Printed*, Bombay); Śrīnivāsavilāsa (i) by Venkateśa (*Printed*, Bombay); (ii) by Śrīkṛṣna (*Printed*, Madras) [He was latter Parakālasvarāmi; see para 221 *supra*]; Jagadguruvijaya by Yalandur Śrīkantha Śāstri (*Printed*, Mysore); Indirābhyudaya by Raghunātha (*Mys.* 264); Kumārabhārgavīya by Bhānudatta, son of Gaṅapati (*IO*, 1540.

Śankaracampū by Laksmīpaṭi (*Mys.* 271); Śankarānanda by Guru Swayambhūnāṭha (*Ibid*, 271); Vīrabhadravijaya by (i) Ekāmranāṭha and (ii) by Mallikārjuna (*Ibid*, 271, IC, IV 6113) Hayavadanavijaya by Venkatarāghava (*Ibid*, 272); Saṭyasandhacariṭa by Kalpavallikavi (*Ibid*, 271); Cinṭāmaṇivijaya by Śeṣakavi (*Ibid* 264); Jnānānkura by Lakṣmīnṛsimha (*Ibid*, 265); Puruṣoṭṭamacampū by Narasimha (*Ibid*, 274); Yādavaśekharacampū by Bhāṣyakāra (*Ibid*, 269); Vijayavijaya by Vajrakānṭa Lakṣmīnarasimha (*Ibid*. 270).

545. Local. Mārgasahāyacampū by Navanīṭa of Vādhūlagoṭra on the temple of Mārgasahāya at Virincīpuram (*DC*, XXI, 8265; *TC*, IV, 5828); Ḍivyacāpavijaya by Cakravarṭi Venkatācārya, on the myths of Ḍarbhaśayanam (*DC*, XXI. 8232); Vyāghrālayeśāṣṭamīmahoṭsava (*Ibid*, 8301), on the shrine at Vykkom in Travancore; Vajramukuṭīvilāsa (i) by Alasinga and (ii) by Yogānanda (*Mys.* 270); and Yadugiribhūṣana by Appalācārya (*Mys.* 270), and Sampaṭkumāravilāsa by Ranganāṭha of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra (*DC*, XXI. 8850) on the festivals of Melkote; Japyeśoṭsava by Venkatasubba (*Mys.* 264); Bhadrācalacampū by Rāghava of Śathamarṣaṇagoṭra[1] (*Sah.* V); Padmanābhacariṭa by Kṛṣṇa on the shrine at Trivandrum (*Trav*, 81); Venkateśacampū by Ḍharmarāja (*Tanj.* VII. 3160), and Śrīnivāsacampū by Śrīnivāsa,[2] son of Venkateśa of Kauśikagoṭra (*Tanj.* VII, 3168) on the shrine at Tirupati;[3] Aśvaṭṭhakṣeṭrayāga (*Trav.* 79).

546. Biographical. Puradevacampū of Arhaṭdāsa (*DC*, XXI. 8247; *Mys.* 266) on the life of Jain saint Purudeva; Jainacāryavijaya (*DC*, XXVI. 9746) on the lives of Mallisena and other Jain saints; Ānandaranga by Śrīnivāsa of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra on the life of Ānandaranga,

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1. On the same shrine, there are poems Venkaṭagirimāhāṭmya by Devadāsa (*CC*, I. 600) and Śrīnivasakāvya by Ṭryambaka, son of Padmanābha (*CC*, II. 160).
2. There are poems Bhadrācalapuṭavarṇā and Bhadrācalanakṣaṭramālā by Vedānṭam Śrīrāmaśāsṭrin (*Printed*, Cocanada and Bezwada).
3. He wrote also Sumanoranjana, a poem on Kṛṣṇa. Another Śrīnivāsa wrote a poem Ṭarakāvali in 27 verses to which the epithet Sapraṭīra is prefixed "because each verse is composed in such a manner as at first sight it deceives the reader regarding its real meaning." (*BR*, II, viii).

Dubash of Dupleix (*DC*, XXI. 8313);[1] Mṛgayācampū by Kavirāja on the hunts of King Vicitravikrama of Kalati of Ganjam (*TC*, IV. 3218); Śrīnivāsacampū by Venkata in praise of a king Śrīnivāsa (*Printed*, Granthamālā); Samarādityakathā (*Printed*, Calcutta); Ratnaśekhara-caritra by Dayāvardhanagaṇi (*Printed*, Bombay).

Nārāyaṇa's Vikramasenacampū describes the adventures of King Vikramasena of Pratisthāna.[2] He was the son of Gangādhāra and grandson of Ṭriyambākā who was the minister to King Shahji (1687-1711 A.D.) of Tanjore.[3] In Ānandakandacampū, Samarapungava Dīksita treats of the legends of Śaiva saints, male and female, their austerities and rewards.[4] Bāṇeśvara composed Citracampū in 1744 A.D. for his patron Citrasena of Vardhamāna. He was son of Rāmadasā and was called Vidyālankāra Bhattācārya.[5]

Kṛṣṇabhūṣaṇa gives the life of a merchant Kṛṣṇa of Narkedimalli family (*DC*, XXI. 8189).

Maitreya Rāmānūjācārya's Nāthamunivijaya (*DC*, XXI, 8241) Ahobilasūri's Yatirājavijaya (*DC*, XXI. 8271) and Rāmānujadāsa's Rāmānujacampū[1] (*DC*, XXI. 8278) are on the life of Rāmānuja and Govindadāsa and Śrīnivāsarāmānuja wrote Śrīnivāsamuniyātrāvilāsa on Śrīnivāsamuni of the Munitraya line of Vaiṣṇava teachers. (*TC*, III. 2885; 2892.)

Viśākhatulāprabandha of A.R. Rāja Rāja Varma,[6] Viśākhasetuyā-trāvarṇana of Gaṇapatiśastrin[7] and Viśākhakīrtivilāsa of Rāmaswāmi Sāstrin[8] relate to the life of Viśākha Mahārāja of Travancore.

On the history and royalty of Mysore there are the following: Mahīsūrabhivṛddhi by K. Venkatarāma Śāstrin, Mahīśūradeśābhyu-daya by Sītārāmakavi, Śarāvatījalapātavarṇanam (Jog falls) and Śrīkṛṣṇanṛpodayaprabandha by Kukke Subrahmaṇyaśarmā, Kṛṣṇa-rājendrayaśovllāsa by S. Narasimhācāriar, Śrīkṛṣṇarājābhyudaya by

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1. This work gives the history of dynasties of Vijianagar and the branches of Candragiri etc.
2. *TC*, II. 2641; *Tanj*, VII. 3154.
3. See para 164 *supra*.
4. *IO*, 1538.
5. *IO*, VII 1548, (analysed). This is characterised by a long dream and by an unmistakeable inculcation of Vaishnavite Vadantism.
6. *Trav*, 184; see para 180 *supra*.
7. *Trav*, 184; see para 147 *supra*.
8. *Trav*, 81,

Gītācārya[1] (*Printed* in Mys. Sanskrit College Journal, I–IV). Bhāgavaṭa Kṛṣṇaśāsṭrin wrote the poem Kṛṣṇarājābhyudaya. Yaḍugiri Ananṭācārya wrote Kṛṣṇarājākaloḍaya.

547. Philosophical: Jnānānkura by Lakṣmīnṛsimha, Ṭaṭṭvaguṇāḍarśa by Aṇṇayārya, Ṭaṭṭvārṭhaḍarpaṇa by Appayaḍīkṣiṭa (*Mys.* 2652).[2]

SECTION 3.

548. Udaharana is a species of quasi-musical proso-poetic composition. It appears to have been in vogue in very early ages. Kāliḍaśa mentions it in Vikramorvaśī and Raghuvamśa:

पत्रे निवेशितमुदाहरणं प्रियायाः ।
जयोदाहरणं बाह्वोर्गापयामास किन्नरान् ।

Viḍyānāṭha defines it thus:

येन केनापि तालेन गद्यपद्यसमन्वितम् ।
जयेत्युपक्रमं मालिन्यादिप्रासविचित्रितम् ।
तदुदाहरणं नाम विभक्त्यष्टांगसंयुतम् ॥

Bharaṭa thus alludes to this mode of composition:

गुर्वादिरथ लव्वादिर्युग्मः सर्वलघुः स्मृतः ।
स्तुर्मात्रागणा ज्ञेयाः पूर्वच्छंदोविकल्पनाः ।
पातोऽर्धकळिकान् पातान् कुर्याल्लघ्वक्षरेषु च ।
गुर्वक्षरे तालगीतपातास्तु कळिकाः स्मृताः ॥

It is said in the Pūrāṇas that when Ḍakṣa composed sṭuṭis called Sapṭagīṭa the Gods improved on that composition by the introduction of sṭobha-akṣaras and used them to eulogise Maheśvara after his Ṭāndava in the form of songs of varying ṭālas. In this class of composition, we have only a piece extant Basavoḍāharaṇa of Somanāṭha (Pālkuriki).

कलिका—अपि च पुरातननूतनशिवगणपादोदकपरिलसदभिषेकः ।
क्षपितविपल्लवजंगमलिंगसमर्चननिचितविवेकः ॥
सततविकस्वरभास्वरनिजमुखमंडलखंडितरजनीनाथः ।
कृतयुगवर्तनकीर्तननिरसननिपुणपवित्रचरित्रसनाथः ॥

1. He is the father of Rajagopala Cakravarṭin about whom, see previous chapter.

2. *DC*, XXI. 8278. He was son of Bhavanācārya of Vāḍhulagoṭra, His paternal uncle Rāmānuja wrote Kalyāṇavalli-Kalyāṇa, Veḍa[illegible]darāmāyaṇa etc. He probably lived at Trivellore, Chinglepuṭ District.

प्रकटितदर्पकदर्पकरेणुप्रमथननिशितकरांकुशहेलः ।
शुकमुखमानसकमलाकरविहरणचणराजमराळः ॥
स्वानुभवांचितकूडलिसंगमसंततदेवध्यानाभिज्ञः ।
सूनृतभाषणभूषणवाणीसिंहासनगंभीररसज्ञः ॥

उत्कलिका—श्रुतिमुखरस्वरसरससमेतः स्मृतिनिकुरुंबरसायनगीतः ।
प्रमुदितहृद्वर्तनशितिकंठः शमदमलालनगुणितोत्कंठः ॥

Somanāṭha was son of Gurulinga (Basaveśa ?) of Bhṛngirīṭagoṭra and lived about 1180 A.D. during the days of King Praṭāparudraḍeva I, (1140-1196 A.D.) He is praised by the Canarese poet Somarāju (about 1222 A.D.) in his Uḍbhatakāvya thus :

सद्गुदन्वद्वृषभस्तवामरमहीजारामनं सोमनम् ।

Somanāṭha also wrote the poem Pandiṭārāḍhyacariṭa.[1]

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1. See Veeresalingam's *Telugu Poets*, Part I, 220. Para 218 *supra*.

BOOK V

DRSYAKAVYA

CHAPTER XXII

Drsyakavya

(Drama)

SECTION 1

549. **"Manu, Svayambhu,** the emperor of the human world, in days of yore, beseached his father the Sun to suggest to him some deversion of relief from the cares of sovereignty. Then the Sun related to him a tale :—The Creator, soon after creation, approached Mahavishnu with a similar request and at Vishnu's direction the creator went to Siva. Siva commanded Nandi, who has already learnt the Gandharva art from him to teach the creator the principles. The creator came and when he thought of an actor, a muni appeared before him with five desciples. Then in the presence of Sarasvati, Brahma told them to adopt Natya Veda. They studied Natyaveda in its various applications and delighted Brahma with performances replete with songs and sentiments. Brahma pleased with their interest and devotion, conferred on them the boon that they would thereupon be known to the three worlds at Bharatas and that Natyaveda would also be known after their names, that is, Bharatam. Thus informed by the Sun, Manu resorted to Brahma and made his entreaty, Brahma ordered Bhratas to go with Manu to Bharatavarsha and at Ayodhya, they put on boards the various stories relating to Devarshis, as enacted in the theatres of the Gods. The art of the stage was introduced into the various countries of India by the pupils of these Bharatas. Then it was that at the request of Manu that Bharatas embodied a summary of Natyaveda in two works Devadasasāhasri and Satsahasri, and this summary has come to be known, after their names, as Bharatam." This is the account given by Śāradāṭanaya of the advent of music into this world.

In the Śatsāhasrī itself, that is the extant Nāṭyasāstra, there is this version of the origin of Nāṭyaveḍa: "Soon after creation Indra asked Brahma to create a fifth Veda, available for all the castes, because the four Vedas could not be studied by Sudras. Brahma drew upon the vedas for expression, music, gesticulation and sentiment respectively and made up the Natyaveda. He then called upon Bharata and his hundred desciples to put it into practice and the first play was then

1 The verb भरत is 2nd person plural of the root भृ.

staged, with the plot, the destruction of the Danavas by the Devas. So the art progressed in the divine world. When Nahusha occupied the throne of Indra, it was his desire that the art should be imported into his terrestrial dominions and as an obligation, the sons of Bharata were sent down to this world, when they mixed up with the population and created a progeny well versed in the theatrical art. It was then that Kohala, Sandilya and other Bharatas, composed 'this Sastra' for the education of men."[1]

"The dramatic representations first invented consisted of three kinds: *Natya*, *Nritya*, and *Nritta*; and these were exhibited before the gods by the *Gandharvas* and *Apsarasas*, the spirits and Nymphs of *Indra's* heaven, who were trained by Bharata to the exhibition. Siva added to these two other styles of performance, the *Tandava* and *Lasya*. Of these different modes of representation, only one, the *Natya*, is properly the dramatic, being defined to be gesticulation with language. The *Nritya* is gesticulation without language, or pantomime; and the *Nritta* is simple dancing. The *Tandava* and *Lasya*, which appear to be grafts upon the original system, are merely styles of dancing; the former so named from *Tandu*, one of Siva's attendants, whom the god instructed in it; whilst the *Lasya*, it is said, was taught by Parvati to the princess Usha, who instructed the *Gopis* of Dwaraka, the residence of her husband, in the art; by them it was communicated to the women of Surashtra, and from them it passed to the females of various regions."

"Music, dialogue, gesticulation and imitation were the precursors of Sanskrit drama.[2] Music in its theoretical and practical aspects may be traced in India to the Vedic age. Besides, the dull incantations of Hotrs or the monotonous recitations of Adhvaryus, there was something to charm the people, in the chants of Udgatrs of the Saman of humns borrowed from Rig Veda and adapted to singing. Dialogue was often employed in the Vedas and the Epics. In Rig Veda we occasionally find conversations between supernatural beings and Ṛṣis, for instance, the dialogue between Yama and Yamī and of Indra, Agastya and Maruts.[3] The epics often contain dialogues, the whole of

1. *Nātyaśāṭra*, I. 1-25.

2. See Yami-Yama-samvāḍa (*Rg*. X. 10); Pāṇi-sarama-samvāḍa (*Rg*. X. 108); Urvasī-Pururavas-samvāḍa (*Rg*. X. 85.)

3. "In all likelihood, the germ of the dramatic representations of the Hindus as of the Greeks is to be sought for in public exhibitions of dancing, which consisted at first of simple movements of the body executed in harmony with singing and music.

Mahabharata being composed in the form of a dialogue between Suta and his disciples. Upaniṣads contain many dialogues of which the pathetic conversation between Yājnavalkya and his wife Maitreyī on the occasion of their mutual separation, is an instance. In the Mahāvrata rite there is "a struggle between a Vaisya, whose color is to be white, and a Sudra black in color, over a round white skin, which ultimately falls to the victorious Vaisya."[1] "It is impossible" says Keith "without ignoring the obvious nature of this rite, not to see in it a mimic contest to gain the sun, the power of lights the Aryan, striving against the darkness, the sudra."[2] Hillebrandt[3] and Konow[4] asserted that these are indeed ritual dramas, but that they are borrowed by the ritual from the popular mime of the time, which accordingly must have known dialogue, abusive conversation and blows, but of which the chief parts were dance, song and music.

550. **Gesticulation** or **abhinaya** is a natural and primary instinct of the human race. Acting embraces the use of gestures, and laws of gesticulation deduce from observation what is appropriate for the expression of particular sentiments of the human mind. Aristotle in his *Poetics* says :

"Epic poetry and Tragedy, Comedy also and Dithyrambic poetry and the music of the flute and of the lyre in most of their forms, are all in their general conception modes of imitation. They differ, however, from one another in three respects, the

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Very soon dancing was extended to include pantomimic gesticulations accompanied with more elaborate musical performances, and these gesticulations were aided by occasional exclamations between the intervals of singing. Finally natural language took the place of music and singing, while gesticulation became merely subservient to emphasis in dramatic dialogue." (*Monier Williams.*)

1. See Kaṭhaka Sambiṭa, XXXIV, 5; Pancavimśa Brāhmaṇa, V, 5, 14 Āpasṭamba; Śrauṭasuṭra, XXI, 19, 9-12.

"At the great Mahavrata ceremony, one of the most interesting features of the ritual is the fight of a Sudra and an Arya on a round, white skin which represents the Sun (vide Kathaka Samhita, XXXIV, 5 and Dr. Keith's Samkhyana Aranyaka p. 78). Now the Kathaka Samhita, which narrates the struggle of the Aryan and the Sudra, expressly says (XI. 6) that the colour of the Vaisya is white and it is recognised that the colour of the Sudra is black, so that it is almost certain that we have here again another form of the strife of winter and summer: in this case, summer or spring represented by the white Aryan prevails over the winter represented by the dark Sudra. The Mahavrata rite is one which continued late in the Sutra ritual and was clearly performed throughout the Vedic Age, being in essence a popular not merely a priestly rite (see Aitareya Aranyaka, I and V; Srauta Sutra, XVII and XVIII)."

2. *SD*, 24.
3. *AID*, 22.
4. *AID*, 42

medium, the objects, the manner or mode of imitation, being in each case distinct. For as there are persons who, by conscious art or mere habit, imitate and represent various objects through the medium of color and form, or again by the voice; so in the arts above mentioned, taken as a whole, the imitation is produced by rhythm, language, or 'harmony', either singly or combined. Thus in the music of the flute and of the lyre, 'harmony' and rhythm alone are employed; also in other acts, such as that of the shepherd's pipe, which are essentially similar to these. In dancing, rhythm alone is used without 'harmony'; for even dancing imitates character, emotion, and action, by rhythmical movement."

"Poetry in general seems to have sprung from two causes, each of them lying deep in our nature. First, the instinct of imitation is implanted in man from childhood, one difference between him and other animals being that he is the most imitative of living creatures, and through imitation learns his earliest lessons; and no less universal is the pleasure felt in things imitated. We have evidence of this in the facts of experience. Objects which in themselves we view with pain, we delight to contemplate when reproduced with minute fidelity: such as the forms of the most ignoble animals and of dead bodies. The cause of this again is, that to learn gives the liveliest pleasure, not only to philosophers but to men in general; whose capacity, however, of learning is more limited. Thus the reason why men enjoy seeing a likeness is, that in contemplating it they find themselves learning or inferring, and saying perhaps, 'Ah, that is he.' For if you happen not to have seen the original; the pleasure will be due not to the imitation as such, but to the execution, the colouring, or some such other cause.

Imitation, then, is one instinct of our nature. Next, there is the instinct for 'harmony' and rhythm, metres being manifestly sections of rhythm. Persons, therefore, starting with this natural gift developed by degrees their special aptitudes, till their rude improvisations gave birth to Poetry."

Pischel advanced the theory that the Sanskrit drama had its origin in the Puppet play[1] and Luders pointed to the shadow as an essential element in the development of the Sanskrit drama[2] and thought[3] that Saubhikas mentioned by Patañjali spoke in explanation of the moving pictures. But it will be seen that a class of plays, called Chāyānāṭakam, has come to us without being classified by rhetoricians.

551. **The Greek connection.**[4] Weber started a theory that the Sanskrit Drama had its beginnings 'in the influence of the Greeks wielded on the Hindus.'[5] E. Brandes, the Danish Scholar accepted

1. R Pischel, *Die Heimat des Puppenspiels*, Halle; *Home of the Puppet play*, Translated by M.C. Tawney, London.
2. *SBAW*, (1916), 698; see Hillebrandt, to the contrary *ZDMG*, LXXII, 230. For Ridgway's objections, see his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European races.*
3. *Ibid.* Winternitz, *ZDMG*, LXXIV. 120
4. See Keith, *SD*, 57.
5. *IL*, 210 n. *Ist.* XIV. 194 note. Zubaty, *On the development of the Indian drama and its relation to the Greek drama* (in Bohemian). In Listy filologike of Prague XIV. 1-7; 98-108; 193-205. (Chiefly on the hetairai of the Hindu and the Greek drama.)

this hypothesis and undertook to prove the reality of the internal connection between the ancient plays and the new Attic comedy of the school of Menandar as chiefly preserved in the Roman adaptation of Plautus and Terence.[1] After Pischel's repudiation of this theory,[2] in his paper before the Congress of Orientalists held in Berlin in 1882,[3] Windisch elaborated this view of Brandes and collected various texts that attest Greek representation in the Orient after the conquest of Alexander and concluded that the Indian Drama was first developed in the city as a direct result of the intercourse with Alexandria.[4]

Weber laid stress on the use of the words Yavanī and Yavanikā, as indicative of the Greek influence.[5] This is well answered by A. B. Keith.[6] ' More value attaches to the argument from the use of Yavanika,[7] or its Prakrit form Javanika, for the name of the curtain which covered the tiring room and formed the background of the stage. The word primarily is an adjective meaning Ionian, the Greeks with whom India first came into contact. But is was not confined to to what was Greek in the strict sense of the word; it applied to anything connected with the Hellenized Persian Empire, Egypt, Syria, Bactria, and it therefore cannot be righly limited to what is Greek. As applied to the curtain it is an adjective, and describes doubtless the material of the curtain (pati, apati) as foreign, possibly as Levi suggests, Persian tapestry brought to India by Greek ships and merchants. The word Yavanika has no special application to the curtain of the theatre, as would be the case, if it were borrowed as a detail of stage arrangement from Greece. Nor in fact was there any curtain in the case of Greek drama, so far as is known, from which it could be borrowed; Windisch's contention merely was that the curtain was called Greek because it took the place of a painted scenery at the back of the Greek stage.

As little can any conclusion of Greek borrowing be drawn from the Yavanis,[8] Greek maidens, who are represented as among the body-

1. Lergoven, (1870), III; V. Smith, *JASB*, LVIII. I. 184.
2. On the differences between Greek and Hindu Dramas, see Gauranganath Benerjee's Hellenism in Ancient India. Keith, *SD*, 57.
3. *Die Recensionender Sakuntala*, (1870). III. See also *SBAW*, (1906), 502.
4. *Samskrit Phil*, 398.
5. *ZDMG*, XIV. 269; *ISt*, XIII. 492.
6. *SD*, 61.
7. P. Konow, *TD*, 5 note; Levi, I. 348.
8. Levi, *Quid de Gracies etc.*

guard of the king; for this the Greek drama offers no parallel; it represents the fondness of the princes of India for the fascinating hetaerae of Greece, and the readiness of Greek traders to make the high profits to be derived from shipping these youthful cargoes."

Levi did not accept the Greek influence[1] and Wilson agrees and has a long examination:[2]

"The Hindu theatre belongs to that division of dramatic composition which modern critics have agreed to term *romantic*, in opposition to what some schools have been pleased to call *classical*. This has not escaped the observation of one of the first dramatic critics of any age, and Schlegel observes, "The Drama of *Sakuntala* presents, through its oriental brilliancy of colouring, so striking a resemblance, upon the whole, to our romantic drama, that it might be suspected the love of Shakespeare had influenced the translator, if other orientalists had not borne testimony to the fidelity of his translation." Besides being an entertainment appropriated to the leading or learned members of society, the dramatic entertainments of the Hindus essentially differed from those of modern Europe in the unfrequency of their representation. They seem to have been acted only on solemn or public occasions. In this respect they resembled the dramatic performances of the Athenians, which took place at distant intervals, and especially at the spring and autumnal festivals of Bacchus, the last being usually preferred, as the city was then filled with strangers, its tributaries and allies. According to Hindu authorities, the occassions suitable for dramatic representations are the lunary holidays, a royal coronation, assemblages of people at fairs and religious festivals, marriages, the meeting of friends, taking first possession of a house or a town, and the birth of a son. The most ordinary occasion, however, of a performance was, as will be seen, the season peculiarly sacred to some divinity.

"Like the Greek tragedy, however, the *Nataka* is to represent worthy or exalted personages only, and the hero must be a monarch, as Dushyanta; a demigod, as Rama; or a divinity, as Krishna. The action, or more properly the passion, should be but one, as love or heroism. The plot should be simple, the incidents consistent; the business should spring direct from the story as a plant from its seed, and should be free from episodical and prolix interruptions. The time should not be protracted; and the duration of an act, according to the

1. *TI*, I. 345. II. 60.
2. *Theatre*, I. xi *et*, so

authority, should not exceed one day; but the *Sahitya-Darpana* extends it to a few days, or even to one year. When the action cannot be comprised within these limits, the less important events may be thrown into narrative or may be communicated to the audience by one of the actors, who holds the character of an interpreter, and explains to the persons of the assembly whatever they may require to know, or what is not conveyed to them by the representation; a rather awkward contrivance to supply the deficiences of the piece, but one that would sometimes be useful to insinuate the plot into the audiences of more polished communities. The diction of a *Nataka* should be perspicuous and polished. The piece should consist of not fewer than five acts, and more than ten.

"In many of its charactistics, the *Nataka* presents an obvious analogy to the tragedy of the Greeks which was, "the imitation of a solemn and perfect action, of adequate importance, told in pleasing language, exhibiting the several elements of dramatic composition in its different parts represented through the instrumentality of agents, not by narration, and purifying the affections of human nature by the influence of pity and terror." In the expansion of this definition in the "poetics," there are money points of affinity, and particularly in the selection of persons and subjects; but there are also differences, some of which merit to be noticed.

"With regard to the Unities, we have that of action fully recognised and a simplicity of business is enjoined quite in the spirit of the Greek drama. The unity of place is not noticed, as might have been expected from the probable absence of all scenic embellishment. It was impossible to transport the substantial decorations of the Grecian stage from place to place, and therefore the scene was the same throughout; but where everything was left to the imagination, one site was as easily conceivable as another, and the scene might be fancied, one while a garden and another while a palace, as well as it could be imagined to be either. The unity of time is curiously modified, conformably to a principle which may satisfy the most fastidious; and "the time required for the fable elapses invariably between the acts." In practice there is generally less latitude than the rule indicates, and the duration of an act is very commonly that of the representation, or at most "one course of the sun," the night elapsing in the interval. In once piece, the *Uttara-Rama-Charitra*, indeed, we have a more extensive period, and twelve years are supposed to pass between the first and second acts. This was the unavoidable consequence of the

subject of the play, and affords and analogy to the license of the romantic drama.[1]

"Another important difference from the classical drama, and from that of most countries, is the total absence of the distinction between Tragedy and Comedy. The Hindu plays confine themselves neither to the "crimes nor to the absurdities of mankind;" neither "to the momentous changes, nor lighter vicissitudes of life;" neither "to the terrors of distress nor the gaieties of prosperity." In this respect they may be classed with much of the Spanish and English drama to which, as Schlegel observes, "the terms Tragedy and Comedy wholly inapplicable, in the sense in which they were employed by the ancients." They are invariably of a mingled web, and blend "seriousness and sorrow with levity and laughter." They never offer, however, a calamitous conclusion, which, as Johnson remarks, was enough to constitute a Tragedy in Shakespeare's days; and although they propose ta excite all the emotions of the human breast, terror and pity included, they never effect this object leaving a painful impression upon the mind of the spectator. The Hindus, in fact, have no Tragedy; a defect that subverts the theory that Tragedy necessarily preceded Comedy, because in the infancy of society the stronger passions predominated, and it was not till social intercourse was complicated and refined, that the follies and frivolities of mankind afforded material for satire. The theory is evidently more ingenious than just, for a considerable advance in refinement must have been made before plays were written at all and the days of Æschylus were not those of the fierce and fiery emotions he delineates. In truth, however, the individual and social organisation of the native of India is unfavourable to the development of towering passion; and whatever poets or philosophers may have insinuated to the contrary, there is no doubt that the regions of physical equability have ever been, and still are, those of moral extremes.

"The absence of tragic catastrophe in the Hindu dramas is not merely an unconscious omission; such catastrophe is prohibited by a positive rule, and the death of either the hero or the heroine is never to be announced. With that regard, indeed, for decorum, which even Voltaire thought might be sometimes dispensed with, it is not allowed in any manner "*ensanglanter la scene*," and death must invariably be inflicted out of the view of the spectators. Attention to *bienseance*

1. A. V. W. Jackson, Time Analysis of Sanskrit Plays: 1. The Dramas of Kalidasa; 2. The Dramas of Harsha: *JAOS*, XX, 341-359; XXI, 88-108.

is carried even of a serious nature are, hostile defiance, solemn imprecations, exile, degradations, and national calamity; whilst those of a less grave, or comic character, are biting, scratching, kissing, eating, sleeping, the bath, inunction, and the marriage ceremony. Dramatic writers, especially those of a modern date, have sometimes, violated these precepts; but in general the conduct of what may be termed the classical drama of the Hindus is exemplary and dignified. Nor is its moral purport neglected; and one of their writers declares, in an illustration familiar to ancient and modern poetry, that the chief end of the theatre is to disguise, by the insidious sweet, the unpalatable but salutary bitter, of the cup.

"The extent of the Hindu plays is another peculiarity in which they differ from the dramatic writings of other nations; and even the *Robbers, or Don Carlos,* will suffer in the comparison of length. The *Mrichchhakati* would make at least three of the plays of Æschylus. In actual representation, however, a Hindu play constituted a less unreasonable demand upon the patience of an audience than an Athenian performance, consisting at one sitting of three Tragedies and a Farce. If the Hindu stage exhibited a long play, it exhibited that alone."

Section 2

Besides defining and classifying dramas, Bharatamuni composed plays in illustration. They were Jāmadagnayajaya (Vyāyoga), Kusumaśekharavijaya Īhāmṛga) and Śarmiṣṭhāyayāṭi (Anka.) The last of these was enacted before Nahuṣa while he was holding the position of Mahendra among Devas.

To Pitāmaha himself are attributed Samudramathana (Samavakara) enacted at Indradhvajamahotsava and Tripuradāha (dima) enacted before Parameśvara on the nothern slopes of Hymālayas. Sarasvatī wrote Lakṣmīsvayamvara (nātaka) and had it performed in Indra's theatre by Apsarasas trained by Bharatamuni himself.

There were other writers on dancing that followed Bharata who are quasi-divine and quotations from their works are plenty in later rhetorical writings. Their age is anterior to the Christian era, and according to Indian tradition, some of them are far earlier than the kali age.[1] Vātsyāyana mentions earlier writers of remote ages whose works are lost, save in stray quotations. In describing the recreations of a nāgaraka, the cityman, he says :

1. See chapter on BHARATA, post.

पीठमर्दविटविदूषकायत्ता व्यापाराः । प्रदोषे च सङ्गीतकानि । पक्षस्य मासस्य वा प्रज्ञातेऽहनि सरस्वत्या भवने नियुक्तानां नित्यं समाजः । कुशीलवाश्चागंतवः प्रेक्षकमेषां दद्युः । द्वितीयेऽहनि तेभ्यः पूजा नियतं लभेरन् । ततो यथाश्रद्धमेषां दर्शनमुत्सर्गो वा ॥

Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata refer to nata, nartaka, nātaka and sūtradhāra and dances and theatricals in cities and palaces.[1]

552. **Harivamsa** (8672-4), makes "direct mention of a dramatic treatment (*nātakībrtam*) of the Ramayanam mahakavyam, without indeed connecting therewith the name of Valmiki, but with statements so definite as clearly to show that so far as regards its main elements, our present text of the Ramayana existed even at that time, and already in its Vaishnava form. We are informed, namely, that the renowned actor, to the eulogising of whom the passage in question is devoted, represents in a drama "the birth of the immeasurable Vishnu for the purpose of fulfilling his wish to put to death the prince of the Rakshasas. Lomapada (and) Dasaratha (in the drama) caused the great muni Rishyasringa to be fetched, by means of Santa and the courtesans. Rama, Lakshmana, Bharata and Sathrughna, Rishyasringa and Santa were personated by actors characteristically dressed."

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1. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Srirangam Edn)

i रसैश्शृङ्गारकरुणहास्यरौद्रभयानकैः ।
वीरादिभीरसैर्युक्तं काव्यमेतदगायताम् ॥ I. 4-9.
नाराजके जनपदे प्रहृष्टनटनर्तकाः । II. 67-15.

ii श्रैष्ठ्यं शास्त्रसमूहेषु प्राप्तो व्यामिश्रकेषु च । II. 1-17.

iii वादयन्ति तथा शान्तिं लासयन्त्यपि चापरे ।
नाटकान्यपरे प्राहुर्हास्यानि विविधानि च ॥ II. 69-4.

iv शैलूषाश्च तथा स्त्रीभिर्यान्ति । II. 83-15.

See also Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, 55; Hildebrandt, *ZDMG*, LXXII. 229, n. 1; Hugh Nevill, *The Ramayana as a play*, (*Tabrobanian*, II. 150, 170.)

2. See M. Winternitz, *The Mahabharata and the Drama*, *JRAS*, 1903, 571

Mahābhārata (Kumbakonam Edn.)

i इत्यब्रवीत्सूत्रधारस्सूतः पौराणिकस्तथा । I. 51-15.

ii ननृतुर्नर्तकाश्चैव जगुर्गेयानि गायकाः । I. 219-4.

iii पश्यन्तो नटनर्तकान् । I. 218-10, II. 33-49.

iv नाटका विविधाः काव्याः कथाख्यायिककारकाः । II. 12-36.

v आनर्ताश्च तथा सर्वे नटनर्तकगायकाः । III. 15-13.

See also XII. 69-60; XII. 295-5; IV. 22. 3, 16, IV. 16-43, I. 134-10, III. 20-27, III. 33-12 (as refed. to by Hopkins.)

553. During the time of Gauṭama Buḍḍha, Saugandhikāharaṇa, a rūpaka was enacted at Rājagṛha by his desciples Upaṭiṣya and Mauḍgalyāyana.[1] Paṇini refers to Naṭasūṭras (IV. iii. 110-1) composed by Śilālin and Kṛśāśva.[2]

554. To Pāṇini are ascribed the plays Kamsavaḍha and Balibanḍha. Śyāmilaka mentions Vararuci as a writer on dramaturgy. Paṭanjali,[3] wrote (*Mahābhāṣya*, *BSS*, II. 36)

इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता कंसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति ; चिरहते कंसे चिरबद्धे च बलौ । अत्रापि युक्ता । कथम् ? येतावेदते शोभनिका(सौभिका)नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति, प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति । चित्रेषु कथम् ? चित्रेष्वपि उद्‌घूर्णा निपतिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसस्य च कृष्णस्य च । ग्रान्थिकेषु कथम् ? यत्र शब्दग्रन्थनमणुमात्रंलक्ष्यते तेऽपीहि तेषामुत्पत्तिप्रभृत्या विनाशाद्बुद्धिर्व्याचक्षाणस्सतो बुद्धिविषयान् प्रकाशयन्ति । अतश्च सतः व्यामिश्रा हि दृश्यन्ते, केचित् कंसभक्ता भवन्ति, केचिद्वासुदेवभक्ताः । वर्णान्यत्वं खलु पुष्यन्ति । केचिद्रक्तमुखा भवन्ति, केचित्कालमुखाः ॥

555. This passage has been the theme of controversy among some European scholars, a controversy that often expressed itself in unseemly personal attacks. While according to Keith the drama there represented is essentially religious in origin, Hillebrandt,[4] Grosse,[5] Gray,[6] and Ridgeway[7] say that "the imitation of the happenings of life may have given rise to comedy, a fact, which explains the failure of India to rise to tragedy, the play remaining on its original popular line." So that according to them the Indian drama had its origin not in religion, but

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1. S. F. Oldenburg, Ukazaniye na predstavleniye buddiskoi dramy. In Zapiski Vostocnago Otdeleniya Imp. Russkago Arkheologiceskago Obscestva, (IV. 393-394) [Mention of a representation of a Buddhist Drama. Text from the Avaḍānaśaṭaka 75]; Levi, *TI*, I. 319, Winternitz, *VOJ*, XXVII. 38 ; Schiefner, *IST*, III. 483, Keith, *SD*, 42, E. Schlaginbweit, *JASB*, (1865), 71 ; *Buddhism in Tibet*, 233 ; Laliṭavisṭara, XII. 178 ; Divyāvaḍāna, 357, 360. Avaḍānaśaṭaka, II. 24. For Jain references, see Keith, *SD*, 44 ; Ayārānga Sutta, II. xi. 14 ; Rājapraśiniya, *ISt*, XVI. 385 ; Ḥultzsch, *ZDMG*, LXXV. 59.

2. (i) पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः ।
   (ii) कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः ॥

3. See R. G. Subrahmanya, *Patanjali* and *Kavya Literature* (Pr. Or. Confer. 1924); Swami Saradananda, *Poetry* and *Drama in ancient times* (Brahmavadin, III, 346-55).

4. *Uber die anfan ge dds indischen drama.*

5. *Anfange der Kunst*, 214.

6. *ERE*, IV. 868.

7. *The origin of tragedy with special reference to Greek tragedians*, Cambridge.

on the privitive mime of the Indian popular strolling actors and their wives.

556. Ridgeway propounds the theory that all religion is to be traced to the reverence shown to the dead and that all drama is born from such reverence, but Keith does not agree and he answers Ridgway's criticism of his views.[1] The following extracts from an article by A. B. Keith in *JRAS*, (1916), 335 et seq with enlighten the reader:—

" But though the theory of Professor Ridgeway must remain a mere hypothesis, which has no probability, it is important to examine his criticism of the rival theory that the Indian drama is an offshoot from the religious practices of early India. The criticism of this theory as already set out in this Journal [*JRAS*, 1911, 1001] by me is contained in the following passage (pp. 140-2):—

" The slaying of Kansa by Krishna, as we shall soon see, was the subject of the earliest dramatic performance recorded for us in Hindu literature. According to the *Mahabhasya*, which cannot be later than the first century after Christ, in this performance the *Granthikas* divided themselves into two parties; those representing the followers of Kansa had their faces blackened, those of Krishna had their faces red, and 'they expressed the feelings of both sides throughout the struggle from Krishna's birth to the death of Kansa. On this story alone Dr. A. B. Keith rests his belief in the theory of the origin of tragedy still held by Sir James Frazer and Dr. Farnell, and with which I have dealt at length on earlier pages (pp. 18-21). 'The mention of the colour of the two parties,' he writes, 'is most significant; red man slays black man: the spirit of spring and summer prevails over the spirit of the dark winter. The parallel is too striking to be mistaken; we are entitled to say that in India, as in Greece, this dramatic ritual, the slaying of winter, is the source whence drama is derived.' This too is the only reason that he gives for his opinion expressed in the same place. 'Ridgeway's theory of the origin of drama from the festivals in honour of the dead .....seems to be still improbable, as an explanation of the origin of tragedy.' But Dr. Keith forgets that the red men who slay black men are themselves led by Krishna 'the black', and thus red men led by black man slay black men, which on his own principle can only mean that winter aided by summer slays winter. Plainly, then, winter is divided against himself and commits suicide. The judicially minded reader will opine that in the slaying of the

1. *JRAS*, (1911), 1008; *JRAS*, (1912), 421.

negro doctor by Punch without the aid of another gentleman of colour we have really more cogent evidence for *Punch and Judy* being a drama of summer slaying winter than that on which Dr. Keith bases his theory of the origin of the Hindu drama. Moreover, when we recall the fact admitted by Dr. Keith himself of the conquest by the fair-complexioned Aryans of the dark aborigines of Hindustan, and their admixture as time went on, and when we are further told that Krishna the Black was quite different in colour from the rest of his race, it is but natural that the Yadavas should be represented with ruddy faces, and the followers of Kansa as dark-skinned aborigines. Dr. Keith might just as reasonably see a combat between winter and summer in any of the many battles between British troops and native armies in the long struggle which eventuated in the conquest of India……Krishna, who eventually was made the eighth Avatar of Vishnu, a god regarded by Dr. Keith as the sun, must also be held by that scholar to be the sun-god, or at least the spirit of light and spring. But as all traditions agree in making Krishna black, Dr. Keith thus represents the sun-god himself as a black man, which may be regarded as the wildest of all the many vagaries of his school."

The judicially minded reader will probably opine that this is excellent fooling, but very bad logic. In Professor Ridgeway's own view we have in the slaying of Kaṁsa merely a representation of doubtless a real episode in the life of the hero Kṛṣṇa. But how on this hypothesis is the difference of colour to be understood? The account given above by Professor Ridgeway is plainly ludicrous. Kṛṣṇa is quite different in colour from the rest of his race, therefore the Yādavas are made red; Kaṁsa and his supporters black. But Kaṁsa was the uncle of Kṛṣṇa, who was a Yādava on both sides; his supporters and he are here represented as of the colour of Kṛṣṇa; but the rest of Kṛṣṇa's race is, Professor Ridgeway argues, quite different from Kṛṣṇa, whence it follows that Kaṁsa should be red. Accordingly the absurdities of my view are even on Professor Ridgeway's own showing at least no greater than those of his own view. That he should be guilty of such a bad piece of argument is undoubtedly due to his forgetting that Kaṁsa is the uncle of Kṛṣṇa, and that therefore he cannot be treated as belonging to a different section of the population. The forgetfulness is the more amazing in that Professor Ridgeway has himself given the traditional account of the origin of Kṛṣṇa, an account which he does not and obviously cannot criticize. But there is a more amazing blunder still to chronicle: at p. 21

Professor Ridgeway asserts that "Dr. A. B. Keith·········finds the origin of the Hindu drama in the slaying of the dark Koravas by the fair Pandavas······But Dr. Keith omits the important point that in the Hindu story the fair Pandavas were led to victory over the dark Koravas by Krishna, 'the Black,' a fact in itself fatal to his theory." This remarkable assertion, which of course is wholly untrue, is due not to any deliberate desire to mislead his readers on the part of Professor Ridgeway, but to a confusion betweem Kaṁsa and the Koravas— a spelling strangely adopted by the author for Kauravas—and between Kṛṣṇa exploits *per se* and his connexion with the Pāṇḍavas, who are not, it may be added, pale at all, but descendants of a man called Pāṇḍu.

The extraordinary confusion of mind of Professor Ridgeway explains his criticism of my theory; he has overlooked the fact that, so far from not appreciating the question of Kṛṣṇa's name, I was the first[1] to point out the error into which Levi[2] fell in ascribing to the followers of Kṛṣṇa the colour black, and that I expressly on more than one occasion have refuted the theory that Kṛṣṇa was a sun-god. The fact that Kṛṣṇa is an Avatar of Viṣṇu no more proves that he was originally a sun-god than the fact that the Buddha is also an Avatar of Viṣṇu proves that he was a sun-god. The fact that Kṛṣṇa's company is mentioned as red is of the utmost importance as a piece of evidence of the real character of the ritual; had it not been traditional, the effect of the name Kṛṣṇa would undoubtedly have carried with it the dark colour of his company, for we cannot suppose that at the time when the *Mahābhāṣya* relates to us the dramatic performance of the Kaṁsavadha there was any longer an understanding of the legend in its primitive sense. It was a human drama to the actors, understood in purely historic sense, the slaying by Kṛṣṇa of his wicked uncle, and I have laid stress[3] on the fact that the existence of this drama is the earliest clear proof we have of the stories of the infancy of Kṛṣṇa, a fact which establishes their anteriority to the Christ-child legend. But whereas if we take the story as a mere piece of history we are landed in hopeless difficulties in the explanation of the colours assigned, of which Professor Ridgeway's account affords a perfect specimen, a very clear sense and meaning are obtained if we accept the natural conclusion that in India, as in Greece, we find at the source of drama

1. *JRAS.* (1908), p. 172, n. 4.
2. *Theatre indien*, p. 315.
3. *JRAS*, (1908), pp. 169 seq., a view now accepted by Garbe.

the old ritual of the slaying of the vegetation spirit in winter as in India or in summer as in Greece, the differing choice of aspect being the cause of the existence in India of no real tragedy, while in Greece tragedy is predominent.

Professor Ridgeway argues[1] that if Kṛṣṇa is a sun-god, then his birthday should fall at the winter solstice, but in point of fact he is born according to tradition in July or August. The argument seems singularly without force. Apart from the late date of the tradition of the time of Kṛṣṇa's birth, it seems inexplicable why a sun-god must be born at the winter's solstice. Professor Ridgeway accepts my proof that the Mahāvrata was celebrated at the winter solstice, but I have not suggested at any time that this festival represents the birth of the sun; it is a period when the strengthening of the sun for its tasks is required, and is provided by sympathetic magic in the ritual by which a light takes place for a symbol of the sun which is eventually taken away from the Sudra. But this ritual, though it is interesting and though it is rightly mentioned in any account of the beginnings of drama as one of the ultimate sources from which drama developed—not of course as in itself drama since the element of mimesis[2] is absent—is not a Kṛṣṇa ritual at all, a fact which Professor Ridgeway should have remembered, as he cites[3] with approval my express statement that the Mahāvrata has no vegetation spirit in its ritual and that the prominence of such a spirit may have been due to the influence of the aboriginal tribes, even assuming that it was also Aryan in character. In the case of Kṛṣṇa we have a real vegetation spirit ritual, the killing of a representative of the spirit of vegetation But we see more than this; we see a conflict in the process of the killing, and curiously enough Professor Ridgeway, who credits[4] me with following Dr. Frazer in my views of the vegetation spirit, is ignorant still, it seems, as he was in 1910, of the contents of the paper of Usener, on which, as I have expressly stated, my views of the origin of Indian drama which were first formulated by me in 1908 are based[5] The paper of Usener cites instances in which there occurs a mimic fight intended clearly to secure sunlight and to prosper vegetation. In the case of the Mahāvrata we have this fight in a solar form, in the

1. p. 144.
2. On this point Professors Ridgeway agrees with me; see pp. 154, 156.
3. p. 145. Cf. *JRAS*, (1909), pp. 203, 204.
4. p. 142.
5. *JRAS*, (1908), p. 172, n. 3.

case of Kamsa in a vegetation form, but the fight is an essential feature of both,[1] and it is an essential feature of the drama which is an agon, a contest. Therefore the essence of drama is revealed to us in the very drama of which we have the first distinct record in India, and it is idle sophistry to wave aside this most striking piece of evidence."

557. Elsewhere A. B. Keith says [*JRAS*, (1912), 411].

"The clear evidence of the MAHABHAṢYA proves the connection of the earliest Indian literary form which was clearly dramatic with the contest of the two figures Kamsa and Kṛṣṇa, and the actors coloured their faces, the followers of Kṛṣṇa being RAKTAMUKHA, those of Kamsa KALAMUKHA. It is true that Indian tradition tells us that Kamsa was Kṛṣṇa's uncle, and that we can, if we like, insist that time is a piece of history but such euhemerism is, if at present again fashionable, hardly likely to remain long in vogue. That Kṛṣṇa was divine is, of course asserted by the earliest texts which refer to him, and the MAHABHASYA parallel is of singular importance in that it shows the drama dealing with a subject which reveals itself clearly as one side of the widespread belief in the slaying of the vegetation spirit, which is certainly found also in India.

On its merits, therefore, and apart from the evidence of the MAHABHASYA, Aristotle's account of tragedy seems to demand full adherence. The evidence of that text adds to the theoretical probability of the Aristotelian version, the unexpected parallel of an actual stage in development, which is not directly recorded in Greek literature. The only way to minimise the value of the evidence is to declare that the MAHABHASYA which dates probably about 145 B.C., perhaps later, is recording a state of affairs introduced from Greece, and it is as well to point out how many improbabilities are involved in such an assumption. The text recognizes the expression of a dramatic theme the death of Kamsa at the hands of the Kṛṣṇa by two parties of "actors", who do not use action proper, *i.e.*, who are in effect performing a dithyramb, it recognizes also the full action, and it knows of actors who are to sing; and on the other hand we have no reliable evidence of any performance of Greek plays, or still less of dithyrambs, in India.

In the MAHABHASYA, the two parties of GRANTHIKAS, "reciters," who represent the feelings of either side, do so by words alone

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1. I have never rested my case on the Kamsavadha alone. *JRAS*, 1908, p. 172; 1911, p. 1008; 1912, p. 428; *ZDMG*, lxiv. 584 seqq.

(SABDAGRANTHANAMATRAM), that is to say, they do not act as do the SAUBHIKAS. Surely we have here in perfect form the dithyramb on its way to complete drama, as it has reguarly been conceived in reconstructing the probable history of drama as sketched by Aristotle. No doubt the drama already existed at the time of the MAHABHASYA, but the dithyrambic form has not disappeared as a species of art."

558. Viewed impartially, Paṭanjali's expressions do not admit of any confusion and obscurity. Saubhikas were teachers of the actors and they managed the stage and directed the theatrical operations which included music and dancing and dialogue. It was not a matter only for the eyes but for the ears too. Elsewhere Paṭanjali (*MB*, II. 253)[1] says

यदारम्भका रङ्गं गच्छन्ति नटस्य, श्रोष्यामः ।

In Padamanjarī, Haradatta speaks of Grānthikas:

येऽपि ग्रन्थं वाचयन्तः कंसवधमाचक्षते काथिका नाम तेऽप्युत्पत्तिप्रभृत्याविनाशात् कंसादीन् वर्णयन्ति, तेऽपि वर्ण्यमानाः स्तोतॄणां बुद्धिस्थाः प्रत्यक्षवद्भवन्ति, चित्तमपि तेषां तादात्म्यमिव भवति, अत एव व्याश्रिताश्च भवन्ति, नानापक्षसमाश्रयो व्याश्रयः ।

In his Vākyapadiya, (II. p. 177 Benares Edn.) Bhartṛari says

शब्दोपहितरूपांश्च बुद्धेर्विषयतां गतान् ।
प्रत्यक्षमिव कंसादीन् साधनत्वेन मन्यते ॥ (II. 177, Benares Edn)

and Helarāja's gloss is

एवं कृतानुकरणेनाचेऽपि कंसवासुदेवानुकारेणसादृश्यात्तद्रूपत्वोपपत्तिः ॥

"It is the faces of the hearers that change color at hearing the incidents of the story so vividly pictured before them by the reciters, and it is the hearers that feel pity and pleasure during the narration of the incidents."

559. Beyond the ingenuity displayed in attempting to prop up theories assumed a priori and the unity among them all the same in denying its deserved antiquity to the Sanskrit stage, the controversy is futile and to a scholar with an open mind, the only view possible is that long before the days of Pāṇini, Sanskrit drama had become perfected and a science of dramaturgy evolved by rhetoricians for future compositions.

Of the progress of the art of histrionics, for earlier than the dawn of the Christian era, we have instances in the devices used by poets

1. Also नटस्य श्रृणोति, ग्रान्थिकस्य श्रृणोति (I. iv. 29); अगासीन्नटः (II. iv. 77). नटस्य भुक्तम् II iii. 67; नटमश्नानाः (III. ii 127). See also IV. i 3 and VI. iii. 43.

such as dream (swapna), magic (indrajāla), portrait-painting (citralekhana), inter-drama (antarnāṭika) and the like. In Guṇādhya's Bṛhaṭkaṭhā which has furnished the theme for many later plays and romances, these devices were used in the progress of the tales.[1]

SECTION 3.

The Dramatic Arrangement.

560. Every drama opens with a prelude or introduction, in which the audience are made acquainted with the author, his work, the actors, and such part of the prior events as is necessary for the spectators to know. The actors of the prelude were never more than two, the manager and one of his company, either an actor or actress, and they led immediately into the business of the drama. The first part of this introduction is termed the *Purva-Ranga* and opens with a prayer invoking in a benedictory formula the protection of some deity in favour of the audience. This is termed the *Nandi*, or that which is the cause of gratification to men and gods. There is a difference of opinion as to who recites the *Nandi*, and the commentator on the *Mudra-Rakshasa* observes, "that it is equally correct to supply the ellipse after *Nandyante* by either *Pathati* (reads) or *Pravicati* (enters); in the former case the Sutradhara reciting the *Nandi*, and then continuing the induction; in the latter, benediction being pronounced by a different individual. Sutradhara, according to the techical description of him, "was to be well-versed in light literature, as narrative, plays and poetry; he should be familiar with various people, experienced in dramatic details and conversant with different mechanical arts." The prayer is usually often followed by some account of the author of the piece, in which most of the authors "give a long description of their

1. See V. Saunders, *Magic in Sanskrit Drama*; *Portrait-painting as a dramatic device* (*JAOS*, XXXIX, Dec.) A. V. W. Jackson, *Disguising as a dramatic device*, (*Pro.* of Am. Phil. Assn. XXIX. 18); *Children on the stage in Hindu Drama* (The Looker-on, New York, June 1897 pp. 509-16, abstracted in *Pro.* of Am. Phil. Assn, XXVII. v, vi). K. Krishnamacharya; *Child-heroes of Early Sanskrit stage, and Heroines in Early Sanskrit stage*. (Collegian, 1915, Feb. to May).

On Sanskrit Drama generally, see Das Indische Theatre, *Globus*, XLIX. 330, Th. Bloch, *ZDMG*, LVIII. 455; R. Bohme, *Vohsische Deitung* (1903) No. 37; J. Hertel, *WZKM*. XVIII. 59, 139; J. L. Klein, *Geschichte des Eramas*, III. 1-373; S. Levi, *Le Theatre Indian*, Paris: F. Nee, *Muscon*, I. 523; Ig. Sladomel, *Vlast* XIII. 835; S. M. Tagore, *The Hindu Drama*, Calcutta; P. N. Patankar, *Indian Dramaturgy*; S. Konow, *Indian Drama*; Hillebrandt, *Beginnings of Indian Drama*; Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dance*; *Tales from Sanskrit Dramatists*, Madras. For translations and other works of criticism, see Schuyler, *Bibl*. 16-23.

genealogies and of their own attainments, while it is a characteristic of Kalidasa's writings that they all begin with a charmingly modest introduction, marked by great diffidence;" and in some places, the mention of the author is little more than the particularisation of his name. "The notice of the author is in general followed by a complimentary appeal to the favour of the audience, and the manager occasionally gives a dramatic representation of himself and his concerns in a dialogue between himself and one of his company, either an actor or an actress, who is termed the *Pariparswika* or associate. The conclusion of the prelude, termed the *Prastavana*, prepares the audience for the entrance of one of the dramatic personages, who is adroitly introduced by some abrupt exclamation of the manager, either by simply naming him as in the *Sakuntala* and *Malavikagnimitra*, or by uttering something he is supposed to overhear, and to which he advances to reply, as in the *Mritchakati* and *Mudra-Rakshasa*. The play being thus opened, is carried forward in scenes and acts, each scene being marked by the entrance of one character, and the exit of another; for in general the stage is never left empty in the course of the act, nor does total change of place often occur. Contrivances have been resorted to, to fill up the seeming chasm which such an interruption as a total change of scene requires, and to avoid such solecism which the entrance of a character, whose approach is unannounced, is considered to be."[1]

SECTION 4.

561. "Bharaṭa mentioned ten types of Rūpaka and 14 types of Uparūpaka.[2] Ḍhananjaya accordingly named his work Ḍaśarūpaka. Kohala named twenty, Śāradaṭanaya, the usual ten and another twenty, Viśvanāṭha, twenty-eight, and Vema, twenty; Agni Purāṇa gives twenty-seven. The ten Rūpakas are Rasāsrāya or Vākyārṭhabhinaya and the others Bhāvāśraya or Padārthābhinaya. Bharaṭa brings under the former the ten Rūpakas, Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Dima, Prahasana, Samavakāra, Vyāyoga, Ihāmṛga, Vīṭhī, Uṭsṛṣṭikānka and Bhāna as also Nāṭikā and Sattaka.

Kohala classifies plays into mārga and deśī based on the principle whether song and dance predominate in each of them. Among mārga

1. On *Vidusaka*, see J. Hinzinga, *De Vidusaka N.-het indisch Tonneel*, (Groningen, 1897, 155) and P. E. Pavolini's review of it, in *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*, II. 86; M. Schuyler, *Origin of Vidusaka* (*JAOS*, XX. 338); P. V. Ramanujaswami, *Vidushaka in Sanskrit plays*, (*Pr. Or. confce*, 1924).

2. See V. Raghavan, *On the name Dasarupaka*, *JOR*, VII. 278.

kinds the names of the well-known ten with nāṭikā, prakaraṇika, bhāṇikā, hāsikā, viyoginī, dimikā, kalotsāhavatī, chitrā, jugupsitā, citratūla are cited. None of these twenty allow song or dance in them. Under deśī plays he gives again dombikā, bhanaka prasthāna, shidgaka, bhaṇika, preraṇa, ramakrīḍa, ragakāvya, hallīsa, rāsaka. Among these the last six are fascinating only as rapturous dances of delicate or wild type (*sukumāra* or *uddhata*).

मार्गो देशीति नाट्यस्य भेदद्वयमुदाहृतम् । ब्रह्मणा यत्तपस्तप्त्वा मार्गितं शिवयोः पुरा ॥
मार्गनाट्यं ततः प्राहुस्तच्च विंशतिधोच्यते । नाटकं च प्रकरणं भाणः प्रहसनं डिमः ॥
व्यायोगः समवकारो वीथ्यङ्केहामृगा अपि । रूपकाणि दशैतानि शङ्करेण विभाषिरे ॥
नाटिका प्रकरणिका भाणिका हासिका तथा । वियोगिनी च डिमिका कलोत्साहवती पुनः ॥
चित्रा जुगुप्सिता चैव चित्रतालेति दुर्गया । एवमुक्तं मार्गनाट्यं शिवाभ्यां ब्रह्मणा पुरा ॥
अथ देशीनृत्तकाव्यप्रभेदा डोम्बिकादयः । कथ्यन्ते डोम्बिका भाणः प्रस्थानं षिद्गकोऽपि च ॥
भाणिका प्रेरणं चाथ रामक्रीडं तथैव च । रागकाव्यं च हल्लीसः रासकं चेत्यमी दश ॥

Dattila names 16 of the latter kind as saṭṭaka, toṭaka, goshṭhī, blindaka, śilpaka, prekshaṇa, sallāpaka, hallīsa, rāsakā, ullāpya, śrīgadita, nāṭyarāsaka, durmallī, prasthana, kāvya and lāsikā. Thus it will be seen that all those which are exhibited before audience are classed as plays only figuratively; Saradātanaya gives support to this view, तेषां रूपकसंज्ञापि प्रायो दृश्यतया क्वचित् ।"

562. The following table has been prepared by M. Ramakṛishna Kavi :

Type of the play.	Theme.	Kohala's Uparupaka.	Hero and his nature.	Extent in acts.	Unity (Sandhis)	Vṛitti.	Rasa.	Specialities.
1. नाटक	Well-known and Puranic.	नाटिका	Heroic and noble or दिव्य	5 to 10	5 Unities of 64 angas.	Four.	All rasas शृङ्गार and वीर prominent.	High and noble type.
2. प्रकरण	Created by the poet (उत्पाद्य)	प्रकरणिका	Excluding divine beings. Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Civilised and worldly.
3. समवकार	Known (ख्यात)	चिला	Devās and Rākshasas. Udatta heroes (twelve).	3 in 3 nights total 13½ hours.	All the four except विमर्श.	All the four except kaiśikī.	Vira and Sringāra subsidiary.	Fight, deceit, invasion. Vithyangas may be used.
4. ईहामृग	Do.	चित्रताला	Divine being for a Divine heroine.	4	3 Unities.	Ārabhaṭī.	Light Sringāra.	Forcible abduction, fight etc.
5. डिम	Do.	डिमिका	Well-known heroic (16 heros).	4	4 except. विमर्श.	Sātvatī and Ārabhaṭī.	Raudra (Sringāra not allowed)	Māya, Indrajāla. Devās, piśāchas etc. Excitement and fear.
व्यायोग	Do.	जुगुप्सिता	Known. Uddhata Feminine characters are very few.	1	3 Unities. no गर्भ and अवमर्श.	Ārabhaṭī.	Vira and hāsya.	Fight, beating, bullying etc.
7. उत्सृष्टिकाङ्क	Well-known or created by the poet,	वियोगिनी	No divine beings.	1	First and the last unities.	Bhāratī.	Karuṇa.	Grief of women cries, dejection etc.
8. प्रहसन	Created.	हासिका	Sannyasin, sage, Brahmin, Vaiśika, vita etc.	1	Do.	Do.	Hāsya.	Worldly life not very vulgar.
9. भाण	Do.	भाणिका	Single character, vita dhurta.	1	Do.	Do.	Sringāra and Vira (only to be suggested.)	Lāsyāngas allowed. Conversation by question and repetition.
10. वीथी	Do.	कलोत्साहवती	One or two characters, vita or dhurta.	1	Do.	Kaiśikī.	Touch of Sringāra.	Angas specially thirteen.

563. Sanskrit plays have been classified very elaborately under various sub-divisions; and Visvanatha in his Sahityadarpana,[1] divides them into his great classes, *viz.* 1. RUPAKA, 'principal dramas,' of ten species; 2. UPA-RUPAKA, 'minor dramas' of eighteen.

A. 1. The NATAKA, or 'principal play' should consist of from five to ten acts (*Anka*) and should have a celebrated story (such as the history of Rama) for its plot (*Vastu*). It should represent heroic or god like characters; and good deeds; should be written in an elaborate style, and be full of noble sentiments. Moreover, it should contain all the five 'joints' or 'junctures' (*Sandhi*) of the plot: the four kinds of action (*Vritti*); the sixty-four members (*Anga*) or peculiar properties: and the thirty-six distinctive marks (*Lakshana*). The hero or leading character (*Nayaka*) should be of the kind described as high-spirited but firm, being either a royal sage of high family (as Dushyanta in the Sakuntala), or a god (as Krishna), or a demigod (*Divyadivya*), who, though a god (like Ramachandra) thinks himself a man. The principal sentiment or flavour (*Rasa*) should be either the erotic (*Sringara*) or heroic (*Vira*), and in the conclusion (*Nirvahana*) the marvellous (*Adbhuta*). It should be composed like the end of a cow's tail (*Go-Pucchagra*), *i.e.* so that each of the acts is gradually made shorter. If it also contain the four *Pataka-sthanaka* or 'striking points' and the number of its acts *Anka* be ten, it is entitled to be called a *Maha-Nataka.* An example of the *Nataka* is the *Sakuntala*, and of the *Maha-Nataka* is the *Bala-Ramayana.*

2. PRAKARANA should resemble the Nataka in the number of its acts as well as in other respects; but the plot must be founded on some mundane or human story, invented by the poet, and have love for its principal sentiment, the hero or leading charater being either a brahmin (as in the *Mric-chakatika*), or a minister (as in the *Malati-madhava*), or a merchant (as in the *Pushpa-bhushita*), of the description called firm and mild (*Dhira-Prasanta*), while the heroine (*Nayika*) is sometimes a woman of good family, sometimes a courtesan, or both.

3. BHANA, in one act, should consist of a variety of incidents, not progressively developed, the plot being invented by the poet. It should only have the opening and concluding juncture. An example is the *Lila-Madhukara.*

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1. M. Wilson, *IW*, 470-3. Saradāṭanaya call a Bhāṇikā as Dombi and adds some classes of Uparupakas, Bhāna, Mallikā, Kalpavallī and Parijātaka. For a complete account of classifications of dramas, see Int. to Bhānaprakāsa (*GOS*), by Yadugiri Yatirajaswami.

4. VYAYOGA, in one act, should have a well-known story for its plot, and few females in its *Dramatis Personæ*. Its hero should be some celebrated personage of the class called firm and haughty (*Viroddhata*). Its principal sentiments or flavours should be the comic (*Hasya*), the erotic (*Sringara*), and the unimpassoned (*Santa*).

5. SAMAVAKARA, in four acts, in which a great variety of subjects are mixed together (*Samavakiryante*); it dramatizes a well-known story, relating to gods and demons, *e.g.* *Samudramathana, Abdhimathana* or *Payodhimathana*.

6. DIMA, in four acts, founded on some celebrated story; its principal sentiment should be the terrible (*Raudra*); it should have heroes (a god, a Yasksha, a Rakshasa, a serpent, goblin &c.) *e.g.* is *Tripuradaha, Tarakoddharana*; *Vrtroddharana, Virabhadravijrmbhana*; *Manmathonmathana*.

7. IHAMRIGA, in four acts, founded on a mixed story (*Misra-vritta*), partly popular, and partly invented; the hero and rival hero (*Pratinayaka*) should be entier a mortal or a god. According to some it should have six heroes. It derives its name from this, that the hero seeks (*Ihate*) a divine female, who is unattainable as a deer *Mrga. e.g.* *Urumasekhavijaya*; *Mayakurangika*; *Viravijaya*.

8. ANKA or UTSRISHTIKANKA, in one act, should have ordinary men *Prakritanarah* for its heroes; its principle sentiment should be the pathetic (*Karuna*), and its form (*Srishti*) should transgress (*Utkranta*) the usual rules, *e.g.* *Sarmishthayati*; *Karunakandala, Gangabhagiratha*; *Saktiramanuja*.

9. VITHI, in some act, is so called because it forms a kind of garland (*Vithi*) of various sentiments, and is supposed to contain thirteen members (*Anga*) or peculiar properties, *e.g.* *Madhavi Indu-lekha*,[1] *Malatika, Vakulavithika* and *Kamadatta*,[2] and *Premabhirama* of *Ravipati Tripuranataka*.

10. PRAHASANA, properly in one act, is a sort of farce representing reprobate characters (*Nindya*) and the story is invented by the poet, the principal sentiment being the comic (*Hasya*); it may be either pure (*Suddha*), of which the *Kandarpakeli*, 'love-sports,' is an example;

1. Mentioned by Bāhurupamiśra in his commentary on Daśarupa.
2. The original is lost, but there is the Telugu Translation Kridābhirāmam of Vallabha. See Andhra *Sah. Par. Patrika*, II. 369 and *Bharati* (1927), 21.

or mixed (*Sankirna*), like the *Dhurtacarita*, 'adventures of a rogue; or it may represent characters transformed (*Vikrita*) by various disguises."

B. The eighteen Upa-rupakas' names are as follows :—

1. नाटिका, which is of two kinds, *Natika* pure, and *Prakaranika* differing little from the Nataka and Prakarana. *e.g.* *Ratnavali.*

2. त्रोटक, in five, seven, eight, or nine acts ; the plot should be founded on the story of a demi-god, and the Vidushaka or 'Jesting Brahman' should be introduced into every act. *e.g.* Vikramorvasi ; Sṭambhiṭarambhaka ; Maḍalekhā, Menakānahuṣa.

3. गोष्ठी, *e.g.* Raivaṭamaḍanikā.

4. सट्टक, *e.g.* Ānanḍasunḍarī ; Karpūramanjari.

5. नाट्यरासक, *e.g.* Narmavaṭī, Vilāsavaṭī.

6. प्रस्थान, *e.g.* Śṛngāraṭilaka.

7. उल्लाप्य, *e.g.* Ḍevīmahāḍeva (Ḍevīmahoḍaya ?) ; Uḍāṭṭakunjara.

8. काव्य *e.g.* Gaudavijaya ; Sugrīvakelana ; Yāḍavoḍaya.

9. प्रेङ्खण, *e.g.* Ṭripuramarḍana ; Nṛsimhavijaya ; Vālivaḍha.

10. रासक, *e.g.* Menakāhiṭa.

11. सल्लापक, *e.g.* Māyākāpālikā.

12. श्रीगादित, *e.g.* Rāmānanḍa ; Krīdārasāṭala.

13. शिल्पक, *e.g.* Kanakavaṭīmāḍhava.

14. विलासिका.

15. दुर्मल्लिका, *e.g.* Binḍumaṭī.

16. प्रकरणी.

17. हल्लीस, *e.g* Keliraivaṭaka.

18. भाणिका, *e.g.* Vīṇāvaṭī ; Kāmaḍaṭṭā ; Ḍānakelikamuḍī.

SARADATANAYA ADDS NEW CLASSES OF UPARUPAKAS.

19. पारिजातलता, *e.g.* Gangāṭarangikā.

20. कल्पवल्ली, *e.g.* Māṇikyavallikā.

21. डोंबिका, *e.g.* Guṇamālā ; Cūdāmaṇi.

22. भाण, *e.g.* Nanḍimaṭi ; Śṛngāramanjarī.

These examples are mentioned in Abhinavabhāraṭī (*AB*), Sarasvaṭīkanthābharaṇa (*SK*), Śṛngāraprākāśa (*SP*), Ḍaśarūpa (*DR*) and Nāṭyaḍarpaṇa (*ND*) and are mostly known only by name."

564. Harsa,[1] very likely Śrī Harṣadeva, King of Ujjain, lived about the 6th century B.C. and commented on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. Śāradātanaya quotes his classification :

नाट्यवेदं विधायादौ ऋषीनाह पितामहः ।
धर्मादिसाधनं नाट्यं सर्वदुःखापनोदनम् ।
आसेवध्वं तदृषयस्तस्योत्थानं तु नाटकम् ।
दिव्यमानुषसंयोगो यत्राङ्कैरविदूषकैः ।
तदेव तोटकं भेदो नाटकस्येति हर्षवाक् ॥

Bhāvaprakāśa, Baroda Edn. p. 238.

565. Subandhu was an ancient play-wright and rhetorician. According to Śāradātanaya he divides nāṭaka into five kinds, Pūrṇa, Praśānta, Bhāsvara, Lalita and Samagra.

सुबन्धुर्नाटकस्यापि लक्षणं प्राह पञ्चधा ।
पूर्णं चैव प्रशान्तं च भास्वरं ललितं तथा ॥
समग्रमिति विज्ञेया नाटके पञ्च जातयः । (*Ibid.* 238).

As an example of Samagranāṭaka i.e., in the fullest form, he mentions Kṛtyārāvaṇa (now lost) and names such a play Nṛttapāra (or Nāṭyapāra). To illustrate this class Subandhu wrote a play Vāsavadattā-nāṭyapāra obviously on the story of Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā. It is this Subandhu that is alluded to by Daṇḍin thus :

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तो बिन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।
वत्सराजो ... ... ॥

Avantisundarīkathā.

It is quite likely that Daṇḍin's verse

मृतेति प्रेत्य संगन्तुं यया मे मरणं स्मृतम् ।
सैषावन्ती मया लब्धा कथमत्रैव जन्मनि ॥

is taken from Nṛtyapāra.

Vāmana (*KSV*, III. 21) quotes a verse in part

साभिप्रायत्वं यथा :—

सोऽयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयः चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा ।
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः ॥

आश्रयः कृतधियामित्यस्य च सुबन्धुसाचिव्योपक्षेपपरत्वात् साभिप्रायत्वम् ।

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1. He was older than Rāhulaka.
2. The word Nāṭyadhāra, as till recently read, is an error for Nāṭyapāra.
3. The reading Vasubandhu is obviously wrong and the manuscript No. 4/B 820 of the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, gives the reading Subandhu only. See Rangaswami Sarasvati, *Subandhu or Vasubandhu*, (*JMys.*).

Abhinavagupta (*AB*, XXII) thus comments on Nāṭyāyita which he says elsewhere is a synonym of Nṛttapāra or Nāṭyapāra.[1]

(*a*) स्वप्ने स्वप्नान्तरं तत्राप्यन्यत्, स्वप्नान्तरमित्यादिन्यायेन वा भवत्येकस्वप्नायितवृत्या वा सर्वथा तन्नाट्यायितम् । तत्रास्य बहुतरव्यापिनो बहुगर्भस्वप्नायिततुल्यस्य नाट्यायितस्योदाहरणं महाकविसुबन्धुनिबद्धो वासवदत्तानाट्यपाराख्यः (धाराख्यः is a clerical error.) समस्त एव प्रयोगः । तत्र हि बिन्दुसारः प्रयोज्यवस्तुक उदयनचरिते सामाजिकीकृतः, असावप्युदयनो वासवदत्ताचेष्टिते ।

एष चार्थः—स्वस्मिन् सूत्ररूपके दृष्टे सुज्ञानो भवति । अतिवैतत्यभयात्तु न प्रदर्शितः, एकस्तु प्रदेश उदाह्रियते । तत्र ह्युदयने सामाजिकीकृते सूत्रधारप्रयोगः "तव सुचरितैरेष जयति" इति । तत उदयनः—"कुतो मम सुचरितानि" इति सास्रं विलपति—

एह्यम्ब किं कटकपिङ्गलपालकैस्तै र्भक्तोऽहमप्युदयनः सुतलालनयिः ।
यौगन्धरायण ममानय राजपुत्रीं हा हर्षरक्षित गतस्त्वमपप्रभावः ॥ XXII. 45.

(*b*) नाट्यायितं च वासवदत्तानाट्यपारे प्रतिपदं दृश्यते । XXII. 47.

(*c*) संधिग्रहणं वा सनिबन्धनबन्धनमिति । यथा वासवदत्तानृत्तपारे वत्सराजस्य सन्धिः । XVIII. 21. sl.

Bindusāra, son of Candragupta Maurya, ruled according to the Purāṇas in 1501–1473 B.C. and according to modern historians in 4th century B.C.[2]

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1. In the same work and in a different chapter Abhinava speaks of Vāsavadattā-nṛttapāra only as a synonym. "In the fourth and fifth quotations *nrittapāra* and *nāṭyapara* are mentioned to show that in *nāṭyāyita* characters on the stage in one drama are represented to sit as audience in some other sub-drama exhibited in the development of the main theme as in the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara. In Nāṭyapāra of Subandhu the main character, the hero Udayana, is made to witness the dramatic performance of his own story played by Bindusāra. When the latter extols the glorious deeds of Udayana the hero suddenly forgets his being the audience of the drama and exclaims his own miserable state of separation from Vāsavadattā before her mother."

2. On this controversy, see Introduction. On the birth of Bindusāra, Buddhistic works give a story: "Hearing an attempt at poisoning by his enemies, Canakya fed him with small doses of poison without his knowledge, so as to keep him immune of poison. One day, the Queen who was in full pregnancy, and within 7 days of delivery was about to swallow the food sent to the king with whom she was about to partake the food containing poison. As the child in the womb would be destroyed by the effects of poison, if the Queen swallowed the food of which a morsel was put into her mouth, Canakya who only entered the apartment just then, cut the head of the Queen by a sword before she swallowed the morsel. The child was removed from the womb, and kept in the stomach of goats successively for seven days to complete the full term of gestation. The child was then delivered to a female slave and was nourished and reared by her. In consequence of the spot left on the person of the child by the blood of goats, he was called Bindusara."

It is not unlikely it was this Subandhu that wrote an Ākhyāyikā Vāsavadattā that is instanced by Patanjali.[1]

566. Ramila and **Saumila** were probably brothers. The works of Rāmila and Saumila are not now available. Rājaśekhara calls them the joint authors of Śūdrakakathā :

तौ शूद्रककथाकारौ वन्द्यौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।
ययोर्द्वयोः काव्यमासीदर्धनारीश्वरोपमम् ॥

They are Kaviputru mentioned by Kālidāsa.[2]

In Ātmabodhendrasarasvati's commentary on Gururatnamālikā, there is a quotation for Rāmila's play Maniprabhā.

There it is said that these poets were contemporaries of Arbhaka-Śankara the 20th in descent from Ādi Śānkara in the Kāmakotipeetha

विद्याधिपः रामिलाख्यः स्वस्यैवाश्वीयशालाविचारकस्तादात्विकविबुधजनमाननीय-तद्बिरुदवाही मणिप्रभाकारो मैथिल इति लक्ष्यम् ॥

अत्रानुसन्धेयं यत्किल मणिप्रभायां—

सूत्रधारः । आर्ये, अवधीयताम् ।

भङ्गं चन्दनमर्दिनः प्रणतयोः स्फूर्जद्रसां साहितीं
हर्षक्षोणिपतेश्च हर्षमतुलं दृष्ट्वैव ये तानिषुः ।
धीरांस्तान् गुरुशङ्करेन्द्रयमिनश्चित्रैस्मरत्रामिलः
प्राणैषीत्स मणिप्रभां प्रथयितुं भक्तेर्गुरोर्गौरवम् ॥

नटी—अज्जउत्त कोसो च दणमद्दीके पणदाको अहरिसमहीवालोके त्रा सुगहीतणामहे असंरिंदा इति संकित्तिज्ज इगुरुपदेण समंचे अक इणा ।

सूत्रधारः—न जानासि ?

मूकार्मोऽपि जगद्गुरोः करुणया विद्याघनस्याप्तवा-
गाचार्योऽस्ति हि शङ्करेन्द्रविरुदस्सर्वज्ञपीठाधिपः ।
अर्चाकिङ्करमातृगुप्तकवितागर्वस्य निर्वासना-
याधायोश्वपनागपावपि कवी रामिल्लमेदू क्षणात् ॥[3]

(*Gurrıatnamalika*, p. 53).

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1. See para 470 *supra*.
2. There is a Śudrakakatha of Pancaśikha mentioned in *KS* of Hemacandra (p. 235) under their joint names. Vallabhadeva quotes :

भ्रूचातुर्यं कुञ्चितान्ताः कटाक्षाः स्निग्धा हावा लज्जितान्ताश्च हासाः ।
लीलामन्दं प्रस्थितं च स्थितं च स्त्रीणामेतद्भूषणं चायुधं च ॥

3. There It is said that Rāmila and Mentha was the keepers of the horses and elephants of Emperor Harṣa. See para 37 *supra*, where Mentha's verse about this Śankara is quoted.

किञ्च—

आचार्यैशद्विजन्मार्थ्यातिथिषु विनतो वैनतेयश्शकार्हः
कश्मीरानेव काव्यं किमपि कवयितुर्दत्तवानप्रमत्तम् ।
रक्षादत्तप्रहर्षप्रकृतिकृतिशताध्मातहर्षस्सहर्षः
कर्णाभ्यर्णावतीर्णः कथमथतदनो विक्रमी विक्रमार्कः ॥

इत्यादिना

यच्च हयग्रीववधेऽपि :—

ख्यातश्रीशङ्करेन्द्रप्रचुरतरकृपालब्धसाहित्यविद्यः
सद्यस्साधूक्तिसंमोद्यपि परकवितामर्षिणो मातृगुप्तात् ।
प्रौढाः प्रौढोक्तिरूढैर्निबिडरसभरैर्गुम्भनैर्यत्र मेदु-
र्मधुर्मोदादिनादीद्धयवदनवधं वाग्म्यकुण्ठस्स मेण्ठः ॥

इति च प्रपाश्चितम् ।[1]

567. Bhasa. Antiquity of Bhāsa goes to an age so removed that he has been called a Muni. Kālidāsa refers to the glory of ancient poets like Bhāsa, Saumila, Kaviputrū[2] &c., and contrasts his own work as new.[3] Bāṇa describes the fame attained by Bhāsa by his dramas commenced by Sūtradhāra, and displaying various characters.[4] Ḍandin praises the scientific perfection of his dramas which are said to be the embodiment of his glory.[5] Jayadeva calls Bhāsa, the Smile of Sarasvaṭi.[6] Rājaśekhara mentions a tradition that the merit of Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadaṭṭa was manifest, when even fire would not consume it.[7]

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1. There it is said Mukārbhaka-Śankara died in 359 Śaka (437 A D.) See para 37 *supra*.

2. प्रथितयशसां भाससौमिलकविपुत्रादीनां । Mālavikāgnimiṭra, Prologue.

3. पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम् । Sākunṭalā, Prologue.

4. सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः । सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ।
Harsacariṭa, Int. Verse 16.

5. सुविभक्तमुखाद्यङ्गैर्व्यक्तलक्षणवृत्तिभिः । परेतोऽपि स्थितो भासश्शरीरैरिव नाटकैः ॥
Avantisunḍarikaṭhā, Int.

6. हासोभासः *Prasannarāghava*, I.

7. Compare *IA*, XLII, 52.

भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावकः ॥

Abhinavagupta mentions Bhāsa[1] and quotes a verse from a drama of which the theme was the story of Rāma.[2] Somadeva quotes two verses under Bhāsa's name.[3] The anthologies have preserved some verses too.[4] Bhāsa's language possessed a peculiar grace, his dramas were well designed and variety of characters was their feature and in versatility of imagery and originality of conception, he attained a name.

568. The antiquity of time attributed to Bhāsa is seen from a tradition which represents Bhāsa as a rival of Vyāsa and his poem Viṣṇudharma, as having triumphed over Vyāsa's work of the same name.[5] T. S. Narayanāsastri, in his introduction to Ratnāvali propounded the opinion that Bhāsa was the later name of Ḍhāvaka alias Ghatakarpara and he lived in the days of Śrī Harṣa Vikramaditya who flourished according to him in the beginning of the 6th century B.C. He relied

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1. महाकविना भासेनाऽपि स्वप्रबन्धे उक्तः ।
त्रेतायुगं तदिह हन्त न मैथिली सा रामस्य रागपदवी मृदु चास्य चेतः ।
लब्धा जनस्तु यदि रावणमस्य कायं प्रोत्कृत्य तन्न तिलशो न वितृप्तिगामी ॥
Abhinavabhāratī, Adhy. VI.

2. This verse is not found in the publication of the Trivandrum Sanscrit series.

3. पेया सुरा प्रियतमामुखमीक्षणीयं ग्राह्यस्स्वभावललितो विकटश्च वेषः ।
येनेदमीदृशमदृश्यत मोक्षकर्म (वर्त्म) दीर्घायुरस्तु भगवान्स पिनाकपाणिः ॥
Yaśastilakacampu.

4. Peterson, *Subh.* 80—1.
यदपि विबुधैस्सिन्धोरंतः कथंचिदुपार्जितं तदपि सकलं चारु स्त्रीणां मुखेषु विलोक्यते ।
सुरसुमनसश्श्वासामोदे (शशी) च कपोलयोरमृतमधरे तिर्यग्भूते विषं च विलोचने ॥

5. In Prithvirājavijaya Mahākavya written by Jayānaka in 12th century A.D., there is a verse,
सत्काव्यसंहारविधौ खलानां दीप्तानि वह्नेरपि मानसानि ।
भासस्य काव्यं खलु विष्णुधर्मान् (?) सोऽप्याननात्पारदवन्मुमोच ॥
In commenting on this verse Jonarāja says that to test the relative merits of Bhāsa and Vyāsa, who were then rivalling, one work of each was thrown into the fire and fire did not consume the excellent work of Bhāsa (भासमुनेः काव्यं) called Viṣṇudharma (See *IA*. XLII, 52-3). In fact there are now two works of this name, both professing to be Purānas (See *IA*, XIX, 408). It is probably on account of this tradition that Vākpati in his Gaudavaho has भासम्मि जलणमित्ते (V. 800). "Bhasa, friend of fire". T. Ganapati Sastri (Int. to Pratimānātaka. p. 10, note) ignores the reference in the above verse to a Kāvya called Viṣṇudharma, and says विष्णुधर्मप्रतिपादकानंशानाग्निर्न दग्धवान् ।

on passages in Rājaśekhara's Kavivimarśa and Hemacandra's Kavyānusāsana[1] to say that Ḍhāvaka was a washerman by birth and he composed a number of dramas among which he sold one to King Harṣa; it is this sale that is mentioned in Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa. It is unfortunate that Kavivimarśa is not anywhere traceable and in Kāvyānusāsana now in print, the passage cannot be discovered.

Rājāśekhara in his Kavivimarśa wrote:

भासो रामिलसौमिलौ वररुचिश्श्रीसाहसाङ्कः कविः
मेण्ठो भारविकाळिदासतरलास्कन्धस्सुबन्धुश्च यः ।
दण्डी बाणदिवाकरौ गणपतिः कान्तश्च रत्नाकरः
सिद्धा यस्य सरस्वती भगवती के तस्य सर्वे वयम् ॥

कारणं तु कवित्वस्य न सम्पन्न कुलीनता ।
धावकोऽपि हि यद्भासः कवीनामग्रिमोऽभवत् ॥

आदौ भासेन रचिता नाटिका प्रियदर्शिका ।
निरीर्ष्यस्य रसज्ञस्य कस्य न प्रियदर्शना ॥

तस्य रत्नावली नूनं रत्नमालेव राजते ।
दशरूपककामिन्या वक्षस्यत्यन्तशोभना ॥

नागानन्दं समालोक्य यस्य श्रीहर्षविक्रमः ।
अमन्दानन्दभरितस्स्वसभ्यमकरोत्कविम् ॥

उदात्तराघवं नूनमुदात्तरसगुम्भितम् ।
यद्वीक्ष्य भवभूत्याद्याः प्राणिन्युर्नाटकानि वै ॥

शोकपर्यवसानास्य नवाङ्का किरणावळी ।
माकन्दस्येव कस्यात्र प्रददाति न निर्वृतिम् ॥

भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
स्वप्नवासदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावकः ॥

And Hemacandra in Kāvyānusāsana (commentary on Daṇḍin's Kavihṛdaya).

सम्प्रति परां काष्ठामारूढेनापि भासेन भूतपूर्वा स्वकीयदशा न विस्मृता ।
यतोऽनेन पूर्वचरितं घटकर्परेणोदकवहनमेव प्रतिज्ञातम् ।
प्रतिज्ञां चेमामसहमानाः परे कवयः परिहसितुमनसो विक्रमार्कसभ्यमेनं
भासं तज्जातिस्मारकघटकर्परनाम्ना व्यवजह्रुः ।
क्रमेण च स एव व्यपदेशो भासमहाकवेस्सुप्रसिद्धस्सम्पन्नः ॥

1. See Int. to Ray's Edn. of Ratnāvali.

Elsewhere the following verse is quoted as Bhāsa's :

एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः ।
नूनं न दृष्टं कविनापि तेन दारिद्र्यदोषो गुणराशिनाशी ॥

569. T. S. NARAYANA SASTRI, High Court Vakil, Madras, was an ardent student of Sanskrit literature and his Age of Sankara in which he attempted to collect the results of his research was left unfinished owing to his premature demise. He thus summed up his conclusions :

(i) That a comparative study of works akin to the plays of Sri Harsha shows : (*a*) that there is a close identity of plot between the Malavikagnimitra on the one hand and the Ratnavali on the other and that if the Malavikagnimitra were the earlier, it is difficult to explain how the other two ever came to be written ; (*b*) that 'Sri Harsha' was not as a matter of fact indebted to Kalidasa for his plots, but to certain accounts and traditions about historical personages, which were afterwards embodied in the Brihatkatha of Gunadhya and that his plays follow a certain order of sequence and had their origin in connection with certain popular historical characters ; (*c*) that Kalidasa in his Malavikagnimitra and nowhere else makes reference to poets before him, and that the manner of such reference, coupled with his allusion to the tales of Udayana in his Meghaduta, can have meaning only when taken as applying to writers whom he was in some way trying to excel ;

(ii) That Bhasa is mentioned by a long list of eminent writers as one of the greatest of Sanskrit poets, as a dramatist of the highest reputation and as the author of the Ratnavali, Priyadarsika and Nagananda and a host of other plays ;

(iii) That by 'Sri Harsha' is meant Sri Harsha Vikramaditya of Ujjain, not Harshavardhana of Kanouj, and that it is by identifying the former with the latter that scholars have fallen into the great error of ascribing the plays in question either to Bana or to some other poet of Harshavardhana's court ;

(iv) That this Sri Harsha must have lived in the 6th century B.C. as borne out by a host of references to him in our ancient works.[1]

1. For a criticism of these views by R.V. Krishnamacharya, see his Introduction to Priyadarsika, when the arguments, are elaborately set out in lucid Sanskrit prose. See also S. P. Ray's Int. to Ratnavali.

570. It was in the year 1910 that Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapathi Sastri of Travancore discovered a collection of 13 plays,[1] with a similarity of expression and construction and declared that they were Bhasa's composition.[2] In his introduction to Svapnavasavadatta he says "it is usual in Natakas to begin with Nandi and then to state नान्यन्ते सूत्रधारः. But the Natakas in this collection as a rule begin with the stage direction नान्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः and then the *Mangala Sloka* is introduced. Again instead of the word Prastavana these Natakas use the word Sthapana. Thirdly, in the Natakas of Śudraka, Kalidasa and others, in the Prastavana mention is made of the name of the author and of his works and in some instances in terms of praise. But in the plays before us in the Sthapana, not even the name is brought in, either of the works or of the author.[3] In the Bharatavakya or the closing sentence of everyone of these plays, invariably occurs the

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1. Mahalinga Sastri has written a fine prose summary of the story of these plays, *Printed*, Madras. For an English translation of these plays, see edition by Ashtakar & Co., Poona.

2. These arguments have been thus summaries by R. Vasudevasarma in the *Hindu*. 2nd Feby. 1937, where he answers objections to the view :

(1) That there is in these plays discernible a distinct departure from the rules of dramaturgy as laid down by Bharata in making his stage manager enter after the "nandi" or the benedictory invocatory song, in the non-mention of the name of the author, in calling the prologue a "sthapana" and not a "prastavana", in representing death, sleep and fight on the stage and in closing without a Bharatavakya pronounced by one of the characters, all leading to the inference that these plays belonged to Pre-Bharatan days.

(2) That Bhatta Baṇa, Bhamaha, Vamana and other ancient rhetoricians have referred to him in unmistakable terms as a poet of ancient renown.

(3) That Kautilya quoted him, thus fixing him up to the pre-Kautilyan age.

(4) That Bhasa uses un-Paninian archaic forms, arguing a pre-Paninian date.

(5) That he was a Puranamuni according to Kalidasa and Jonaraja.

(6) And that by virtue of his writings being characterised by an intensity of rasa and by a marvellously exquisite flow of language, he was comparable to Valmiki and Vyasa and so was possibly contemporaneous with them.

Śakuntalācarcā an elaborate commentary on Śakuntalā an unknown author (about 300 years old) mentions all these plays, but without the author's names, as well as Ṭraivikrama, Vatsarājacarita, Viṇāvāsavadatta &c. (See Kuppusamiśastri's *Rep.* (1919) 41.

3. But these three characterstics are found in some other plays discovered later *viz.*, Bhagadajjuka, Ṭraivikrama, Nalābhyudaya, Viṇāvasavadatta (whose last benedictory verse mentions King Rāmavarma), Padmaprābhṛta, Ubhayābhisārikā, Dhurtavitasamvāda and a Bhāna nicknamed Kundappalli Bhāna.

player "May our greatest of kings or may our King rule the land."[1] In all these plays there is in the end a sentence announcing such and such a Nataka is finished and the name of the work is given..............."

Besides a structural similarity, these plays also contain several passages in common e.g., एवमार्यमिश्रान् विज्ञापयामि, अये किं नु खलु मयि विज्ञापनव्यग्रे शब्द इव श्रूयते ।[2] The Sloka लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि etc., appears in the 1st Act both of Carudatta and Bālacarita. The passage किं वक्ष्यतीति हृदयं परिशङ्कितं मे occurs in the 6th Act of Svapananātaka and also in the 4th Act of Abhiṣekanātaka. The part धर्मस्नेहान्तरे न्यस्ता of a śloka is seen in both Pratimā and Abhiṣekanātaka. Many more points of similarity of this kind can be observed in the plays.

571. The common characterstics of the technique in these plays are not as pointed out in the notes below peculiarly their own and cannot by themselves lead to the conclusion that they are all the works of the same author. But much must be said in regard to the six plays which contain the expression Rājasimha in the ending verse and probably of Pratimā also, where that ending verse is almost of a similar form and which contains a passage common with Abhiṣekanātaka,[3] that they may be fathered on the same poet and if one of them, Svapnanātaka, is definitely known to be the work of Bhāṣa, the other works may also be ascribed to him. But to say the same of other plays in the group, we shall have to await further evidence.

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1. i इमां सागरपर्यन्तां हिमवद्विन्ध्यमेखलाम् ।
महीमेकातपत्राङ्कां राजसिंहः प्रशास्तु नः ॥

ii यथा रामश्च जानक्या बन्धुभिश्च समागतः ।
तथा लक्ष्म्या समायुक्तो राजा भूमिं प्रशास्तु नः ॥

The former is found at the end of Svapnavāsavadatta, Bālacarita and Dutavākya and a slight modification of it but containing the word Rājasimha is found at the end of Pratignā, Avimāraka Abhiṣekha and Pāncarātna.

These verses are not found at the end of Dutaghatotkaca, Madhyamavyāyoga, Karnabhāra and Urubhanga. The latter is found only in Pratimā. Cārudatta as found is incomplete though the manuscript says it is finished.

2. But this very expression is used in Ubhayābhasārikā, Pādataditāka and Ascaryacudāmani.

3. This when compared with the Nāndi of the Antarnātaka in Vīnāvāsavadatta, would lead to an inference that the latter is a work of Bhāsa, for it contains besides other characterstics of technique referred to by T. Ganapatiśastri. But Vīnāvāsavadatta is the work of Śudraka (For this, see under Śudraka).

T. Ganapatisastri considers that Bhāsa refers to the Nyāyaśāstra of Meḍhāṭiṭhi, Pāṇini,[1] an ancient sage prior to Bharaṭa,[2] Kautilya,[3] Guṇādhya,[4] Bhāmaha[5] and Śūḍraka, and GIORNALE on these considerations places him not later than the 5th century B.C.[6]

On the authenticity of this attribution of authorship opinion is divided.[7]

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1. See Int. to Praṭimānāṭaka, xxv–xxvi. Bhāsa's verse of unpāṇineau words is discussed.

2. *Ibid* xxxi–iii, where it is said that Bhāsa does not follow Bharaṭa's rules of dramatizing, and must have followed earlier works of Kṛśasva etc. On this simple question scholars differ: S. Levi says "the Trivandrum Bhasa conforms *scrupulously* to the classical rules of the Indian Aristotle Bharata" (*Vasavadatta, par Albert Baston*, Preface iii) and Haraprasadsastri (*JASB*, 1912) says "Bhasa (of the Trivandrum series) disregards altogether the rules of drama hereby laid down in Bharata."

3. T. Ganapatisastri says that the verse नवं शरावं &c., found in the fourth act of Praṭignāyaugunḍharāyaṇa is quoted by Kautilya in his Arṭhaśāsṭra. (See Int. to Svapnavāsavadaṭṭa, xxvii). But in the commentary on Arṭhaśāsṭra by Māḍhavamiśra, it is stated that it is a quotation from Manusmṛṭi so that it would follow that the author borrowed the verse from the same source, if Bhāsa had not borrowed it from Kautilya.

4. According to T. Ganapatisastri, Guṇādhya lived in the 1st century A.D. (*l.c.* xxvii.)

5. According to T. Ganapatisastri, Bhāmaha lived not later than 3rd or 2nd century B.C. (*l.c.* xxvii).

6. Lesny (*ZDMG*, 1918, 203) and Winternitz (Festschrift fur Ernst Kuhn, S. 301) and Banerjee (*JRAS*, 1921, 368) on their examination of the Prakrit passages conclude that these plays are older than Kalidasa (5th century A.D.), but younger than Aśvaghoṣa (3rd century A.D.). Keith (*SD*, 93) gives 300 A.D. Sukthankar (*JAOS*, XL. 241; XLI, 107) says Bhāsa was later than Pāṇini and discusses the prakrit passages. Antiquity of these passages is established also by G. Morgenstierne and W. Printz (*l.c.*). P. Choudhuri (*Mod. Rev.*, XIV. 382) discusses T. Ganapatisastri's views. See also Belloni-Filippi, *Vasavadatta of Bhasa* (*JIOS*, XXVII.)

7. Jacobi, *Vasavadatta*; Jolly (*Gottingen Nachrichten*, 1916, 353); Winternitz (*GIL*, III. 186, 945); Keith (*IA*, LII. 59; *SD*, 92–3); M. Baston (*Tr. of Vasavadatta*); Suali (*Giornale della Soc. As. Italiana*, XXV. 111); Pavolini (*Ibid.*) Lesny, (*ZDMG*, LXXII. 203–8) Lindenau, *Bhasa studien*; G. Morgenstierne, *Carudatta and Mritchakatika, Leipzig*; Lacote (*IA*, XIII. 493); F. W. Thomas, (*JRAS*, 1922, 79); Printz (*Bhasa's Prakrit*, Franport, A.M.); and A. Banerjee (*JRAS*, 1921, 367.) Among scholars of the negative view are L.D. BARNETT (*JRAS*, 1919, 233. 1921, 587–9) on the ground that Rajasimha referred to is a Pandyan King Teramaran Rajasimha) of 7th century A.D. and that these plays resemble Maṭṭavilāsaprahasana. Ramavatarasarma (*Sūradā*, Allahabad, 1st Part i) says that verses quoted in anthologies are not found in this group and the Nānḍi is not dedicated to Śiva, but Bhāsa was a devotee of Śiva. BHATTANATHA SWAMI (*IA*, XLV. 189) for which see note under Svapnavasavadatta *post*. K. GHANASYAM (Int. to translation of Meghaduta in Gujarati, Bombay) assigns Bhāsa to the time of

572. Of these drāmas, Pratijnā is Īhāmṛga, Pāncarātra is Samavākāra, Ūrubhanga is Utsṛstikānka, Cārudatta is Prakaraṇa, Ḍūtavākya, Madhyama, Karṇabhāra and Ḍūta-Ghaṭotkaca are mostly Vyāyogas, and the rest Nāṭakas.

573. Svapnavasavadatta is a drama in six Acts,[1] and is really a continuation of the Pratignāyaugandharāyaṇa. Having heard a prediction from a sage that Udayana Vatsarāja[2] would marry Padmāvatī, sister of King Ḍarśaka and with his help would recover his lost dominions, Udayana's minister Yaugandharāyaṇa with intent to hasten the marriage with Padmāvatī resorted to a stratagem. He gave

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King Chandragupta in 3rd century B.C. and Kālidāsa to the Court of King Agnimitra about B.C. The Introduction is a valuable essay on Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. Sten Konow (*IA*, XLIII. 66) put Bhāsa not before 3rd or 4th century A D. K. Rama Pisharoti denies the correctness of the attribution to Bhāsa and goes to the extent of saying that Bhāsa was the author of a Svapanavāsavadatta and that quotations from Svapanavāsavadatta by various authors not found in the present edition show the existence of these works of that name, *Shama'a* Madras, V. 173-186; *Bull. of Or. Studies*, III. 107.

A. Rangasami Sarasvati (*JMy*, XIII. 686) says that Rājasimha referred was the Pallava King Narasimhavaraman II, who was also known as Rājasimha and who lived in the last decade of the 8th century A.D. In his introduction to his own editions of several of these plays, T. Ganapatisastri has attempted to answer these objections and has done so in a separate monograph.

For a complete discussion of the question, see Jyotiscandra Ghatak's *Dramas of Bhasa* (Jubilee Research Prize Thesis, Calcutta University, 1923). For an examination of the criticisms by R. Vasudevasarma and R. Mahadevasarma, see *The Hindu*, Madras, 1927 Feb. 2nd and 9th.

Sukthankar, *The Bhasa Riddle*, (*JBRAS*, I. 137); Hiranandasatri, *Bhasa and authorship of the 13 plays*; *Studies in Bhasa* (*JAOS*, XL. Oct; XLI. April,); Lesney, *On the Prakrit of Bhasa* (*ZDMG*, 1918); C. R. Devadhar, *Plays ascribed to Bhasa* (*Annals*, VII. 29, VIII. 17-42); P. V. Kane, *Kundamala and Bhasa* (*Annals*, XI. 155). K. Krishnamacarya, *Bhasa, a study* (*C. H. Coll. Mag.*, Oct. 1917) and *Duryodhana as portrayed by Bhasa* (*Collegian*, March 1914); R. Vasudevasarma, *On Tamil Influences on Bhasa* (*The Hindu*, 13th June 1928). See also Levi, *JA*, (1923), 193 and *JRAS*, (1925) 100; *Cal. Rev.* (1924), 330.

1. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum by T. Ganapati Sastri with an elaborate introduction and again with a commentary. Ed. by Lakshmana Sarup, Lahore. Translated by K. Pisharodi (*JMy*. X, 164. 203, 372), by L. H. Gray (New York), by Baston (Paris) and into verse by Pannalal (Allahabad), and by H. B. Bhide (Allahabad). Ed. with translation by C. R. Deodhar, Bombay. See C. R. Deodhar, *Swapnavasavadattā*, (*Annals*, VI).

2. P. V. Gune in *Prodyota, Udayana* etc., *in Jain Legend* (*Annals*, 1920-21, July) collects different allusions of the story of Udayana and the essay is very interesting with the titular verse of Meghaduta:

प्रद्योतस्य प्रियदुहितरं वत्सराजोऽत्र जह्रे हैमं तालद्रुमवनमभूत्तत्र तस्यैव राज्ञः ।
अत्रोद्भ्रान्तः किल नलगिरिस्स्तम्भमुत्पाट्य दर्पादित्यागन्तूत्रमयति जनो यत्र बन्धूनभिज्ञः

out that Uḍayana's queen Vāsavaḍaṭṭā (daughter of King Mahāsena of Avanṭī) was lost in a conflagration and disguising her as his sister whose husband was away, he donned the garb of a Muni and approaching Padmāvaṭī entrusted her to Padmāvaṭī's care under the pseudonym of Avanṭikā. Then Uḍayana married Padmāvaṭī. Once when asleep Vāsavaḍaṭṭā came to his side and when she touched him he opened his eyes, but before he could get hold of her, she flew away. This made Uḍayana all the more dejected. As he was diverting himself with a picture of Vāsavaḍaṭṭā in her wedding attire,[1] Padmavāṭī mentioned to him that in her harem there was a lass called Avanṭikā quite like the image in the picture, entrusted to her care by a brahmin. Then Vāsavaḍaṭṭā was brought before him and the lovers met once again and all was well when the secret was divulged.

574. References in rhetorical works are as follow:

(i) DANDIN in Kāvyāḍarśa (II. 280) has

मृतेति प्रेत्य सङ्गन्तुं यया मे मरणं मतम् ।
सैषावन्ती मया लब्धा कथमत्रैव जन्मनि ॥

In commenting on this Ṭaruṇavācaspṭi says

अत्र अवन्तीविषये वत्सराजस्य जाता रतिः ॥

and Bhoja says (*SP.* Ch. X) that Avanṭi here means Vāsavaḍaṭṭa. In this edition Vāsavaḍaṭṭā is called Avanṭi or Avanṭikā by Yaugandhanāyaṇa when she was entrusted to Padmāvaṭī.

[*N.B.*—M. R. Kavi points out that this verse is found in Ṭāpasavaṭsarāja when Vaṭsarāja attempted suicide in Yamunā and Vāsavaḍaṭṭā appears then in the scene.]

(ii) VAMANA's quotation (V. i. 3)

शरच्छशाङ्कगौरेण

is found in this edition.

(iii) BHOJA writes thus:

स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमस्वस्थां द्रष्टुं राजा समुद्रगृहकं गतः। पद्मावतीरहितं च तदवलोक्य तस्या एव शयने सुष्वाप, वासवदत्तां च स्वप्नवदस्वप्ने ददर्श। स्वप्नायमानश्च वासवदत्तामाबभाषे। स्वप्नशब्देन चेह स्वापो वा स्वप्नं वा स्वप्नदर्शनं वा स्वप्नायितं वा विवक्षितम् ॥

(*Śṛṅgāraprākaśā*, Chap. XII).

This description agrees with the story in the present edition.

(iv) ŚARADATANAYA mentions the sandhis in Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭa. Of these first verse is found in the Trivandrum edition, but the 2nd and 3rd stages are absent:

प्रशान्तरसभूयिष्ठं प्रशान्तं नाम नाटकम् । न्यासो न्याससमुद्भेदो बीजोक्तिर्बीजदर्शनम् ॥
ततोऽनुद्दिष्टसंहारः प्रशान्ते पञ्च सन्धयः । सात्वतीवृत्तिरत्रस्यादिति द्रौहिणिरब्रवीत् ॥
स्वप्नवासवदत्ताख्यमुदाहरणमत्र तु । आच्छिद्य भूपात्सव्यसना देवी मागधिकाकरे ॥
न्यस्ता यतस्ततो न्यासो मुखसन्धिरयं भवेत् । न्यासस्य च प्रतिमुखं समुद्भेद उदाहृतः ॥
पद्मावत्या मुखं वीक्ष्य विशेषकविभूषितम् । जीवत्यवन्तिकेत्येतज्ज्ञातं भूमिभुजा यथा ॥
उत्कण्ठितेन सोद्वेगं बीजोक्तिर्नर्मकीर्तनम् । एहि वासवदत्ते क्व यासीत्यादि च दृश्यते ॥
सहात्रस्थितयोरेकप्राप्त्याऽन्यस्य गवेषणम् । दर्शनस्पर्शनालापैरेतत्स्याद्बीजदर्शनम् ॥
चिरप्रसुप्तः कामो वा वीणया प्रतिबोधितः । तां तु देवीं न पश्यामि यस्या घोषवती प्रिया ॥
किं ते भूयः प्रियं कुर्यामिति वाग्यत्र नोच्यते । तमनुद्दिष्टसंहारमित्याहुर्भरतादयः ॥

(v) SARVANANDA (who lived about 1159 A.D.) in his commentary on Amarakośa in commenting on the Sloka शृङ्गारवीरकरुण etc., says that स्वादिशमात्मसात्कर्तुमुदयनस्य पद्मावतीपरिणयोऽर्थशृङ्गारः स्वप्नवासवदत्ते, तृतीयस्तस्यैव वासवदत्तापरिणयः कामशृङ्गारः and this description tallies with the story in the present edition. Bhattanāṭhaswāmi (*IA*, XIV. 101) thinks that the work referred to by Sarvānanḍa must be different. He finds an allusion to the story in Malaṭī-Māḍhava and says that the main theme of Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭa of Bhāsa was the marriage of Vāsavaḍaṭṭā and not Paḍmāvaṭī, whereas the present play deals with the events subsequent to the marriage of Vāsavaḍaṭṭā, that is, the marriage of Paḍmāvaṭī.

The following verse quoted by Abhinavaguptạ in Ḍhvanyāloka as from Svapnavāsavaḍaṭṭa is not found in the Trivandrum Edn. :

सञ्चितपक्ष्मकवाटं नयनद्वारं स्वरूपताडेन ।
उद्घाट्य सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगृहं मे नृपतनूजा ॥

Nor is the verse quoted by Rāmacanḍra in Nāṭyaḍarpaṇa:

यथा भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते शेफालिकामण्डपशिलातलमवलोक्य वत्सराजः—
"पादाक्रान्तानि पुष्पाणि सोष्म चेदं शिलातलं ।
नूनं काचिदिहासीना मां दृष्ट्वा सहसा गता ॥
पूर्वार्धे लिङ्गम् । उत्तरार्थमनुमानम् ।"

Nor is the following quoted by Sāgarananḍin in Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośā :

नेपथ्ये सूत्रधारः—(उत्सारणं श्रुत्वा पठति)—अये ! कथं तपोवनेऽप्युत्सारणा । (विलोक्य)-कथं मन्त्री यौगन्धरायणः वत्सराजस्य राज्यप्राप्त्यामयनं कर्तुकामः पद्मावतीयजनेनोत्सार्यत इति—

575. **Pratignayaugandharayana,**[1] is a Natikā in four Acts. In the course of an elephant hunt Vaṭsarāja sees a false elephant,[2] prepared and stationed in the forest at the orders of King Pradyoṭa and when unknowingly attempting to tame it with his Vīṇā, Pradyoṭa's soldiers overpower him, and take him prisoner. Then Pradyoṭa's minister Śālankāyana intervenes and hands him over to Pradyoṭa. Pradyoṭa takes the Vinā and gives it to his daughter Vāsavadaṭṭā and imprisons Vaṭsarāja in his own house. Vaṭsarāja and Vāsavadaṭṭā meet each other and soon Vatsaraja happy in his love forgets all thought of his own kingdom. Meanwhile, Yaugandharāyana, his minister, discovers Vaṭsarāja's predicament. He arranges by careful espionage that all his army in disguise pervades the capital of Pradyoṭa and himself in a garb of a madman begins to run through the streets, watching an opportunity. At the appointed signal the army rises up and in trying to take away Vaṭsarāja and Vāsavadaṭṭā on an elephant by force, Yaugandharāyaṇa is subdued and caught. But Pradyoṭa is pleased with the minister's sagacity and he sends him back home in royal state with Vaṭsarāja and the princess.

576. **Carudatta** is a fragment in four Acts without the initial or final verses. Cārudaṭṭa, a merchant improverished by his generosity, fell in love with a hetæra Vasanṭasena. Pursued by the king's brother-in-law Samsṭhāna she took refuge in Carudaṭṭa's house and left her jewels in his care. The jewels were stolen away at night by a thief Sajjalaka in order to purchase the freedom of a slave girl of Vasanṭasena. In the morning Carudaṭṭa offered his wife's necklace to Vasanṭasena in lieu of the lost jewels, but Vasanṭasena handed the slave girl to Sajjalaka and herself went to Carudaṭṭa. Here the play

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1. Vāmana quotes a line यो भर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युद्ध्यति (Adhyaye II.) This is found in this drama. In Kumuḍimahoṭsava there is reference to the names of Vaṭsarāja, and his horse Sundarapālala and his servant Kāṭyāyana.

In the same connection, Praṭignāyaugandharāyaṇa mentions the name Sundarapālala (page 12)

तदो कीला अमाणोंवि आ अलत्तच्छन्दाणुवत्तिण सुन्दरपाटेण अस्सेण

2. Bhāmaha (IV. 40) remarks that Vaṭsarāja could not have been deceived by an artificial elephant and if caught, his life would not have been spared by the enemy. He gives this as an instance of unnaturalness or Nyāyavirodha ;

सचेतसो वनेभस्य चर्मणा निर्मितस्य च । विशेषं वेद बालोऽपि कष्टं किं नु कथं नु तत् ॥

3. Ed. *TSS*, with commentary by T. Ganapatisastri (Trivandrum). Of dramas having similar plots, ore Uḍayanacariṭa and Viṇāvāsavadaṭṭa. For these analogies, see M. Ramakrishnakavi's introduction to Viṇavāsavadaṭṭa (Madras).

ends abruptly and "it seems as if Carudatta were accused of theft and that Vasantasena herself is in grave danger of her life."[1]

577. Pratimanataka[2] begins with banishment of Rāma to the woods and the miserable condition of Daśaratha ending in his death. Bharata infers the death of his father from the statue of his father erected in the statue house of the family and from this the play takes its name. Bharata then interviews Rāma in the forest and returns back to the capital with his sandals to be crowned in his stead. Then follows the story of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa and the war with Rāvaṇa ending in his destruction and Rāma's return with Sītā to his hermitage, where Bharata and the queens go to receive him and Rāma is crowned on the spot. In this play the author has often copied expressions from Rāmāyaṇa.[3]

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1. Edited by T. Ganapati Sastri, (*TSS*) Trivandrum, and again with his own commentary. See K. V. Vasudevasarma, *The Source of Daridra-Carudatta* in *The Hindu*, Madras, June 6th, 1928 Vāmana in his Kāvyālankarasutra (V. i. 3) quotes a verse (I. 2,

यासां बलिर्भवति मद्गृहदेहलीनां ... ...

which is found in this play. The word Daridra-Carudatta is used by Śakara in Mṛccha-katikā (Act IX in his first speech).

आं स्मृतं मया, दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्येदं कृपणचेष्टितं पातयिष्यामि.

In Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharatanāṭyaśastra we have the following references to a drama called Daridra-Carudatta:

i अनर्थकं वचो यत्तु सप्रलाप इति। परस्परमसम्बद्धं मौर्ख्यादिवशादित्यर्थः,। यथादरिद्र-चारुदत्ते शकारः। सुणामि मल्लगन्धम् (Adhyaya XXII).

This passage is found in Mṛcchakaṭikā, Act I, above verse 35

ii यत्र तु दैवायत्तं फलं वर्ण्यते, तत्र कथं न च वर्ण्यं, पुरुषकारमात्राभिमानिनां दैवमजानानां चार्वाकादिमतमेयुषां सदैव बहुमानव्युत्पत्तये हि पुरुषकारोऽप्यफलः तदभावोऽपि सफलः प्रदर्शनीयः, अथ एव दरिद्रचारुदत्तादिरूपकाणि तद्विषयाणि ॥

(Adhyāya XIX).

2. Ed. Trivandrum (*TSS*) with an elaborate and valuable introduction by T. Ganapatisastri. Translated by Rama Pisharoti with critical notes (*JMy*, XII. 58, 375; XIII. 595, XIV. 39, XI. 353); Ed. with translation by S.M. Paranjape, Bombay.

3. Here is a nice description of an identity:

लक्ष्मणः—अये, अयमार्यो रामः! ननु रूपसादृश्यम्!

मुखमनुपमं त्वार्यस्यामं शशाङ्कमनोहरं मम पितृसमं पीनं वक्षस्सुरारिशरक्षतम्।
द्युतिपरिवृतस्तेजोराशिर्जगत्प्रियदर्शनो नरपतिरयं देवेन्द्रो वा स्वयं मधुसूदनः॥ (IV. 8)

578. Balacarita[1] in five acts describes the birth of Kṛṣṇa and his miraculous performances from sucking out of the life of Pūṭanā and the killing of Cāṇūra to the killing of Kāliya and Ṛṣabhāsura, the destruction of Kaṁsa, and the coronation of Ugrasena.

579. Urubhanga[2] begins with a prologue describing the actual fight between Bhīma and Ḍuryoḍhana in which Ḍuryoḍhana is struck with a mallet on his thigh and falls down disabled. The scene follows in which Ḍhṛṭarāstra and his wife go to see the last dying son and Ḍuryoḍhana recovers his sense of rectitude and commends a life of friendship. The last scene introduces the furious Aśvaṭṭhāman[3] and his violent vow to destroy the last scion of the Pāndava race. The play ends with the passing away of Ḍuryoḍhana in the stage[4] and the renunciation of Ḍhṛṭarāstra.

580. Pancaratra. The play takes its name from the period of five nights referred to in the plot, which is briefly as follows :— "After wandering for twelve years in the forest the Pandavas were living incognito in the thirteenth year. Drona, the family preceptor of the Kurus, knew the reluctance of Duryodhana and others to give a bit of land even, to the Pandavas. Hence he apprehended a fratricidal war. To avoid such a calamity he was looking for an opportune moment to unite the brothers. At the instance of Drona, he (Duryodhana) performed a sacrifice. At the end of the sacrifice he performed his bath and wanted to render Gurudaksina. Drona cleverly demanded half of the kingdom for the Pandavas. Duryodhana assented to it on the condition that Drona would bring within five nights

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1. Ed. Trivandrum. See Winternitz, *ZDMG*, LXXIV. 125; Lindenau, *BS*, 22; V. Prabhakarasastri, *Bharati*, IV. 29. Bālacariṭa quoted by Viśvanāṭha in Sāhiṭyadarpaṇa (VI) is a different work and must refer to Rāmāyaṇa, for the verse there quoted उत्साहातिशयं वत्स is not found in this play, and that is addressed by Paraśurāma to Rāma.

2. Ed. Trivandrum. It is also called Gaḍāyuḍḍham in some manuscripts.

3. Here is Aśvaṭṭhāman's address to Duryoḍhana after the hurt;

   भोः कुरुराज ! संयुगे पाण्डुपुत्रेण गदापातकचग्रहे ।
   सममूरुद्वयेनाद्य दर्पोऽपि भवतो हतः ॥

4. Thus he is described

   श्रीमान् संयुगचन्दनेन रुधिरेणार्द्रानुलिप्तच्छविः
   भूसंसर्पणरेणुपाटलभुजो बालव्रतं ग्राहितः ।
   निर्वृत्तेऽमृतमन्थने क्षितिधरान्मुक्तस्सुरैस्सासुरै-
   राकर्षन्निव भोगमर्णवजले श्रान्तोज्झितो वासुकिः ॥

the news of the whereabouts of the Pandavas. Drona found out Bhima from the news of Kichaka's being slain in secret in the capital of Virata. Bhisma induced the Kauravas to carry off the cattle of Virata under the pretext of ministering him for his absenting himself from the sacrifice. Thus he located the Pandavas. And half the kingdom was given to the Pandavas."[1]

581. Rama Datta Pant's Aparapancarātra is based on this play. He was professor of Sanskrit in Bareilley college. He lived in Almora District in 1861-1928 A.D. He also wrote Lekhinikṛpāṇa and Dīpaśaṭaka.[2]

582. Dutavakyam is an one-Act drama. "This is woven from the Mahabharata story of Krisna acting as an ambassador of the Pandavas. Kancuki intimated the arrival of Kṛisna to Duryodhana saying 'Purushottama is come.' Just then Duryodhana was holding his ministerial council. He corrected Kancuki's language telling him to name Krisna as Kamsabhritya Damodara. As an evil omen Duryodhana fell from his seat at the advent of Vasudeva Krisna. When Vasudeva was seated in Duryodhana's council hall, he found there a picture of Draupadi's Kesakarsana. Vasudeva then demanded the division of the paternal property. Duryodhana pointed to Pandu's remaining free from intercourse with females and there was a curse from a sage and refused any division of property. Vasudeva also then pointed out that Vicitravirya got Pthisis Pulmonalis and that Dhritarastra was born on Ambikā through the agency of Vyasa and that therefore he also, on the same ground as Duryodhana held out,

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1. Ed. Trivandrum and again with his own commentary and an elaborate Introduction by T. Ganapati Sastri. As summaried by J. Ghatak (l.c.)

2. Here is a description of prious brahmins :

इमेऽत्रभवन्तो द्विजातयः—

राज्ञां वेष्टनपट्टघृष्टचरणश्श्लाघ्यप्रभूतश्रवाः
वार्धक्येऽप्यभिवर्धमाननियमास्स्वाध्यायशूरैर्मुखैः ।
विप्रा यान्ति वयःप्रकर्षशिथिला यष्टित्रिपादक्रमाः
शिष्यस्कन्धनिवेशिताञ्चितकरा जीर्णा गजेन्द्रा इव ॥ I. 5.

and of Abhimanyu's chariot :

आलम्बितो भ्रमति धावति तेन मुक्तो
न प्राप्य धर्षयति नेच्छति विप्रकर्तुम् ।
आसन्नभूमिचपलः परिवर्तमानो
योग्योपदेशमिव तस्य रथः करोति ॥ II. 27.

could not claim paternal property. Then Duryodhana tried to use force, when Vasudeva took his Visvarupa, and the former found him everywhere in every possible shape and size. Sudarsana, the discus of Vasudeva, was called in by the latter into action and there came Sudarsana, Kaumodaki, Pancajanya and all other weapons in the train. Duryodhana's fear and bewilderment were highest. Then Vasudeva again cooled down. Just then Dhritarastra came in on the scene, and fell at the feet of Vasudeva, to atone for the fault of his sons. The Lord Vasudeva complied with his request."[2]

583. Madhyamavyayogam. "Bhimasena rescues a Brahmin family from the hands of Ghatotkaca. Ghatotkaca and his mother Hidimbī wanted human food and caught sight of a group of brahmins, an old man, his wife and three sons and it was after some discussion arranged to give up the middle son. Just then Bhimasena came on the scene and in the course of the fighting with Ghatotkaca, they recognised each other as father and son, and the victim was rescued."[3]

584. Karnabharam begins with the relation by Karṇa of the story of a curse that just at the moment of need his weapons would prove ineffectual. On his way to battle against Arjuna, Indra encounters him in the garb of a poor brahmin and asks for a gift. Karṇa with his characteristic generosity promises anything that he desired. Indra asks for his armour and earrings and walks away with the gifts. The plays ends with the gift of an invulnerable Śakti by Indra to Karṇa in lieu of the extortion he had committed.[4]

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1. Ed. Trivandram and again with his own commentary by T. Ganapatisastri. As summarised by J. Ghatak (l.c.)

2. अये ! अयं पाञ्चजन्यः प्राप्तः—

फूर्णेन्दुकुन्दकुमुदोदरहारगौरनारायणाननसरोजकृतप्रसादः ।
यस्य स्वनं प्रलयसागरघोषतुल्यं गर्भा निशम्य निपतन्त्यसुराङ्गनानाम् ॥

अये ! इयं कौमोदकी प्राप्ता—

मणिकनकविचित्रा चित्रमालोत्तरीया सुररिपुगणगात्रध्वंसने जाततृष्णा ।
गिरिवरतटरूपा दुर्निवारातिवीर्या व्रजति नभसि शीघ्रं मेघबृन्दानुयाता ॥

3. Ed. Trivandram, and again with his commentary and an introduction by T. Ganapati Sastri. Translated by S. P. Janvier, Myrore, with introduction and notes. There is a stage adaptation of this drama called Haidimba Vaidagdhya by T. S. Narayana Sastri with an introduction on Bhāsa and Kālidāsa (Madras). Pavolini, (*GSAI*, XXIX. 1) points out that Bakavadha of Mahābhārata has been adopted here for the plot.

4. Ed. Trivandram. It is also called Kavacakundalāharaṇam in some manuscripts.

The nāṇḍī here is fine:

पायात्स वोऽसुरवधूहृदयावसादः पादो हरेः कुवलयामलखंडनीलः ।
यः प्रोद्यतस्त्रिभुवनैकमणे रराज वैडूर्यसङ्क्रम इवाम्बरसागरस्य ॥

585. Duta-Ghatotkacam. When Abhimanyu was killed by the Ḍhārṭarāṣtras cruelly and illegally, Gāṇḍhārī, Ḍhṛṭarāṣṭra and Ḍuśśalā repudiated the conduct of the Kauravas. Ghatotkaca was sent on a mission of peace by the Pāndavas to the Kaurava camp, but he was insulted. Ghatotkaca became defiant. Ḍhṛṭarāṣṭra interferred and appeased him.[1]

586. Abhisekanatakam is based on the story of Rāmāyaṇa in Kiṣkinḍhā, Sunḍāra and Yuḍḍha Kāndas. It begins with the fight with Vāli and runs through the plot until the fall of Rāvaṇa and Siṭā's ordeal of fire. Then follows a charming eulogy.[2]

587. Avimarakam. "Viṣṇusena the king of Sauvīra, became a candāla for a year, along with his family by the curse of Dīrghaṭapas. While thus living in Kuntibhoja town incognito he killed an Asura named Avi, and became known as *Avi-māraka*. One day he rescued his maternal uncle's daughter Kurangī from the clutches of an infuriated elephant. On hearing this, the father of Kurangī, Kuntibhoja intended to marry her to Avimāraka, but he could not do so, as Avimaraka was of a very low caste. But Kurangī and Avi met, grew in mutual amour, and the love reached a climax. Through Dhātri's contrivance Avimaraka once entered Kurangī's chamber. Coming out and finding no help out of the difficulty, he resolved to die by throwing himself down from a hill. At that time a Vidyādhara met him, and gave him a ring by whose power he could secretly enjoy the companionship of Kurangī every night with a buffoon of his as his comrade. Kuntibhoja on finding him there became perplexed, and thought of marrying her to Jayavarman, another nephew of his on the sister's side. But Narada intervened and married the couple publicly with celebrations."[3]

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1. Ed. Trivandrum.
2. Ed. Trivandrum and again with his own commentary by T. Ganapati Sastri.
Here is Rāma's news to Siṭā about his coronation:

समं बाष्पेण पतता तस्योपरि समाप्यधः ।
पितुर्मे क्लेदितौ पादौ ममापि क्लेदितं शिरः ॥

3. Ed. Trivandrum. As summarised by J. Ghatak, *JIOS*, XXVIII. Beccarmi-Creecenzi, *L'Avimaraka di Bhasa*. The story is found in Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara. It is alluded to by Vāṭsyāyana in Kāmasuṭra and in Kaumuḍī-mahosṭava.

Here is a fine description of night-fall :

व्यामृष्टसूर्यतिलको विततोडुमालो नष्टातपो मृदुमनोहरशीतवातः ।
संलीनकामुकजनः प्रविकीर्णचोरो वेषान्तरं रचयतीव मनुष्यलोकः ॥

and of the darknight :

तिमिरमिव वहन्ति मार्गनद्यः पुलिननिभा प्रतिभान्ति हर्म्यमालाः ।
तमसि दशदिशो निमग्नरूपाः प्लवतरणीय इवायमन्धकारः ॥

588. Damaka and **Traivikrama** are two peculiar pieces of dramatic composition. There are too short even to last for a half hour and for parity of diction and structure, they have been called *'Two more dramas of Bhasa'*.[1] In DAMAKA,[2] says V. Venkatram Sastri "the sentences, slokas, and even words occurring herein are to be found in the Swapnavasavadatta and other dramas, in the Mattavilasa, Kautilya's Arthasastra, Kumarasambhava of Kalidasa and in such other books, the only exception being the Bharatavakya at the end of the play.[3] The nandi verse can be seen in the arthasastra,[4] the anustubh in the middle occurs in Kumarasambhava,[5] while in the body of the play there is the drama named Karnabhara of so-called Bhasa."

Ḍāmaka is a friend of Karṇa, king of Anga and acts as a Vidūṣaka. He accompanies Karṇa to the hermitage of Paraśurāma during his sojourn there for learning missiles in archery. He finds himself ill at

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शौनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमाविमारकं कुरङ्गीव ।
अर्हति कीर्तिमतीयं कान्तं कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥

Bhoja, in Śṛngāraprakāśa mentions the story of Avimāraka (Chapter XXII) :
अहल्याविमारकशकुन्तलादीन्यन्यानि च सोत्कण्ठानि च कथयेत् ।

In Naṭāṅkuśa (of Mahima ?) it is stated कुरङ्गीप्रभृतीनां च वृथैवाकल्पना and Kurangi is the herone of this drama. An account is given in Jayamangala's commentary on Kāmasutras about the origin of name Avimāraka (Bombay Edn. 275) meaning literally *Killer of Goats*.

1. Paper read at Or. Confce., Madras, 1924, by M. R. Kavi.

2. Ed, Punjab Sans. series, Lahore, with Translation and Introduction by V. Venkataram.

3. सर्वत्र सम्पदस्सन्तु विपदोऽपि न सन्तु च ।
सर्वे सन्तु च सन्तुष्टा असन्तुष्टा न सन्तु च ॥

4. सुवर्णपुष्पीं ब्रह्माणीं ब्रह्मणं च कुशध्वजम् ।
सर्वान् देवांश्च वन्देऽहं वन्देऽहं सर्वतापसान् ॥

5. मुक्तायज्ञोपवीतानि बिभ्रतो हैमवल्कलाः ।
रत्नाक्षसूत्राः प्रव्रज्यां कल्पवृक्षा इवाश्रिताः ॥

ease in the many royal comforts which he is forced to enjoy in the king's company and is upset, and says:

मम बुद्धिश्चेदानीमादर्शमण्डलगतेव छाया वामेषु दक्षिणा, दक्षिणेषु वामा, भवति । अहं खलु शृणोमि गन्धं श्रवणाभ्याम् । अन्धकारपूरिताभ्यां नासापुटाभ्यां पश्यामि । रैभ्यसगोत्रो ब्रह्मबन्धुरहं यस्य कस्य वा भागिनेयः खलु भीमसेनस्य घटोत्कच इव ॥

The description of āśrama is picturesque. The main story relates how Karṇa got initiated into the mysteries of the bow on the false representation that he was not a kṣatriya and how when Paraśurāma discovered the fraud by chance he cursed Karṇa "Let your Astras prove futile in need."

This plot appears a complement of Karṇabhāra, where Karṇa's kundalas were taken away on the pretext of a gift and if clubbed with Karṇabhara may rightly fit in a dramatisation of Mahābhārata.

589. **Bodhayana's Bhagavadajjuka,** a prahasana, is so named because Bhagavān namely Parivrāt or Yogin and Ajjukā a hataera play the roll. Of the three commentators, one attributes it to Boḍhāyana, another to Bharata and a third leaves it anonymous.[1] A poet Boḍhāyana is praised by Sukumāra in his Raghuvīracarita, a play of the 12th century.[2] In the Māmandur inscription of Mahendravikramavarman dated 610 A.D., Bhagavadajjuka is mentioned.[3] A quotation in it from

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1. Ed. *JBORS*. Ed. by Prabhakarasastri, Madras. Ed. by Anujanachan, Sendamangalam, with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa (*TC*, IV. 5492, 4385).

बौधायनकविरचिते विख्याते भगवदज्जुकाभिहिते ।
अभिनेयेऽतिगभीरे विशदानधुना करोमि गूढार्थान् ॥
यश्चासौ भवभूतिसूक्तिजलधेरर्थौघयादोगण-
प्रक्षोभोत्थितभीतिभञ्जनकरीं व्याख्यातरीं निर्ममे ।
तेनेयं विषमेतिवृत्तगहने बौधायनीये पुनः
नाट्ये गर्भितशास्त्रजृम्भितवचोगम्भीरगुम्भे कृता ॥

This shows that Nārāyaṇa also wrote commentaries on Bhavabhuti's plays. Another commentary by Acyuta's pupil Rāma is yet unprinted. For an anonymous commentary, see *DC*, XXI. 8437.

2. यैर्बौधायनवाक्यपुष्पकलिका कर्णावतंसीकृताः ।

3. See under Mahendravikramavarman *post*.

शाण्डिल्यः—सुणादु भअवो । "अष्टौ प्रकृतयः, षोडश विकाराः, आत्मा, पञ्चावयवाः, त्रैगुण्यम्, मनः, सञ्चारः, प्रतिसञ्चारश्च" इति । एव्वं हि भअवदा जिणेण पिडअपुत्तएसु उत्तम् ।

परिव्राजकः—शाण्डिल्य ! साङ्ख्यसमय एषः, न शाक्यसमयः ।

Taṭvasamāsa, one of the oldest and basic works on Sānkhya philosophy and a classification of dramas in an ancient mode[1] amply attest its antiquity.[2] In any view the work must have belonged to about the beginning of the 1st century A.D. or earlier and never later than the 4th centūry A.D.

This play was "apparently intended by its author to bring into ridicule the doctrines of Buddhism—a method, among others, which the Brahmins employed to stem the rising tide of that religion. The chief characters in the play are a Parivrajaka, or saint, his disciple Sandilya, and a young and beautiful courtezan. The play opens with a discussion between the master and the pupil on Hindu Dharma; but the attention of the latter is all for the young woman in the adjacent garden. As this one-sided discussion proceeds, the woman suddenly falls down dead from snake-bite. The young man is very much affected, but the older one seizes the opportunity to demonstrate to his pupil the powers of Yoga and transfers his soul into the body of the courtezan who presently rises up and continues the philosophic discussion. The beholders are very much surprised, but their astonishment is not diminished when the body of the Parivrajaka, which had fallen lifeless, starts up again and talks and behaves as the courtezan used to do. For, the agents of Yama had made a mistake in taking the Jiva of the girl and had returned to restore it, but finding her body alive, infused her Jiva into the Parivrajaka's frame.".

590. To the beginning of the Christian era or earlier must be referred, four bhāṇas editted as a collection, CATURBHANI. Tradition has coupled them as anterior to Kālidāsa.

वररुचिरीश्वरदत्तश्यामिलकश्शूद्रकश्च चत्वारः ।
एते भाणान् बभणुः का शक्तिः कालिदासस्य ॥

and it is not unlikely that these four poets are named in order of time. Parity of motifs, likeness in humour and unity in aesthetics display their proximity and intimacy. References to Kaṭantra school of grammar, to Daṭṭaka's Vaiśikā sūṭras and to the stories of Pātalīpūṭra justify the inference of their antiquity.

1. सूत्रधारः—
अत्रैव मे चिन्ता । अथ तु नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवासु पारेहामृगाडिमसमवकारव्यायोगभाणसल्लापकर्त्रीथ्युत्सृष्टिकाङ्कप्रहसनादिषु दशजातिषु नाट्यरसेषु हास्यमेव प्रधानमिति पश्यामि ॥

2. See Asokanath Bhattacarya, *Bhagavadajjuka and some new problems*, (Pr. Or. Conce. 1926), and Prabhakarasastri, *Bharati*, I. 47.

591. Vararuci is mentioned as a poet by Paṭanjali. Syāmilaka mentions him as a writer on rhetoric also. In UBHAYABHISARIKA Vararuci describes the lives of Kuberadaṭṭa and Narāyaṇadaṭṭā.[1]

592. Isvaradatta or Vireśvaradaṭṭa wrote bhāṇa DHURTA-VITASAMVADA. The scene is laid in Paṭalīpuṭra and in the guise of a conversation the poet propounds the tenets of Kāmāsāsṭra in all intricacies.[2] The play is quoted by Bhoja and unlike many other plays of the class has a sociological value.[3]

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1. S. K. De. gives date, 6 and 7th century. Keith places them in 1000 A.D. and later and W. Thomas (Centinary sup. to *JRAS*, 126-36, & *JRAS* (1924), 762) in the time of Harṣa of Kanouj.

Here is an instance of fine humour emanating from a damsel and a philosophising lover :

किं ब्रवीषि, षट्पदार्थबहिष्कृतैस्सह संभाषणमस्माकं गुरुभिः प्रतिषिद्धम् ।
भगवति युक्तमेवैतत् । कुतः—

द्रव्यं ते तनुरायताक्षि दयिता रूपादयस्ते गुणा
सामान्यं तव यौवनं युवजनस्संस्तौति कर्माणि ते ।
त्वय्यार्ये समवायमिच्छति जनो यस्माद्विशेषोऽस्ति ते
योगस्ते तरुणैर्मनोभिलषितैर्मोक्षोऽप्यनिष्टाज्जनात् ॥

2. Is he the same as King Iśvarasena ?

In a Nazik inscription in *Arch. Sur. of Western India*, IV. 103, king Iśvarasena, son of Ābhira-Sivadaṭṭa is mentioned as a ruling sovereign and "is thought to have reigned in the 3rd century A.C." "Besides Mahākṣatrapa Iśvaradaṭṭa is considered on reasonable grounds to have been an Ābhira and his coins show that he reigned sometime between circa 236 and 239 A.C." These dates are surmised by H. C. Chakdalkar in his *Studies in Kamasutra of Vatsyayana* (p, 31). See also Bhagavanlal Indraji, *The Western Kshatrapas* (*JRAS*, 1890, 659) and E. P. Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, cxxxiii. D. R. Bhandarkar assigns Iśvaradaṭṭa to A.C. 188-190) (Arch. Sur. India, *Annual Rep*. 1913-4, p. 230) ; and see also his papers on *The Gurjaras* (*JBRAS*, XXI. 430).

3. For instance here are some questions answered :

(i) कामयमाना वेश्या कथं विज्ञायेत ?
(ii) प्रथमस्समागमः केन कारणेन मोहमुत्पादयति ?
(iii) कथं वेश्यावञ्चनं न प्राप्नुयात्कामुकः ?
(iv) दर्शनमात्रकेणैव कथं शक्यं रहोनैपुण्यम् ?

Here is something laudatory of the society of Veśya :

प्रागल्भ्यं स्थानशौर्यं वचननिपुणतां सौष्ठवं सत्वदीप्तिं
चित्तज्ञानं प्रमोदं सुरतगुणविधिं रक्तनारीनिवृत्तिम् ।
चित्रादीनां कलानामधिगमनमथो सौख्यमग्र्यं च कामी
प्राप्नोत्याश्रित्य वेशं यदि कथमयशस्तस्य लोको ब्रवीति ॥

593. Syamilaka was the son of Īśvaradatta or Vireśvaradatta. He calls himself an Udīcya. His PADATADITAKA[1] is quoted by Abhinavagupta, Kṣmendra, Vallabhadeva and others. It describes the foolish actions of Viṣṇunāga an orthodox Brahmin employed as Registrar of Royal Inscriptions and is intended as a satire of urban society. The scene is laid in Sārvabhaumendrapuram in Sourastra country. Viṣṇunāga was hit on his head by a courtesan with her feet[3] and he sought expiation for it from an assembly of debauchees and they prescribe a hit with her other foot as the remedy.[4]

594. Bāṇa praises ĀDHYARAJA's plays of variety of characters:[5]

आढ्यराजकृतोत्साहैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।
जिह्वान्तः कृष्यमाणेव न कवित्वे प्रवर्तते ॥

Harṣacarita, Int.

Uṭsāha is a species of dramatic composition, The commentary says:

उत्साहो नृत्ते ताळविशेषः उदीर्यमाणगीत्याधारभूतपदोपचारात्काव्यमुत्साह इति केचित् । यत्र पूर्वं श्लोकेनार्थ उपक्षिप्यते, पश्चात्स एव गद्येन वितन्यते, मध्ये वृत्तनिबन्धश्च भवति, सपरिसमाप्तार्थ उत्साह उच्यते इत्यन्ये ।

595. Sudraka, known as Indrāṇīgupta, was a Brahmin of the Aśmaka country. He was brought up along with a prince called Svāṭi. Svāṭi quarrelled with him while at game in boyhood and the ill-feeling was nurtured as he grew in age. Among Śūdraka's friends was one

1. Ed. by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, (1924).

2. Also written as Śymālaka or Syāmala. It is not likely that he was the same as the teacher of Mahimabhatta or Bāṇa's paternal uncle's son mentioned in Harṣacarita. Śyāmalika refers to poets Rudravarman and Āryarakṣita and Āryaka.

3. Viṣṇunāga thus deplores the incident:

हा धिक् पुंश्चलि ! अनात्मज्ञे ! यया त्वया ममास्मिन्—
प्रयतकरया मात्रा यत्नात्प्रबद्धशिखण्डके
चरणविनते पित्राघ्राते शिशुर्गुणवानिति ।
सकुसुमलवैश्शान्त्यम्भोभिर्द्विजातिभिरुक्षिते
शिरसि चरणौ न्यस्तौ गर्वान्न गौरवमीक्षितम् ॥

4. अपि चेदमस्याः प्रायश्चित्तं श्रूयताम्—
तस्या मदालसविघूर्णितलोचनायाः श्रोण्यर्पितैककरसंहतमेखलायाः ।
सालक्तकेन चरणेन सनूपुरेण पश्यत्वयं शिरसि मामनुगृह्यमाणम् ॥

5. For the identification of Ādhyarāja with Harṣadeva, see R. Pischell, *Nachrichten Phil, Lit.*, Klasse (1901), 485.

Bandhudaṭṭa. When once a Buddhist mendicant Sanghālikā inveigled Śūdraka into a solitary cave and attempted assassination, Śūdraka overpowered the mendicant, killed him and escaped. Then he visited various cities, like Vidiśā, Ujjain and Maṭhurā and his adventures were many. He seized the kingdom of Ujjain and became its king, but in grateful recollection of youthful associations he spared the life of the old king Svāṭī.[1] He was well versed in the Ṛk and Sāma Vedas, in mathematics, in the art of dancing girls and in taming elephants. He was a votary of Śiva, who favoured him with his boons. He won many wars and had a glorious reign. He performed Aśwamedha, lived for 100 years and ten days and immolated his frame in fire, having duly annointed his son as sovereign.[2] Śūdraka's name as sovereign and poet has acquired a traditional dignity. His exploits and adventures are as glorious and charming as those attributed to Vikramādiṭya and universal interest in their narration has contributed to gather around them many tales almost of a legendary nature.

The celebrity of Śūdraka's reign has commended his name into a hereditary appellation in later royal dynasties such as the Ganga and Pallava and in this respect also he bears an analogy to Vikramādiṭya. Some lexicographers quote Śūdraka, Vikramādiṭya, Sahasānka etc., as synonymous.

596. Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara represents him as king of Śobhāvaṭī and saved from imminent death by a Brahmin who gave up his life to assure the king a life of a hundred years. So says Veṭālapancaviṁśaṭi which calls him King of Vardhamāna ; Ḍaśakumāracariṭa alludes to his adventures in successive incarnations ; Harṣacariṭa makes him an enemy of Candrakeṭu, prince of Cakora ; and Kādambarī describes him as the king of Vidiśā. Rājaṭarangiṇī mentions him as the type of firmness and as predecessor of Vikramādiṭya.[3]

The story of his life has been the theme of several works.[4] Śūdrakacariṭa, an Ākhyāyikā,[5] Śudrakakaṭhā of Rāmila and Śaumila, ;[6]

1. This information is given in the prologue to Mṛtcakaṭikā.
2. *For the Founder of the Vikrama Era* (*JMy*. XII. 208, XIII. 506). A. Rangaswamy Sarasvati, has now propounded the theory that the founder of Vikramādiṭya era was Śudraka.
3. *Raj*. III, 343 ; *Levi*, 107.
4. *ZDMG*, XXVIII. 117 ; Keith, *SD*,
5. Mentioned by Vādigaughāla in his commentary on Kāvyādarśa.
6. Rājaśekhara names it :

तौ शूद्रककथाकारौ वन्द्यौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।
ययोर्द्वयोः काव्यमासीदर्धनारीश्वरोपमम् ॥ *Suktimuktāvali.*

Śūḍrakakaṭhā (prakrit poem) of Pancaśikha,[1] Vikrānṭa-Śūḍraka (a play).[2]

597. In Vīracariṭa,[3] a heroic poem in 30 adhyayas ANANTAKAVI narrates the events supposed to have taken place at Praṭisthāna (Paithan) on the Godāvarī in connection with Śālivāhana (the conqueror of Vikramāḍiṭya of Ujjain) and his son Śakṭikumāra. Śūḍraka is described as the friend and afterwards co-regent of Śālivāhana and of his son and when the latter attempted to disembarass himself of his influence, he was overthrown and Sūḍraka himself became king.

598. When did Śūḍraka live? On this question, as usual in the studies of Orientalists, views are various. But the synchronism mentioned in Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā that Śūḍraka was a contemporary of Svāṭi is a new standard for consideration, though this again depends on the unsettled chronology of the Āndhra dynasty of Magaḍha. According to Purānas and Kaliyuga Rājavṛṭṭānṭa, Simhaka Śrī Śāṭakarṇa, read variously as Sipraka, Kṣipraka, Sinḍhuka and Śiśuka founded the dynasty in 2305th year after Yuḍhisthira's coronation and the dynasty ruled for 506 years. The 24th in the line was Śivasvāṭi, the son of Mahenḍrasāṭakarṇi and he reigned for 28 years from 2705th year of Yuḍhisthira's coronation, that is, 434 to 409 B.C. But Puranic chronology is discredited by modern scholarship! Pargiter who now seems to be the authority whom modern historians adore gives 'on the footing of inscriptions' to Ānḍhra kings 230 B.C. to 225 A.D.[4] Purāṇas give a list of 32 kings of whom the last that bore a name ending in Svāṭi was Śivasvāṭi, the 27th king of the line. Śivasvāṭi was the earliest bearing the appellation after Hāla, who was first in the line. Hāla, alias Śāṭavāhana, inaugura-

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1. Mentioned by Bhoja in *Śṛngāraprakāśa* (XXVIII) :

शुकोजरद्गिरः शूद्रककथायां हरिमतीवृत्तान्ते यथा । जंवदणरव इविण ओ * * *

and also (*Ibid.* XXX.) शूद्रकचरिते

सम्भ्रान्तस्त्वरितमसौ मलिम्लुचानामुर्वीशश्शमितमयोधयद्धनुष्मान् ।

कालेऽस्मिन् विनयवती वनेषु चार्ता वार्तायै कमितुरितस्ततो जगाम ॥

and by Hemacanḍra in *Kāvyānuśāsana* (Bom. Edn. 388).

आनन्दः पञ्चशिखस्य शूद्रककथायाम्

2. Mentioned by Bhoja and Abhinavagupṭa.

3. See para 202 *supra*. For an account of Śālivāhana, see also the poem Śālivāhanakathā by Śivadāsa (para 204 supra).

4. *The Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali age* (Oxford) 36-43, 71, based on H. Luders, "A list of Brahmin inscriptions from the earliest times to about 400 A.D." (*EI*, X, App.) and V. Smith, *EH*, 207-217.

ted the Kaṭantra School of grammar and at his instance Sarvavarmān wrote the Kaṭantra system for speedy and easy instruction in grammar by the grace of God Kārṭikeya. If Śaṭavāhana Hāla, the 18th in the Āndhra line of kings, lived according to Pargiter about the beginning of the 1st century A.D., it is likely that Śūdraka who thought it fit to ridicule Kaṭantra grammar[1] was a contemporary of a king Svāṭi of Āndhra dynasty; that king was Śivasvāṭi who ruled about 81 A.D. Śivasvāṭi ruled for 28 years. On this consideration Sūdraka may be assigned to the end of the 1st century A.D.

According to Purāṇas, Śūdraka ruled in the middle of the 5th century B. C. as Śīvaswāṭi ruled in 462-434 B. C.[2]:—

				Purāṇic dates B. C.	Pargiter's dates. A. D.
1. Simhaka Śrī Swaṭikarna	..	..	..	834—811	
2. Kṛṣṇa Śrī Śāṭakarṇi	..	..	..	811—793	
3. Śrīmalla Śāṭakurṇi	..	..	..	793—783	
4. Purṇoṭsanga	..	..	..	783—765	

1. *BKR*, (1875-6), 74; Belvalkar (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 81) accepts the date 1st century A.D, for the origin of this School.

2. See T. S. Narayanasastri, *Age of Sankara*, Part I. *D*, 92-100, where also, see for sources and varieties of names of kings.

Wilson (*Theatre* I. 6) gives 190 A.D. on the authority of Skanḍa Purāṇa, which says Śuḍraka would reign 3293 years after Kali. A local Māhāṭmya of Paithama says he founded a dynasty there in 372 A.D. (*Arch. Sur. of Western India*, III. 56). Other accounts make him the first of the Āndhra Kings and say that the name given as Śiśuka. ' Śuruka or Śiprika elsewhere is an error for Śuḍraka (*JBRAS*, XIII. 312). Lassen (*IAlt*, II. 965) is uncertain but is inclined towards 150 A.D. Fergusson (*Indian and Eastern Arch.* 717; *JRAS*, (N.S.) IV. 122) gives 31 B.C. Wilford (*As. Res*, IX. 101) gives between 1st and 3rd century B.C. and Princep (*Useful tables*; *Arch Sur. of Western India*, II, 132) 21 B.C.; Regnaud (Int. to Edn., Paris) says Buddhism was then prevalent and assigns between 250—600 A.D. rather near the first. Weber (*IL*, 205) refers to the use of the word Nānaka (*Mrit.* I, 23) as a term borrowed from the coins of Kanerki who reigned in 40 A.D., and gives Śuḍraka a subsequent date. M. Williams (*IW*. 471) gives 1st century A.D. Pischel (*Int. to Śṛngāraṭilaka*) bases his view on the verse लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि and makes Śuḍraka contemporary of Dandin and Dandin the real author Mṛcchakaṭikā. Macdonell (*SL*, 361) agrees with Pischell and gives date 6th century A.D. See also Peterson (*Subh*, 130). Note this verse now found in Bhāsa's Cāruḍaṭṭa and Bālacariṭa. For criticism of these opinions, see K. P. Parab's Introduction to Mṛcchakatikā (Bombay). N. Chattopadhyaya, *Mṛcchakaṭikā, a study*, Bombay and Mysore. M. Nyayaratna, *On the authorship of Mṛcchakaṭikā* (*JASB*, 193-200). For articles in other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl*, 88-9 and *Bhāraṭi* (1924), 32. K. C. Mehendale [*Date of Sudraka's Mṛcchakaṭikā*] assigns Śuḍraka to the middle of 6th century A.D. J. C. Ghatak (*Date of Mṛcchakaṭika from astrological data*) fixes the date latest 3rd century B.C.

		Purāṇic dates B.C.	Pargiter's dates A.D.
5.	Śrī Śāṭakarṇi	765—709	
6.	Skanda Swāmin	709—691	
7.	Lambodara	691—673	
8.	Āpīṭaka	673—661	
9.	Meghasvāti	661—643	
10.	Śāṭasvāti	643—631	
11.	Skandasvātikarṇa	625—618	
12.	Mṛgendra Svāṭikarṇa	618—615	
13.	Kuntala Svāṭikarṇa	615—607	
14.	Saumya Svāṭikarṇa	607—595	
15.	Śaṭasvāṭikarṇa	595—594	
16.	Puloma Śāṭakarṇi or Puloman I	594—558	
17.	Megha Śāṭakarṇi	558—520	
18.	Ariṣṭa Śāṭakarṇi	520—495	
19.	Hāla	495—490	
20.	Purīndrasena or Purikasena	485—464	59
21.	Mandalaka	490—485	
22.	Sundara Śāṭakarṇi	464—463	80
23.	Cakora Śaṭakarṇi	463	81
24.	Mahendra Śaṭakarṇi	462	
25.	*Śivaśaṭakarṇi* or *Sivasvāti*	462—454	81
26.	Gautamīputra	434—409	109
27.	Puloman II	409—377	135
28.	Śivaśri Śaṭakarṇi	377—370	165
29.	Śivaskanda Śāṭakarṇi	370—363	170
30.	Yagnaśri Śāṭakarṇi	362—344	173
31.	Vajayśrī Śāṭakarṇi	344—338	205
32.	Candraśī Śāṭakarṇi	338—335	208
33.	Puloman III	335—322	218

599. Mrcchakatika, a play in 10 acts, describes the loves of Cārudaṭṭa and Vasanṭasenā. Cārudaṭṭa was a virutous Brahmin of affluence. He lost his fortune but did not forsake his piety. Vasanṭasenā, a courtesan, was enamoured of him and his qualities, and sent valuable jewels to him covered up in a cart used by his child. Śakāra, the brother-in-law of the reigning king Pālaka, was in love with Vasanṭasenā. But Vasanṭasenā did not receiprocate the love. Śakāra assaulted Vasanṭasenā as a result of which she fell down stunned and unconscious. Thereupon Śakāra accused Cārudaṭṭa as the murderer and the prosecution ended in a sentence of execution. In the meantime Vasanṭasenā had recovered and she appeared on the scene of execution just in time to save Cārudaṭṭa. About the same time, a revolution is said to have occured in the state. Āryaka, whom Cārudaṭṭa rescued

from prison, marched upon Ujjain deposed king Pālaka and installed himself on the throne and Cāruḍaṭṭa was in grateful appreciation of the kindness made one of his chief officers.[1]

600. There are commentaries on the play by Gaṇapaṭi,[2] by Pṛṭhvīḍhara,[3] by Rāmamayaśarman,[4] by Lallāḍīkṣiṭa,[5] by Śrīnivāsācārya,[6] by Viḍyāsāgara,[7] by Ḍharānanḍa.[8]

601. "The Mrcchakatika" says Wilson "is in many respects the most human of all the Sanskrit plays. There is something strikingly Shakesperian in the skilful drawing of characters, the energy aud life of the large number of personages in the play, and in the directness and clearness of the plot itself. It is a ten-act *prakarana* or comedy of middle class life, and the scene is laid in the city of Ujjain. The subject of the plot is the love and marriage of Carudatta, a brahman merchant reduced to poverty by his generosity. and Vasantasena, a rich courtesan. In the third act there is a long and humorous account of a burglary in which stealing is treated as an art or science provided with rules and conventional procedure. The chief value of the Mrcchakatika, aside from its interest as a drama, lies in the graphic picture it presents of a very interesting phase of everyday life in ancient India. The elaborate description of the heroine's palace in the fourth act gives us a glimpse of what was considered luxury in those days. The name 'Clay Cart' is taken from an episode in the sixth act, which leads to the finding of heroine's jewels in the terra cotta cart of the hero's little son and to their use as circumstantial evidence in a trial. This complicates the plot until all is resolved in the *denouement*."

602. The discovery of the play Caruḍaṭṭa, and its attribution to Bhāsa has led to very serious conjectures in literary history on the originality of this play, on the identity of Bhāsa and of Śūḍraka and of the

1. Ed. with various commentaries everywhere. Translated into English prose and verse by A. W. Rider with an introduction (*HOS*, Harward); by Wilson, *Theatre*, I. 182 and partly by K. B. Parab (Bombay). For translation into various other European languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl.* 87.
2. *OC*, I. 465.
3. Ed. by N. B. Godabole, also by K. P. Parab (Bombay).
4. Ed. by V. Mujumdar (Calcutta).
5. Ed. by N. B. Godabole (Bombay).
6. Ed. Madras.
7. Ed. Calcutta.
8. *DC*, XXI. 8475. He was son of Rāmabala. It was composed by 1814 A.D.

condition of the classical literature before the Christian era.[1] Carudaṭṭa, as extant, extends only to 4 acts and it is there incomplete and so far as these four acts go Mricchakatika is about a copy of it. "The first acts of the two plays differ very little except that Vasantasena is pursued by two persons in Carudaṭṭa, while she is pursued in Mritchakatika by three persons, namely Vita, Cheta and Sakara. In the second Act of Carudatta are not found the characters Madhura, Dyutakara and Darduka of Mritchakatika and the sham Vasantasena to turn a parivrat, but not a Sakya Sramanaka as in Mritchakatika. In the third Act the plot is the same in both the plays. In the fourth, where Vasantasena has overheard the conversation between Madana and Sajjalaka, Vidushaka has stepped in to carry out his mission, and Sajjalaka appears before Vasantasena only after Vidushaka is gone unlike in Mritchakatika."[2]

The light thrown on the life of Śūdraka by Avantisundarīkathā-sāra helps to trace the real intent and import of the Mṛcchakatikā. Āryaka appears to be Śūdraka and Carudaṭṭa to be Śūdraka's friend Bandhudaṭṭa.[3]

603. Vatsarajacaritra, or Vīṇāvāsavadaṭṭa,[4] does not give the name of its author but it resembles in dramatic character the plays attributed to Bhāsa. "In a manuscript of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali preserved in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, the nāndī verse

1. While advocates of authorship of Carudaṭṭa say that Mṛcchakatika was a later enlargement of Carudaṭṭa, the opponents say that Carudaṭṭa was an abridgment of Mṛcchakatika. There are now springing up scholars who think Bhāsa was a poet of the Court of Śūdraka.

2. As summarised by T. Ganapathi Sastri in his Introduction to Carudaṭṭa. In his introduction to Svapna-Vasāvadaṭṭā (xxxviii et seq.), he gives instances of common and similar passages.

3. A. Rangasami Sarasvati (*JMy*, XII. 274) also suggests that Vasantasena means Malayavaṭī, who was hurt by Kuntalā Śatakarṇi (See Kamasutra) and the latter may mean Śakāra. The known epigraphical date for Purikasena (20th Āndhra king) in 59 A.D. and Kuntala Śātakarni (13th Āndhra King) lived according to the Purāṇas 130 years before Purikasena. That would place Kuntala's accession about 80 B.C.

K. P. Jayaswal, Bhandarkar and P. D. Gune also attempted to extract historical information from Mṛcchakatikā. According to them king Pradyota of Ujjain had two sons Gopālaka and Palaka and a daughter Vāsavadaṭṭā. Pālaka appears to have ascended the throne after his brother either because his eldest brother abdicated or he died leaving his son young. This child Āryaka of the play later on dethroned Pālaka, probably with the help of his aunt's husband Udayana, who thus gained power and influence over Ujjain.

4. *TC*, III. 3995. So says the author of Śakuntalācarcā (in *O.M.* Library).

is quoted under Śūdraka.[1] This reference coupled with the graceful language and the similarity of style where the word "Kuvalaya" is often used (a character of Śūdraka's works), lends an authority to Vallabhadeva's citation. Mahāsena, King of Ujjain, had a daughter Vāsavadattā of marriageable age. Instructed to marry her to a suitable prince, he did penance and Śiva, pleased with it, blessed her with a husband of specified qualities, all of them excellent. The king was at a loss to know who that prince was and when his ministers assembled rejected the names of several contemporary kings, Darsaka of Magadha, Satamanyu of Matsya, Subāhu of Sindhu and others the minister Vasuvarma lighted upon Vatsarāja of Kauśāmbī, as the object of Śiva's description. But Vatsarāja was proud and inaccessible. They thought of means of bringing him round. Because Vatsarāja in the garb of an elephant threw dust on a sage and was cursed to be imprisoned through an elephant, the minister devised the stratagem by alluring him by an artificial elephant, for in the capture of elephants Vatsaraja was an expert. So the elephant was made and stationed in the woods. The perfection of its form baffled all reality. News reached Vatsarāja that a splendid elephant had entered his forest and off went he to capture it with the aid of his Veenā. Ghoṣavati. As he approached the elephant, then came out hidden warriors and Vatsarāja was over-powered and taken to Ujjain where he was kept an honourable captive. His minister Yaugandharayana affected much pain at the loss of Vatsarāja and proclaimed his proposed immolation in fire at once. In the presence of the bewailing population, Yaugandharayana entered the fire, but by the help of Tiraskariṇī-vidyā, became invisible. He put on the garb of a lunatic and entered the city of Kauśāmbī at night, in the description of which the poet cannot be too far appreciated.[2] In the meantime Yaugandharayana contrived to let loose an elephant in rut from Kausambī on Ujjain and when none there was to prevent its havoc, Vatsarāja was temporarily let out for its subjugation. This he did with ease and he saw Vāsavadattā watching his movements from the apartments of the palace. The dawn of love was instant and the impression that she made on Vatsarāja is exquisitely delineated. The lovers were pining. Mahasena's minister, Śālankāyana noticed the

1. यन्मण्डलं पापविनाशदक्षं यदृग्यजुस्सामसयंपवित्रम् ।
विराजते येन च भूर्भुवस्सुवः पुनातु वस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यम् ॥ embedding Gāyatrimantra.

2. उपागतं वमादिव दिङ्मुखैस्तमो निशामुखं परभृतकर्णमेचकम् ।
परिक्षरत्तिमिरपरीतमम्बरं शनैश्शनैरवतरतीव मेदिनीम् ॥

inclination and suggested to the king that Vatsarāja should be made to instruct Vāsāvadattā in Vīṇa. Yaugandharāyana by this time was able to interview Vatsarāja and moved by the sight of his sorrows blessed him with a near victory. Day by day the association of the lovers in the course of musical instruction was fanning the fire of love and in a short time the mutual enchantment was in a climax. Here follows an Antarnātikā, with a regular Prastāvana. Then follows a scene in which Vāsavadattā having reached the perfection of her tuition, exhibits her art in music and dancing. The bewitching poses and movements tended to enslave Vatsarāja's mind and there remained only an open expression of the mutual fascination. This was accompanied by messages of the maids and exchange of a ring. On a day when the townsmen were regaling themselves in a festival on the Narmada bank and when the king was out on a hunting excursion, Yaugandharāyaṇa by the merit of his charms created an apparent fire in the palace and in the midst of the confusion of attempted escapes, the lovers escape to Kauśāmbī on their favourable elephants Nalagīri and Bhadrāvatī to the amazing joy of his subjects and a Bharatavakya is its own. The play is available in full only for the first three acts and for the rest there is only the collection of verses, so that it is not possible to say what was the theme of the sub-play. It closes with the expression of Vatsaraja's devotion to Vāsavadattā, a description of her charms and a diversion on the Vīṇā." Here are verses worthy of Śūdraka :

या शेते कौस्तुभस्य द्युतिकिसलयते शारदव्योमनीले
विष्णोर्वक्षस्युदारे रजनिकरकराकारहारोपहारे ।
साभ्येत्यालिङ्गतु त्वां प्रशिथिलगलतेनोत्तरीयेण लक्ष्मीः
हर्षादापीडयन्ती नवकमलरजोरोचनाभ्यां स्तनाभ्याम् ॥

विष्णोर्जयत्यरुणताम्रतलस्सपादो यः प्रोच्छ्रुतः सलिलतस्त्रिजगत्प्रमातुम् ।
क्वापि प्रविष्टरुचिराङ्गुलिराबभासे वैदूर्यसंक्रम इवाम्बरसागरस्य ॥

604. In Kṣemendra's Aucityavicāracarcā (p. 152), there is a quotation from some work of a poet Dīpaka in which Vinayavati figures : न तु यथा तस्यैव (दीपकस्य)—

अयि विरहविचित्ते भर्तुरर्थे तथार्ता सपदि निपतिता त्वं पादयोश्चण्डिकायाः ।
स्वयमुपहितधूपस्थालकच्छत्रशृङ्गोद्दलितमपि ललाटं येन नैवाललक्षे ॥

अत्र विनयवत्याः सुचिरात्प्रत्यावगतं ललाटनखोल्लेखापह्नववचने सख्या समुपदिश्यमाने स्वैरापह्नवशिक्षामात्रमेवोपलक्ष्यते ॥

We have seen that Ḍandin expressed that Śūḍraka, after his conquest, compiled a work, in which he described his own experiences. It is conjectured that Vāsavaḍaṭṭā represented Vinayavaṭī, Yaugandharāyaṇa personated Banḍhuḍaṭṭa and the story of Vaṭsarāja and his amours with Vāsavaḍaṭṭā while in confinement in Mahāsena's palace have been suggested by Śūḍraka's love of Vinayavāṭī, engendered while imprisoned in the days of King Swāṭi and by his elopement with the help of his friend Banḍhuḍaṭṭa.[1]

605. **Padmaprabhṛtaka**,[2] a humorous Bhāṇa, describes the amours of Mūlaḍeva[3] and Ḍevaḍaṭṭā and their successful union through

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1. शूद्रकेणासकृज्जित्वा स्वच्छया खड्गधारया ।
जगद्भूयोऽप्यवष्टब्धं वाचा स्वचरितार्थया ॥ *Avanṭisunḍarikaṭhā.*

For a detailed account of this play by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, see *Kalā 1*, parts 8, 9, 10 and 12.

2. Ed. by M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi in Caṭurbhāṇi (Trichur) with a valuable introduction. *TC*, III. 3896, Hemacanḍra quotes the verse.

मूलादपि मध्यादपि विटपादप्यङ्कुरादशोकस्य ।
पिशुनस्थमिव रहस्यं समन्ततो निष्कसति पुष्पम् ॥
(*Kāvyānusasana*, Bombay edn. 198.

3. Mulaḍeva was according to Avanṭisunḍarikaṭhasāra the founder of Ellichpur (Acalapura). There are many legends about Mulaḍeva. Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara (Tarangas, 89, 124) gives an account of him as the friend of Vikramāḍiṭya and as having won a bride at Pataliputra. Kṣemendra's Kalāvilāsa proceeds as if related by Mulaḍeva In Mulaḍeva was also known as in Karṇisuṭa, Kalānkāra, Mulabhaḍra and Kharapata. In Maṭṭavilāsa Kapālika says नमः खरपटायेति वक्तव्यं येन चोरशास्त्रं प्रणीतम् ॥

In Kāḍambarī, Bāṇa speaks of Vinḍhyātavi कर्णीसुतकथेव सन्निहितविपुलाचला शशोपगता च ।

Vipulā is Devaḍaṭṭā's sister in this play Paḍmaprābhṛṭaka and Śaśa is a friend of Mulaḍeva. Harṣacariṭa (VI) says अतिदयितलास्यस्य शैलूषमध्यस्य मूर्धानमसिलतया मृणालमिवालुनादग्निमित्रात्मजस्य सुमित्रस्य मित्रदेवः. Hence मित्रदेव is a misprint for मूलदेव. (See on this Paper by A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, *JMy*, XIV. 29: XV. 51 Maṭṭavilāsaprahasana alludes to a work of Mulaḍeva on theft. In Mṛcchakatika where Sarvalika the burgler dilates upon the intricacies of the art of housebreaking. Śuḍraka must have had Mulaḍeva's exploits in mind. Avanṭisunḍarikaṭhā has a verse

स नारायणदत्ताया देवदत्ताश्रयाकथा ।
मूलदेवोदि...................... ॥

The rest of the line is lost which probably alluded to some work of Mulaḍeva. Mulaḍeva is also known to have been a poet. Mulaḍevakaṭhā (*Mitra* X) says that he was a wicked prince of Pātaliputra, who having been banished regained favour of the king through the good offices of a prostitute Devaḍaṭṭā.

the endeavours his friend Śaśa. Sanghalika, a rival lover is introduced, and a person of this name appears in Avantisundarīkathā as plotting to kill king Śūdraka. One of the characters Dattakalaśī condemns the Katāntra School of grammarians as against the school of Pāṇini. Reference is made to Dattaka, author of Vaiśikasūtras, who began his work with the syllable *Om*. This play is a fine specimen of poetic art and distinctly ranks among the best known works in Sanskrit literature.[1]

606. Puspadusitaka, or Puṣpabhūṣitaka is a prakaraṇa, in which the heroine is a kulajā. It is mentioned by Abhinavagupta and Dhanika and a fairly good summary of the plot is given by Kuntaka.[2]

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1. See for instance, the verse from which the play got its name :

ईषल्लीलावदष्टं स्तनतटमृदितं पत्रलेखानुविद्धं
खिन्नं निश्वासवातैर्मलयतरुरसक्लिष्टकिञ्जल्कवर्णम् ।
प्रातर्निर्माल्यभूतं सुरतसमुदयप्राभृतं प्रेषयास्मै
पद्मं पद्मावदाते करतलमृदितभ्रामणक्लिष्टनाळम् ॥

The description of a ball play is fine :

प्रेङ्खोलत्कुण्डलाया बलवदनिभृते कंदुकोन्मादिताया:
चञ्चद्बाहुद्वयाया: प्रविकचविसृतोदीर्णपुष्पालकाया: ।
आवर्तोद्भ्रान्तवेगप्रणयविलसितक्षुब्धकाञ्चीगुणाया:
मध्यस्यावल्गमानस्तनभरनमितस्यास्य ते क्षेममस्तु ॥

and so is the first lapse of an amorous damsel :

भयाद्रुतमसूयितप्रचलमेखलानूपुरं
सशङ्कशिथिलोपगूहमवमुक्तनीवीपथम् ।
स्वयं समभिनाहयत्वयमुदात्तरागायुध-
स्तव प्रथमचोरिकासुरतसाहसं मन्मथ: ॥

2. (i) मन्दकुलानां स्त्रीणां चरितं यत्रेत्याहु: । तेन कुलाङ्गनापि तत्र मन्दकुलैवेति दर्शितं भवति । एतदेवाभिमन्यमानेन पुष्पदूषितके अशोकदत्तादिशब्दाकर्णनेन समुद्रदत्तस्य शङ्कायोपरिबन्धसन्नादोषा (?) निर्वहणान्तोपयोगिनि हि नन्दन्ती (नन्दिनी) निर्वासने, तस्याश्च गृहान्तरावस्था । इदमेव मुखसन्धौ मूलम् ।—*Abhinavabhārati*.

(ii) प्रबन्धावयवानां प्रधानबलसंबन्धनिबन्ध्यानुग्राह्यानुग्राहकभाव: स्वभावसुभगप्रति-भाप्रकाशमान: कस्यचिद्विचक्षण:(स्य) वक्रचमत्कारिण: कवेरलौकिकं वक्रिमासंजानलावण्यं समुल्लासयति । यथा पुष्पदूषितके द्वितीये अङ्के—

प्रस्थानात्प्रतिनिवृत्यनिबिडानुरागद: (?) नवरायाविभावादर्या (?) अमन्दमदनोन्मादमुद्रेण समुद्रदत्तेन निजमहिकेतनं तुल्यदिवसमानन्दयन्ती समाननाय मणिमुचेनेव प्रविशता प्रकंपावेग-

Samudradatta, a friend of Mūladeva won over a concubine of the latter and Mūladeva vowed to seduce the wife of Samudradatta. Samudradatta secrectly married Nandayantī. Mūladeva proclaimed by māyā that Nandayantī was married to him and on his complaint Samudradatta was banished. His wife was kept in a cell, but Samudradatta managed to visit her in nights and when her pregnancy was known she was suspected by her father of unchastity and sent out. She took shelter in the house of a Śabara. Samudradatta returned and his marriage was proved, but when he hesitated to accept her on account of the pregnancy, his servant Katāha proved to him that on the night of his visit, he gave a ring to Nandayantī at the conjunction of the constellations Punarvasū and Puṣya and the boy was born in Viśākha. Samudradatta was convinced, and he and Mūladeva again became friends and all ends well.

607. **Harsa or Harsha-Vardhana** was the son of Prabhākaravardhana[1] and Yaśomatī.[2] He bore titles Pratāpaśīla and

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विकललासकायननिपातनिहितनिद्रस्य द्वारदेशशायिनः कुवलयस्योत्कोचकारणं सकरादङ्गुलीयकदानं च यत्कृतं तच्चतुर्थेऽङ्के मथुराप्रतिनिवृत्तेन तेनैव शमदमस्य निष्क्रम्य शमावेदितसमुद्रदत्तवृत्तान्तेन कुलकलङ्काकदर्थ्यमानस्य सार्थवाहसागरदत्तस्य स्वतनयस्पर्शमानः समाविदूरस्नुषाशीलशुद्धिमुन्मीलयत्तदुपकाराय कल्पते । तता च सागरदत्तस्य वचनं "तदङ्गुलीयं सुतनामाचिह्नं चरित्रशुद्धिं विसामान्यमुद्यता......पापस्य भवेत् स शुद्धिः"—*Vakroktijivita.*

प्रबन्धेषु पूर्वं पूर्वं प्रकरणम् अपरस्मात्परस्य प्रकरणान्तरस्य सरससंपादितसंबन्धसंविधानकसमर्प्यमाणकता प्राणप्रौढिप्ररूढवक्रतोल्लेखमाह्लादयति । यथा पुष्पदूषितके प्रथमं प्रकरणम्, अतिदारुणाभिनवप्रवासवेदनानिरानन्दस्य आनन्दयन्निव संमान्यसमागतस्य समुद्रतीरे समुद्रदत्तस्योत्कण्ठाप्रकारप्रकाशनं, द्वितीयमपि प्रस्थानात्प्रतिनिवृत्य, निशीथिन्यामुखौ चालङ्कारदानमूकीभूतकुवलयस्य कुसुमपातितायां अनाकलितमेव तस्य सहचरीसङ्गमनम्, तृतीयमपि संभावितकुविनयेऽपि नयदत्तनन्दिनीनिर्व्यासव्यसनतत्समाधाननिबन्धनम्, चतुर्थमपि मथुरां प्रतिनिवृत्तकुवलयप्रदृश्यमानविमलसंपदः कठोरगर्भभरखिन्नायां स्नुषायां निष्कारणनिष्कासनादनाहितप्रवृत्तेः महापातकिनमात्मानं मन्यमानस्य सार्थवाहसागरदत्तस्य तीर्थयात्राप्रवर्तनम्, पञ्चममपि वनान्तः नवपालपालिकामानन्दयन्त्यालासकालनेन समुद्रदत्तकुशलोदन्तकथनम्, षष्ठमपि सर्वेषां विचित्रसङ्ख्या समागमाभ्युदयसंपादकमिति ॥—*Vakroktijivita.*

प्रकरणे नायिका द्विधा—वेश्या कुलजेति । यथा वेश्यैव तरङ्गदत्ते, कुलजेव पुष्पदूषितके । *Daśarupa.*

For a note and extracts by R. Ramamurti, see *JORS*, IV. 78.

1. For a collection of his verses, see F.W. Thomas, *Kav.* 54, and Peterson, *Subh.*
2. For coins bearing those titles, see Burn, *JRAS*, (1906), 845.

Śīlāditya.[1] His capital was Dhaneswar and Kanauj. His father attained considerable success in his wars against the neighbouring countries of Malawas, Gurjaras and Huns. Rājyavardhana was his elder brother and Rājyaśrī his sister. In an expedition against the king of Malwa to weak his vengeance for wrongfully confining Rājyaśrī, Rājyavardhana was though successful treacherously slain by the vanquished king's ally, Saśānka, king of Bengal.[2] Harṣa ascended the throne in 604 A.D. and started an era in his name.[3] Having recovered his sister, Harṣa overran Northern India in five years and reigned happily till 647 A.D. Within six years of his accession, Harṣa came to hold sway over the whole of the Ganges basin including Nepal and over the whole of the Hindustan including Orissa. His attempt to become overlord of South India was furstrated by his defeat at the hands Calukya Pulakesin.

Himself a great poet his court was the resort of learned men on whom he conferred munificent gifts. The Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang visited his capital during his Indian tour and he gives an excellent account of his court and administration.[4] Bāṇa, Divākara and Mayūra were poets of his court[5] and in his Harṣacarita Bāṇa describes the life and greatness of his patron.

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1. For the geneology of the family, see Gupta Ins. No. 52; *EI*, IV. 208, I. 67; *JRAS* (196), 845; ibid (1909), 446. For a full account, see C. V. Vaidya's *MI*, II. 1-160 and Parekh's *Life of Harsha* (in mahratti).

2. Śaśāṅka's kingdom probably became subject to Harṣa later on, see *EI*. VI. 143.)

3. For inscriptions dated in this era, see Keilhorn, *IA*. XXVI. 32; also *EI*, V. App. Nos. 528-47.

4. Beal, *Life and Travels of Hiuen Tsang* (Paris) Records; Watters, *On Hiuen Chuan's Travels in India* (London).

On Harṣadeva generally, see C. Francisco, *Sui Drami attribuiti a4 Harshadeva*, Naples; Maurice L. Ettinghausen, *Harshavardhana, Emperor and poet* (Louvain), an exhaustive monograph; K. M. Pannikar, *Sri Harsha of Kanouj*, Bombay; S. J. Warren, *Koning Harsha Van Kanyakubja* (The Hague); V. Smith, *EH*, 335-359, *Oxford History of India*, 165-171.

For inscriptions relating to Harṣa, see *IA*, VII. 196: XI. 308; XII. 234; XIII. 70, 421; XVII. 146; XIX. 40, 151; XX. 119; and generally see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 98; *CC*, I. 764; Peterson, *PR*, IV. 138; *JBRAS*, X. 38; XVI. 179; Bhandarkar, *BR*, (1897), XX. 11; Fleet, *CII*, III. 931, 171 note.

For all verses quoted in the anthologies see F. W. Thomas, *Kav*. 117-122.

5. Padmagupta in Navasāhasāṅkacarita (II) says

विचित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिहारिणोरवनीपतेः । श्रीहर्षस्येव संघट्टं चक्रे बाणमयूरयोः ॥

A verse is quoted as Rājaśekhara's in Jalhaṇa's Suktimuktāvali (*JBRAS*, XVII. 57-71),

अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्याः यन्मातङ्गदिवाकरः । श्रीहर्षस्याभवत्सभ्यस्समो बाणमयूरयोः ॥

608. It is a matter of controversy whether king Harṣāvardhana was the author of or at least the patron of the author of the three dramas Ratnāvalī, Nāgānanda end Priyadarśikā. It is said in Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa that one of the objects of poetry is wealth and as an illustration is added श्रीहर्षादेर्बाणा (धावका) दीनामिव धनम् ।[1] From this it has been suggested that 'Bāṇa' or 'Ḍhāvaka' according to the readings taken, was the real author and the king purchased the authorship from them for a price. This statement of Mammata may be correct so far as it goes, but there is very little other evidence that these dramas particularly were written by Ḍhāvaka or Bāṇa and were so paid for. It may be that in appreciation of some good poetry written by these poets, the king showed his munificence.

In the absence of definite evidence that king Harṣavardhana was the author or proprietor by purchase of these works from Bāṇa or Ḍhāvaka, it is a matter for consideration, who was the *Harṣadeva* mentioned in the prologues of these plays as their author.[2]

609. So far as it is known, King Harṣavardhana has not been called Harṣadeva in any of his inscriptions or by Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita. Even in the anthologies, the name Harṣadeva is used[3] and the verses there are quoted from these three dramas and verses quoted under the name of Harṣavardhana are not traceable in these dramas. Kalhaṇa mentions king Harṣa-Vikramāditya of Ujjain, as the patron of Mātṛgupta.[4] If there is no cogent connection between king Harṣa-

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1. Among commentators on Kāvyaprakāsā, who read 'Dhāvaka' are Jayarāma Vaidyanātha, Nagoji, Paramānanda, Narasimha and Acyuṭarāya. (See Vāmanācārya's edition of Kāvyaprakāśa, 8-9 Brahme and Paranjpe (Introduction to Nagananda); H. H. Wilson (*Theatre*, II. 259, 346) and Pischel, *GGA*, XXXIX, 1235 41 accept this view. F. Hall, (*JASB*, XXXI, 11-13, Int. to Vasav) says that Bāṇa's claim is as good as Dhāvaka's. E. P. Cowell (Prof. to Boyd's Nāgānānda) and Macdonell (*SL*. 362) say Bāṇa was author of Ratnāvali and Dhāvaka of Nāgānanda. Weber (*IL*, 204, 207, 212, 218) attributes Ratnāvali to Bāṇa. Henry (*Int. Lit.* 295-313), Ettinghousen (*l.c.* 98-102), S. Konow (*Das Indische Drama*. 73-4), M. Winternitz (*Ind. Lit.* III, 226), Levi (*TI*, 184-196), and E. Windisch, (*Tr. of Int. Oriental Congress* (1884) II. 93-95), accept Harṣa's authorship. For a summary of these views, see Int. to Priyadarsika (Col. Un. Series), xxi.

2. See for a learned discussion, by Saradaranjan Ray, *Int.* to Ratnavali (Calcutta.)

3. See F.W. Thomas, *Kav.* 1117 and Peterson, *Subh.* 138.

4. See para 568 supra.

तत्रानेहस्युज्जयिन्यां श्रीमान् हर्षापराभिधः ।
एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्ती विक्रमादित्य इत्यभूत् ॥

vardhana, and these dramas, it is quite likely that this Harṣadeva was that king Harṣa-Vikramāḍiṭya. Abhinavaguptạ, Śāraḍāṭanaya, and Bahurūpamiśra quote verses from a commentary on Nāṭyaśastra by a Harṣā. It is equally likely that Harṣa, the writer on dramaturgy, was the author of these plays.

A king Harṣa is mentioned as a great poet by several writers of successive centuries.[1] Bāṇa eulogises Harṣa's poetic genius.[2] I'Tsing records that king Śīlāḍiṭya versified the story of Boḍhisaṭva Jīmuṭavāhana, he had it performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting and thus popularised it in his time."[3] Soddhala enumerates Vikramāḍiṭya, Śrī Harṣa, Munja, Bhojaḍeva &c. as Kavīnḍras[4] and eulogises Hārṣa.[5] Jayaḍeva cites Harṣa along with Bāṇa, Rāmila Saumila etc.[6] Ḍamoḍaraguptạ gives excerpts from Raṭnāvali and calls it the work of a royal author.[7]

Besides verses from the three plays, about a dozen verses, are also quoted in the anthologies as Harṣa's.[8] Two Buddhistic poems of devotion Ṣuprabhāṭasṭoṭra in 24 verses and Aṣṭamahāśrīcaiṭyasaṃskarasṭoṭra (in 5 verses) are also attributed to him.[9]

In Bhoja's Śṛngāraprakāśa (chap. xx) there is the following verse quoted:

श्लोकोऽयं हरुषाभिधानकविना देवस्य तस्याग्रतः
यावद्यावदुदीरितश्शकवधूवैधव्यदीक्षागुरुः ।
तावत्तावदुपोढसान्द्रपुलकोद्भेदः स्स तस्मै ददौ
लक्षं लक्षमखण्डितं मदजलप्रक्लिन्नगण्डं गजम् ।

So in Śaradāṭanaya's Bhāvaprakāśa (VII).

दिव्यमानुषसंयोगो यत्राङ्कैरविदूषकैः ।
तदेव त्रोटकं भेदो नाटकैरविदूषकैः ॥

1. See Priyadarśikā (*COS*. Int. xli.).

2. काव्यकथास्व **** ममृतमुद्वमन्तम् । अपिचास्यकवित्वस्यवाचः न पर्याप्तोविषयः ॥ Harṣacariṭa (Bombay Edn.) 79, 86.

3. A record of the Buddhist Religion in India and the Malay Archipelago (Tr. by Takakusu, 163).

4. Uḍayasunḍari, (*GOS*), 150.

5. श्रीहर्ष इत्यवनिवर्तिषु पार्थिवेषु नाम्नेव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
गीर्हर्ष एष निजसंसदि येन राज्ञा संपूजितः कनककोटिशतेन बाणः ॥

6. See para 567 supra.

7. He quotes the verse उदयनगान्तरितमियं प्राची सूचयति दिङ्निशानाथम् ।

8. See Thomas, *Kav*. 117-20.

9. Ettinghousen, *l.c.* 168-175, 176-173; Thomas, *JRAS* (1903) 703-722; S. Levi. *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, Leiden (1894), II. i. 189-203.

610. Ratnavali,[1] a natikā in four acts, describes the secret loves of King Uḍāyana and Sāgarikā, an attendant on the queen Vāsavaḍaṭṭā. Private intrigues are arranged but discovered by the queen. "After may vicissitudes the heroine turns out to be Ratnavali, a Ceylon princess, whom a shipwreck has brought to Udayana's court. The plot is unconnected with mythology, but is based on a historical or epic tradition, which recurs in a somewhat different form in Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara. As concerned with the second marriage of the King, it forms a sequel to the popular love-story of Vasavadatta. It is a impossible to say whether the poet modified the main outlines of traditional story, but the character of a magician who conjures up a vision of the gods and a conflagration is his invention, as well as the incidents which are entirely of a domestic nature."[2]

There are commentaries by (Bhīmasena, Muḍgalaḍeva),[3] Govinḍa,[4] Prākṛṭācārya,[5] J. Viḍyāsāgara,[6] K. N. Nyāyapancānana,[7] S. C. Chakravarti,[8] Śiva,[9] Lakṣmaṇasūri,[10] R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya,[11] S. Ray,[12] V. S. Aiyar[13] and by Nārāyaṇaśaṣtri Nigudkar.[14]

611. Kṣemenḍra's drama Laliṭaraṭnamālā appears to have had a similar plot. There is this quotation in his Auciṭyavicāracarcā (pp. 140-2).

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1. Ed. everywhere. On Raṭnāvali generally, see R. C. Dutt, *Civ.* II. 265. M. Williams, *IW*, 505; G. Buhler: *On the authorship of the Ratnavali* (*IA*, II. 127). F. Hall. *Int. to Vasavadatta*, 15-18; J. J. Mayer (*Damodaragupta's Kuttinimatam*, Leipzig; S. C. Vidyabhushan, *Date of Ratnavali*, *Mahabodhi*, 12); R. V. Krishnamacharya, Int. to Edn. (Srirangam); it is a very elaborate introduction; M. Schuyler, *Bib.* 9; Buhler, *On the authorship of Ratnavali*, *IA*, II. 127); Weber, II. 207; Saradaranjan Ray's Int. to Ed. (Calcutta) contains a valuable introduction. See also *IStr*. I. 356. Tr. into English by Saradaranjan Ray (Calcutta), by S. C. Chakravarti (Dacca); by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 255-319; by Bidhu B. Goswami (Calcutta). For translations into other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl*, 40.
2. Macdonell, *SL*, 362.
3. *CC*, I. 492.
4. Ed. Bombhy.
5. *CC*, II. 115.
6. Ed. Calcutta.
7. Ed. Calcutta.
8. Ed. Dacca.
9. *HR*, III. 34. 137. He was son of Ṭryambaka.
10. Ed. Calcutta.
11. Ed. Madras.
12. Ed. Srirangam.
13. Ed. Kumbakonam.
14. Ed. by K. M. Joglekar with an English Introduction (Bombay).

यथा मम ललितरत्नमालायाम्—

निद्रां न स्पृशति त्यजत्यपि धृतिं धत्ते स्थितिं न क्वचित्
दीर्घां वेत्ति कथां व्यथां न भजते सर्वात्मना निर्वृतिम् ।
तेनाराधयता गुणस्तव जपध्यानेन रत्नावळीं
निस्सङ्गेन पराङ्गनापरिगतं नामापि नो सह्यते ॥

अत्र वत्सेश्वरस्य रत्नावळीविरहविधुरचेतसः स्मरव्यथासमुचितं विदूषकेण सुसङ्गतायै यदभिहतं । निद्रां न स्पृशति...न सह्यते स्थितिधृतिकथानिर्वृतीनां स्त्रीलिङ्गाभिधानेनाङ्गत्वाध्यारोपेण परमौचित्यं प्रतिपादितम् ॥

612. Priyadarsika, a nātikā in four acts, is a reflection of Raṭnāvali. Ḍridhavarman, King of the Angas, having betrothed his daughter Priyaḍarśikā to King Uḍayana prepares to take her to him. Meanwhile the Kalinga King overcomes and imprisons him. Priyaḍarśikā after some vicissitudes is admitted to the harem of Uḍayana by his commander, under the name of Āranyikā, a maid-servant to the queen. The king is enamoured of her and his secret intrigues are as usual discovered by the Queen. Āranyikā is imprisoned by her, but not long after this, she is recognised as the Anga princess Priyaḍarśikā, her own maternal cousin. Bitten by a serpent the heroine is in a swoon and the king revives her. The story ends with her happy presentation to the king by the queen herself.[1]

There is a commentary by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācarya.[2]

613. Nagananda[3] in four acts "describes the story exactly as related in the Kathasaritsagara (Taranga XXII) of Jimutavahana, a prince of the Vidyadharas, who, swayed by sentiments of universal love, relinquishes his kingdom to serve his parents in the forest. There in the Malaya mountain he falls in love with the daughter of the Gandharva King; and roaming about by chance, fresh from the wedding, he hears that the King of Serpents has made peace with Garuda and stipulated to offer a serpent each day to the kite. The heart of the prince is moved. He resolves to save the life of that day's victim even at the

1. On Priyaḍarśikā generally. G. Strehly: Int. to Edn. (Paris). F. Cimmino (*o. c.* XXXI. 1-18). R. V. Krishnamacharya. Int. to Edn (Srirangam No, 3). M. Schuyler. *Bibl.* 2.

2. Ed. Srirangam: (with an introduction by the commentator). Ed. by J. Vidyasagara; Ed. V. D. Gadre, (Col. Un. series) with translation by G. K. Nariman, A. V. W. Jackson and C. J. Ogden, and an elaborate introduction.

3. In a manuscript preserved in the Patan Library dated Samvat 1258, the name of the author is given as Śrī Harṣa (see *PR*, V.)

risk of his own. Garuda finds out that by mistake he has harmed the disguised prince and overpowered with grief learns that abstinence from cruelty is the highest virtue on earth. The play ends with the appearance of the Goddess Gauri, who revives the prince to life."

There are commentaries by Ātmārāma,[1] by N. C. Kaviratna,[2] by Śivarāma[3] and by Śrīnivāsācārya.[4] There is a poem called Nāgānanda.[5]

Other dramas[6] composed on a similar purpose and style of composition are the Lokānanda of Candragomin[7] and Śānticaritra[8] of unknown authorship.

614. "From the invocation to Buddha in the Nāndī and the circumstance that the play describes the incidents of Buddha's life in his work as Jīmūtavāhana, it is possible to say that the play has a Buddhistic coloring, but it may be too soon to affirm that the main purpose of it is to illustrate a Buddhistic doctrine of universal humaneness. The rule of compassion is inculcated in all ancient Hindu Ethical literature and is essentially pre-Buddhistic in its origin. Garuda is an Aryan God and the appearance of the goddess Gauri and shower of nectar marking the happy culmination are Hindu in their core.'[9]

On Nāgānanda generally, see S. Beal (*The Academy*, XXIV. 217; F. Cimmino, Proc. 13th Int. Cong. of Orientalists, Leiden (1902), 31; S. G. Bhanap. Int. to Edn. (Bombay). G. B. Brahme and S. M. Paranjape, Int. to Edn. (London); S. C. Ray. Int. to Edn (Calcutta); M. Schuyler, *Bibl.* 9. Weber, *IL*, 207. Burgess (*IA*, I. 140) gives an excellent English summary. Tr. into English by N. C. Vaidyaratna (Calcutta), by P. Boyd (London), by S. C. Ray (Calcutta) and by Vasudevachariar (Madras) with a summary of the plot; by R. D. Karmarkar (Poona) with notes and introduction and by L. V. Ramachendra Iyer, Madras and by P. V. Ramanujaswami with Int,. Trn. and notes, Madras.

1. *CC*, I. 283. He is probably different from the commentator, Rāma in *DC*, XXI. 8414.
2. Ed. Calcutta.
3. Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, *TSS*, Trivandrum. He has also commented on Subhadrādhananjaya and Tapatī-Samvaraṇa.
4. He was the Sanskrit Pandit, St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly.
5. *Trav.*
6. For similar Jain plays, see Levi, 324.
7. Levi, *App.* 80. See para 260 *supra.*
8. Levi, *App*, 81.
9. It looks likely that the name and matter were suggested by Lokānanda (*Levi*, App. 80, 324). Of this there is a Tibetan translation (see *l.c.* 56).

615. **Kalidasa**, as a dramatist, has attained universal admiration. His talents stand unique and rarely has any other been recognised as his equal.[1]

Daṇḍin wrote:

लिप्ता मधुद्रवेणासन् यस्य निर्विवशा गिरः ।
तेनेदं वर्त्म वैदर्भं कालिदासेन शोधितम् ॥

Bāṇa said:

निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥

In his tract, *Kalidasa, the moralist*,[2] Ravindranath Tagore writes:

"Kalidasa has shown that while infatuation leads to failure beneficience achieves complete fruition, that beauty is constant only when

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1. For verses quoted in anthologies as Kāliḍāsa's (not traceable in any known works), see Aufrecht *ZDMG*, XXXIX. 306 and Peterson, *Subh.* 23

Some of these verses are very fine:

i हेमाम्भोरुहपत्तने परिमलस्तेयी वसन्तानिल-
स्तत्रत्यैरिव यामिकैर्मधुकरैरारब्धकोलाहलः ।
निर्यातस्त्वरया व्रजन्निपतितः श्रीखण्डपङ्कद्रवै-
र्लिप्ते केरळकामिनीकुचतटे खञ्जश्शनैर्गच्छति ॥

ii न वक्ति प्रेमार्द्रं न खलु परिरम्भं रचयति
स्थितौ तस्यां तस्यां करकमललीलां न सहते ।
स्मितज्योत्स्नाकान्तं मुखमभिमुखं नैव कुरुते
तथाप्यन्तः प्रीतिं वपुषि पुलकोऽस्याः कथयति ॥

iii स्वप्न प्रसीद भगवन्पुनरेकवारं
सन्दर्शय प्रियतमां क्षणमात्रमेव ।
दृष्टा सती निबिडबाहुयुगे विलग्नं
तत्रैव मां नयति सा यदि वा न याति ॥

2. This is in Bengali. Translated into English *Mod. Rev.* XIV.

On KALIDASA generally: C. Bendall, *Kalidasa in Ceylon*, (*JRAS*, (1880), 440); G. A. Grierson, *Are Kalsdasa's heroes monogomists?* (*JASB*, XLVI. 39); *Some notes on Kalidasa*, (*JASB*, XLVIII. 32-48); G. S. Leonard, *Further proof of the polygamy of Kalidasa's heroes*, (*JASB*, XLVI. 160): Prannath Pandit, *Morals of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid.* XLV. 352); A. V. Jackson, *Legend of Kalidasa preserved at Ujjain*, (*JAOS*, XXII. 331); *Time Analysis of the dramas of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid.* XX. 341-59); *Bibliography of Kalidasa's plays*, (*Ibid*, XXII. 237; XXIII. 937); R. V. Tuilu, *Traditional account of Kalidasa*, (*IA*, VII. 115); Hoernle, *Kalidasa and Kamandaki*, (*IA*, XLI. 156); J. B. Chakravarti, *Kalidasa, the Great Indian Poet*, (*JMy*, VIII. 261); R. A.

upheld by virtue, that the highest from of love is the tranquil, controlled and beneficient form, that in regulation lies the true charm and lawless excess the speedy corruption of beauty. He refuses to acknow-

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Narasimhachariar. *Life of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid.*, 273); A. R. Krishnasastri, *Formative influences of Kalidasa*, (*Ibid*, IX. 557); A. Venkata Subbiah, *Kalidasa's Sociological Ideals*, (*Ibid.*. 95); C. Venkataramaniah, *Some views of Kalidasa's philosophy and Religion*, (*Ibid.*, 98); K. Krishna Iyengar, *Kalidasa and Shakespeare*, (*Ibid.*, 151); M. Sumner, *Les Heroines de Kalidasa et bellee de Shakespeare*, (Paris); J. E. Seneviratne, *Life of Kalidasa*, (Colombo); F. Neve, *Kalidasa dans les raffinements de sa culture*, (Paris); L. Liebion, *Das Datum des Candragomin und Kalidasa*, (Breslau): Ch. Harris, *An investigation of some of Kalidasa's views*, (Evansville, Ohio); D. R. Bhandarkar, *Solecisms of Sankaracarya and Kalidasa*, (*IA*. XLI. 214); T. Narasimhaiengar, *Kalidasa's Religion and Philosophy*, (*IA*, XXXIX. 236); V. V. Sovani, *Essay on Society in the times of Kalidasa*, (in Malvati); Allamraju Ramasastri, *Heroines of Kalidasa*, (*Sah.* XXII. 45); A. C. Chatterji, *Kalidasa, his poetry and mind*, (*MR*, XI. also Ed. Calcutta); Rajendranath Vidyabhushan, *Kalidasa*, (in Bengali); R. V. Krishnamachariar, *Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti*, (*Sah.* XVIII); Ramanujacarya, *Kalidasa's date*, (*Sah.* XIX); Ramacharya, *Kalidasa's love for deer*, (*Sah.* XXIV); Seshagiri Sastri, *Kalidasa*, (*IA*, I. 340); G. S. Krishnasami Iyer, *Poetry of Kalidasa*, (*IR*, XIV, 899); Bhide, *Notes on Kalidasa*, (*IA*, XLVII. 246); Harichand, *Les Citations de Kalidasa, dans, les traites d' Alankara.* (*JA.* VII. No. i and ii); *Kalidasa et l' art poetique de l' Inde.* Paris, reviewed in *JRAS* (1918), 564 (which contains all the quotations from Kālidāsa contained in Alankara works); C. V. Vaidya, *Pandyas and the date of Kalidasa* (fixes the date 1st century B.C.); K. G. Majumdar, *Vatsyayana and Kalidasa*, (*IA*, XLVII. 195); Majumdar, *Kalidasa and Kamandaki*, (*IA*, XLVI. 220); G. A. Grierson, *Are Kalidasa's heroes monogamists*, (*IA*, XLVII. April No); P. K. Chatterjee, *Poet Kalidasa and sea voyage*, (Jl. of Dept of Letters, Calcutta, XVI); Anand Koul, *Birth-place of Kalidasa*, (*Jl. of Ind. History*, VII. 345); K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, *Kalidasa, his philosoghy of Love*, (*JOR*, III. 349); C. K. Venkataramayya, *Kalidasa and Bhasa in the light of Western Criticisms*, (*JMy.* XVII. 125); A. Rangasami Sarasvati, *Kalidasa*, (*JMy.*, XV. 269, XVI. 93); A. Shah, *Kautilya and Kalidasa*, (*JMy.*, XI. 42, X. 303) and *Astronomical Data in the dramas of Kalidasa*, (*Tr. All Ind. Or. Conec.* 1924); K. G. Sankara Iyer, *Vikrama theory of Kalidasa's date*, (*JMy.*, XI. 188); Chakravarti, *Date of Kalidasa*, (*JRAS*, (1891), 330); Huth, *Die ziet des Kalidasa*,; S. H. Dhruva, *Thoughts from Kalidasa*, (Bombay); Bhau Daji, *On the Sanskrit poet, Kalidasa*, (*JBRAS*, VI. 19, 207); B. C. Majumdar, *Date of Kalidasa*, (*JBORS*, II. 388); K. G. Sankara Iyer, *Yasodharman's theory of Kalidasa's date*, (*JBORS*, VII. 60); K. Venkataramayya, *Kalidasa and Bhasa in the light of Western Criticism*, (*JMy.*, XVIII. 127); H. Subbaroya Sastri, *Kalidasa's Flowers*, (*Bharati*, I. 107); P. Venkataramanayya, *Was Kalidasa a votary of Kartikeya* (*Ibid.* V. 688); Mr. Ramakrishnayya, *Ritusamhara*, (*Ibid.*, 387); Pichaya Sastri, *Meghasandesa*, (*Ibid.* 678); N. Ramadasayya, *Meghasandesa*, (*Ibid.*. 20); G. Jagopantulu, *Kalidasa*, (*Ibid.*, VIII. 19); K. Ramakrishna Rao, *Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti*. (*Ibid.*, III. 15); A. V. Sutatmamya Sastri, *Kalidasapatraucityam*, (*Ibid*, V. 326): Apte, *Date of Kalidasa*, (Bombay); C. Sivaramamurti; *Kalidasa and Painting*, (*JOR*, VII. 160); T. L. Venkatrama Sastri, *Musical Element in Kalidasa*, (*JOR*, VII. 357).

ledge passion as the supreme glory of love; he proclaims goodness as the final goal of love."

There are three dramas[1] that are acknowledged to be his, Śakuntalā or more fully Abhijnāna-Śākuntala, Mālavikāgnimitra and Vikramorvaśīya. These plays attracted the attention of foreign savants more than two centuries ago and Goethe thus sang of Śakuntalā:

> Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline
> And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, fed,
> Would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine?
> I name thee, O Sakuntala! and all at once is said.

It is the quintessence of Kāliḍāsa's poetry.[2]

616. **Sakuntala.** "King Dushyanta of the Lunar race, pursues a gazelle in the vicinity of Kaṇva's hermitage. Here he espies Śakuntalā, watering her tender nursery with her favourite friends. Struck by her beauty he begs for an interview. He overhears the reciprocation of love by Śakuntalā, meets and marries her. He gives her his ring and with a promise to fetch her soon he returns to his palace. In a thoughtless mood, she fails to greet an irascible sage Ḍūrvasas and his impatient curse obliterates the memory of her lover, until the spell could pass away at the sight of a ring. Some time passes and Kaṇva resolves to send her to her husband. She takes leave of her lovely friends, the inanimate plants and the inarticulate deer. She reaches the court of the king, she loses the ring and her exhortations are in vain. The king has no recollection of the amorous incident at the sylvan park. Śakuntalā laments her fate and is borne off by her mother Urvasī to the abode of the celestials. The ring is recovered by a fisherman from the stomach of a fish and as an accused thief he is brought to judgment. Its sight dispels the gloom and the king recollects his former love. His regrets are wasted. Time passes and Indra seeks his help against his foes. Then while driving in Indra's car he sees a young boy, his own

1. Rājaśekhara made a pun:

एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केन चित् ।
शृङ्गारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु ॥

Here Kāliḍāsatrayī means these three plays of Kāliḍāsa and the poet indirectly suggests the existence of three Kāliḍāsas.

2. Here is the traditional verse;

कालिदासस्य सर्वस्वमभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् ।
तत्रापि च चतुर्थोऽङ्को यत्र याति शकुन्तला ॥

dear son Bharaṭa, playing with a cub and soon he finds his Śakunṭalā not to leave her again."[1]

Śākunṭalā was recently staged at Melbourne from a translation made by Lawbonce Bunyon and the adaptation of the music is thus described.

"The overture opens with the King's love singing theme, given first in the low register of the orchestra. This is continued by the higher strings and wood wind to a climax, with a first hint of the curse motive. A bridge passage for strings and wood wind leads to Śakuntala's love-singing theme played by the violin; this works up to a repeat of the same given in the higher octave by the flutes and oboes. A tremolo passage for strings, with a further hint of the curse motive, is followed by the development of the King's theme working to a full climax of both the King's and Śakuntala's themes leading straight to the curse motive at full orchestral strength. A quiet passage for strings ending with a cadenza for the oboe is followed by the golden peak theme given by the flute in its highest register. The overture foreshadows the entire development of the drama: the sublimation of the earthly unstable love to the universally significant reunion at the mystic's retreat in the Himālaya Mountains. The incidents of the drama are limited in the use of the curse and other motives. Before and during part four, an off-shoot of the Golden Peak theme will be heard, suggestive of the nymphs, who sing their farewell to Śakuntala."

617. The popularity of the play has unconsciously done immense harm to the preservation of its original text. It is now extant in three or

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1. Edited everywhere.

Translated into English by Sir W. Jones (Calcutta), by M. Williams (London, Bombay), by K. K. Bhattacharya (Calcutta), by A. H. Edgren (New York); G. Kalipada Mukerjee (Calcutta); by Kamala Satyanathan (Madras); by T. R Ratnam Iyer (Madras); K. Banerji (Nadia); by J. G. Jennings (Allahabad); by R. Vasudevarao (Madras) and by Roby Dutta, Calcutta as idyllic poetry; by A. M. Wright (Springfield. Mass.); by S. Ray (Calcutta). For translation in other languages see Schwyler, *Bibl.* 51.

On Śakunṭalā generally; M. Schwyler, *Bibl.* 48-56; V. Majumdar, Int. to Edn. R. Pischel, Int. to Ed. (Kiel); P. N. Patankar. Int. to Ed. (Poona) N. C. Vidyaratna, Int. to Ed. (Calcutta); T. E. Srinivasachariar, Int. to Ed. (Kumbakonam). T. Holme, Int. to Edn. (London). S. Ray. Int, to Ed. (Calcutta) R. R. Rabe: *De Kalidasa's Sakuntala* (Breslau); V. Sarkar, *Sakuntala-Rahasya*, *A. Weber*, *ISt*, XIV. 35, 161. T. Lakshminarasimharao; *Sakuntala* (*JMy.*, IX. 63). R. Kulkarni, *A University in the Sakuntala* (*Tomorrow*, August, 1928); A. C. Chatterji, *Kalidasa, His poetry and mind* (Calcutta); Rav. Tagore, *Sakuntala and its inner me aning* (in Bengali); Tr. into English, *MR*, IX) and *Bhārati* III. 25

four recesions called the Bengali,[1] Devanagari,[2] Kashmir,[3] and South Indian.[4] The latest collation of the second recession and an attempt at a critical edition is perhaps that of Prof. S. Ray of Calcutta.

618. There are commentaries by Rāghava,[5] Kātayavema,[6] Śrīnivāsa,[7] Ghanaśyāma,[8] Abhirāma,[9] (Kṛṣṇanātha Pancānana, Candraśekhara, Damaruvallabha, Prākṛtācārya, Nārāyaṇa, Rāmabhadra, Śankara) Premacandra,[10] D. V. Panta,[11] Vidyāsāgara,[12] Venkatācārya,[13] Śrī Kṛṣṇanātha,[14] Bālagovinda,[15] by Ḍakṣiṇāvartanātha,[16], Rāmavarman and Rāma Pisharoti,[17] and five anonymous.[18]

619. ŚRINIVASADIKSITA was the son of Ṭimmayarya and was known also Venkateśa. He was an archaka of the Vaikhānasa sect and Kāśyapagotra, at the temple of Tirupati (Chittoor District). He had the title of Cakrāyudha and lived about 1850. He is a prolix writer and his commentary is probably the longest and the most discussive. He has written a commentary on Vaikhānasasūtras and Ramāyaṇa and the manuscript of the latter is said to be at a village called Oratti, South Arcot, Madras Presidency.

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1. Represented by Premacandra's Edn (Calcutta) and Pischel's Edn. (Kiel.)
2. Represented by Isvarachandra Vidyasagara's Edn. (Calcutta) and M. William's Edn.(Oxford)
3. Represented by N. B. Godabole's Edn. (Bombay) and by A. R. Rajarajavarma's Edn. (Trivandrum)
4. See *BKR*, ixxxv.
5. Ed. Bombay. He was son of Pṛthvīdhara, an authority on Nyaya and Mimamsa. *DC*, XXI. 8370. Ed. Bombay with English notes.
6. Ed. Bombay.
7. Ed. Madras. *DC*. XXI. 8373; *HR*, III. 6.
8. Ed. Trivandrum. With an English introduction.
9. *CC*. I. 23, II 187, III. 6.
10. Ed. Calcutta.
11. Ed. Calcutta.
12. Ed. Calcutta.
13. Ed. Madras.
14. See P. N. Patankar's Int. to Sakuntala (Poona) and *JAOS*, XXII. 237.
15. *TC*, IV. 4340. He was son of Śankarapandiṭa who was the guru of Vancibhupāla of Harigita town and patronised by the latter. This is an epitome of Śrīnivāsa's commentary.
16. *TC*, III. 3982.
17. Ed. Trichur. This Rāmavarman is Parikṣit Kunjunni Tamburan, now alive at Cranganore.
18. *DC*, XXI. 8373, 8374, *TC*, III. 3480, 3985.

620. KATAYAVEMA was the son of Kāta, grandson of Māra and great-grandson of Kātaya. He married the daughter of Anapola, the Reddi king of Kondavidu and was at the helm of administration during the reign of Anapola's son Komāragiri (1381-1403 A.D.) He was a great warrior and scholar and at the request of Komāragiri he wrote commentaries called Komāragirirājīyam on the plays of Kālidāsa. He had three wives and from two of them, he had a son Komāragiri and a daughter Aniṭallī. In appreciation of his services to the state, Komāragiri bestowed on him the sovereignty of Rajamahendrapuram. He died about 1416 A.D. His son ruled only for 4 years, after which the descendants of Anitalli became the rulers.[1]

621. Malavikagnimitra is "a conventional dramatisation of harem intrigue in the court of King Agnimitra of Vidisa, probably of the Sunga dynasty. The play discloses the loves of this king Agnimitra and of Malavika one of the attendants of the queen, who jealously keeps her out of the king's sight on account of her great beauty. The various endeavours of the king to see and converse with Malavika give rise to numerous intrigues. In the course of these Agnimitra nowhere appears to be a despot, but acts with much delicate considera-tion for the feelings of her spouses. It finally turns out that Malavika is by birth a princess, who had only come to be an attendant at Agnimitra's court through having fallen into the hands of robbers. There being now no objection to her union with the king, all ends happily."[2]

There are commentaries by Kātaya Vema,[3] Nīlakantha,[4] Vīra-

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1. For an account of Kātayavema, see Veturi Prabhakara Sastri's *Sringara-Srinatham* 56 and for inscription of Kātayavema, see *EI*, IV. 321, 328, 329, 330, dated from 1391 to 1416 A.D.

2. Macdonell, *SL*, 330.

On Malavikāgnimiṭra generally: F. Ballensen (*ZDMG*, XIII. 480); Cappeller, *Allervatin ad Kalidasa Malavikagnimitram*, (Konigsburg); S. J. Pandit, *Int. to Ed.* (*BSS*); M. Schuyler, (*JAOS*, XXIII. 93); M. A. Williams, (*IW*, 497; C. Varadacarya, *Malavikagnimitra noi a drama* (*Bharati*, VI. 3); V. Subbaroyudu, (*Ibid*, 714, 483). Transtated into English by Ch. Tawney (Calcutta) by G. R. Nandargikar (Poona), by A. S. Krishnarao (Madras). For criticisms and translations into other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl.* 46.

3. Ed. Bombay and Poona.

4. Ed. Bombay. Composed in Samvat 1712 (1656 A.D.) at Kāsi. The author was son of Bālakṛṣṇabhatta of Sri Venkaramauni family. He lived at Vyomakeśapura.

rāghava,[1] Mṛtyunjaya Niśśanka,[2] Ṭarkavācapati,[3] Śrīkanṭha,[4] Parīkṣit Kunjunni Raja.[5]

622. **Vikramorvasi** represents events partly terrestrial and partly celestial. King Purūravas rescues the nymph Ūrvaśī from the hands of demons and wins her love by his herosim. She parts with him on a summons from Indra and the king becomes disconsolate in his love. She drops a letter before him unseen confirming her own love and as ill luck would have it, this letter is picked up by the queen and she waxes wild. In the meantime Ūrvaśī was acting as Lakṣmī at the celestial theatre at the staging of the play of Lakṣmī-svayamvara and with her mind all engrossed by Purūravas she answers Purūravas in a colloquy, when her answer was to be Purūṣoṭṭama. Her teacher Bharata curses her to go to the lower world and Indra mitigates the effect of the curse by ordering her stay on earth till she gets an offspring from Purūravas. In their secret wanderings Urvaśī trespasses on the forbidden grounds of Kanva's park and becomes transformed into a creeper. The king becomes maddened and under the influence of a magic stone, she is restored. They have a son Āyus and when time comes for Ūrvaśī to return, Indra allows her to remain with him for good, in grateful recollection of the aid received in the destruction of demons.[6]

This play is in two recentions, in N. India[7] and S. India.[8]

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1. *CC*, II, 104, 217.
2. Ed. Madras.
3. Ed. Calcutta.
4. *TC*, II. 820, 2570. Probably the same as the author of Kandarpadarpaṇabhāṇa (*HR*, III. No. 1683) and son of Abhinava Kālidāsa, of Kāśyapagoṭra, the author of Śṛngārakośabhāṇa (*TC*, II. 989). He is different from another Abhinava Kālidāsa of Vasiṣṭhagoṭra, who is the author of Yakṣollāsa (*TC*, II. 2066).
5. He is now alive at Cranganore.
6. Ed. Pischell (Berlin) and J. Vidyasagara (Calcutta).
7. Ed. *ESS*, Bombay.
8. On Vikramorvaśi generally, L. R. Lenz: *Apparatus criticus ad Urvasiam fabulam Calidasi* (Berlin) M. Schuyler (*JAOS*, XXIII. 93–101). S. P. Pandit. Int. to Ed. (Bombay). Macdonell *SL*, 358. For an appreciation, see *JMy*, XI. Translated into English by H. H. Wilson (Theatre) I. 183–274), by E. B. Cowell (Hertford), by Brajendranath De, (Calcutta Review, 884 in part only into verse), by A. Ghose (Bombay, into verse). For translations into other languages, see M. Schuyler, *Bible*, 58.

There are commentaries by Kātaya Vema,[1] Ranganāṭha,[2] (Abhayacaraṇa, Rāmamāya),[3] Ṭārāṇāṭha,[4] M. R. Kale.[5]

623. "Kalidasa is the great, the supreme poet of the senses, of æsthetic beauty, of sensuous emotion. His main achievement is to have taken every poetic element, all great poetical forms, and subdued them to a harmony of artistic perfection set in the key of sensuous beauty. In continuous gift of seizing an object and creating it to the eye he has no rival in literature. A strong visualising faculty such as the greatest poets have in their most inspired descriptive movements, was with Kalidasa an abiding and unfailing power, and the concrete presentation which this definiteness of vision demanded, suffused with an intimate and sovran feeling for all sensuous beauty of colour and form, constitutes the characteristic Kalidasian manner. He is besides a consummate artist, profound in conception and suave in execution, a master of sound and language who has moulded for himself out of the infinite possibililities of the Sanskrit tongue a verse and diction which are absolutely the grandest, most puissant and most full-voiced of any human speech, a language of the Gods. The note struck by Kalidasa when he built Sanskrit into that palace of noble sound, is the note which meets us throughout all this last great millenmium of Aryan literature. Its characteristic features are brevity, gravity and majesty, a noble harmony of verse, a strong lucid beauty and chiselled prose, above all an epic precision of phrase, weighty, sparing and yet full of colour and sweetness. Moreover it is admirably flexible, suiting itself to all forms from the epic to the lyric but most triumphantly to the two greatest, the epic and the drama. In his epic style Kalidasa adds to these permanent features a more than Miltonic fulness and grandiose pitch of sound and expression, in his dramatic and extraordinary grace and suavity which makes it adaptable to conversation and the expression of dramatic shade and subtly blended emotion."[6]

"The flourishing of the plastic arts had prepared surroundings of great external beauty for Kalidasa's poetic work to move in. The appreciation of beauty in nature, of the grandeour of mountain and forest, the loveliness of lakes and rivers, the charm of bird and beast,

1. *DC*, XXI. 8510.
2. *DC*, XXI. 8511.
3. *CC*, I. 569; II. 184, III. 120.
4. Ed. Calcutta.
5. Ed. Bombay.
6. Aurobinda Ghose, *Age of Kalidasa*.

life had become a part of contemporary culture. These and the sensitive appreciation of these and plants and hills as living things, the sentimental feeling of brotherhood with animals which had influenced and been encouraged by Buddhism, the romantic mythological world still farther romanticised by Kalidasa's warm humanism and fine poetic sensibility, gave him exquisite grace and grandeour of background and scenic variety. The delight of the eye, the delight of the ear, smell, palate, touch, the satisfaction of the imagination and taste are the texture of his poetical creation, and into this he has worked the most beautiful flowers of emotion and sensuous ideality. The scenery of his work is a universal paradise of beautiful things. All therein obeys one law of earthly grace; morality is æstheticised, intellectual suffused and governed with the sense of beauty. And yet this poetry does not swim in languor, does not dissolve itself in sensuous weakness; it is not heavy with its own dissoluteness, heavy of curl and heavy of eyelod, cloyed by its own sweets, as the poetry of the senses usually is. Kalidasa is saved from this by the chastity of his style, his aim at burdened precision and energy of phrase, his unseeping artistic vigilance."

624. **Asvaghosa's** Sārīpuṭraprakaraṇa, a drama in nine Acts, "deals with the events which led up to the conversion of the young Maudgalyayana and Sariputra by the Suddha, and some of the incidents are certain. Sariputra had an interview with Asvajit; then he discussed the question of the claims of the Buddha to be a teacher with his friend, the Vidusaka, who raised the objection that a brahmin like his master should not accept the teaching of a Kshatriya; Sariputra repels the objection by reminding his friend that medicine aids the sick though given by one of inferior caste, as does water one in thirst. Maudgalyayana greets Sariputra, inquiring of him the cause of his glad appearance and learns his reasons. The two go to Buddha who receives them and who foretells to them that they will be the highest in knowledge and magic power of his disciples. The end of the play is marked by a philosophic dialogue between Sariputra and the Buddha, which includes a solemic against the belief in the existence of a permanent self; it terminates in a praise of his two new desciples by the Buddha and a formal benediction."[1]

"The same manuscript contains portions of two other dramas, also likely the works of Asvaghosha. The first of these is an allegorical

1. Ed. by Lüders, SPAW (1911), 388; Keith, SL, 80.

play like Prabodhacandrodaya, and the characters are Buddhi, Kirti, Dhrti etc. The second though primarily religious in intent has much that is amorous. The relations between Magadhavati, a heltera, Somadatta, a rogue and Dhanañjaya, prebably a prince are depicted, but nothing can be said about the play, as what is available is very fragmentary."

625. Candraka is mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentary of Nāṭyaśastra (Adh. XIX) as a playwright of Kashmir. His identity with Candragomin is not clear, and it is more likely that Candragomin lived for earlier.[1]

Kalhaṇa says that Candraka was a great poet, who composed plays, pleasing all kinds of audience. He flourished in the Court of King Tunjina of Kashmir who ruled about 103 A.D. or according to Cunningham in 319 A.D.[2]

नाट्यं सर्वजनप्रेक्ष्यं यश्चक्रे स महाकविः ।
द्वैपायनमुनेरंशस्तत्काले चन्द्रकोऽभवत् ॥—*Raj.*, II. 16.

Dhanika quotes a verse which is enchanting.

626. Kaumudimahotsava. At the coronation of King Kalyāṇavarman of Patalīputra a play was enacted in which is the story of defeat and death of Kalyāṇavarman's father Sundaravarman at the hands of Candasena King of Licchavis and the rein-statement of Kalyāṇavarman on the throne of Magadha by the efforts of minister Mantragupta. The name of the drama is not mentioned in the work, but the editors, rather discoverers, of it have christened it as Kaumudīmahotsava, from a possible pun in an expression used by the Sūtradhāra. Unluckily in the manuscript that has been traced the first letters of the name of the author are ant-eaten and from the letters (कया) and from a significant mention of Vijaya in the verse

जयति प्रथमं विजया जयन्ति देवास्स्वयं महादेवः ।
श्रीमान्तौ भगवन्तावनन्तनारायणौ जयतः ॥ (iv 19)

the editors guess that a woman must be the author and that that woman is likely Vijjikā. Vijjakā or Vijjikā is a prakritised form of Vijaya

1. See para 260 *supra*.
2. The verses quoted in Subhāṣitāvali appear to be the Nāndis of his various plays. See Keith, *SD*, 169.

(Vidya ?) Vijjikā's poetry has been preserved in the anthologies[1] and it is of very high order, and if this play were her work the language here is of the same merit. Kaumudīmahoṭsava as an autumal moonlight festival celebrated at Pataliputra and elsewhere is mentioned in several works such as Ratnāvalī and Mudrārakṣasa. Several passages here show an imitation the expressions of Kālidāsa. The reference to Śaunaka and Avimāraka in the following verse

शौनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविमाककं कुरङ्गीव ।
अर्हति कीर्तिमतीयं कान्तं कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥ (iii 15)

suggests also the idea that the author of this play must have seen Daṇḍin's Avantisundarī and Bhasa's Avimāraka where we find stories of Śaunaka and Avimāraka. If Vijjikā was he queen of king Candrāditya of the 7th century[2] it is the likely date for the composition of this work. But it is not impossible that these similies about Śounaka and Avimāraka were an independent thought of the author of this play. The reference to Dattaka, Gaṇikāputra and Mūladeva makes as feel that this play belongs to the same period as Caturbhāni, the four bhanas aforesaid, where similar thoughts and references are aboundantly discerned. Udayana's tales were much admired in the centuries just preceding and coming after the Christian era. Kālidāsa says so and the several dramas that have for their plots the story of Valsrāja Udayana must have been composed at that period of popularity. If this latter surmise is correct, Vijjikā or the real author must have flourished far earlier than the 5th or 6th centuries. The plot of the drama[3] is this summarised by the editors :

"Chaṇḍasena, the military commandant of Sundaravarman, a king of Magadha, conspired with the Licchavis, the hereditary enemies of his lord and brought about their attack on Pātaliputra. In the contest between Sundaravarman and the Licchavis, the former died on the battlefield. Chaṇḍasena became the king, Mantrāgupta, the minister of Sundaravarman, secreted the prince Kalyanavarman with a few minister's sons at a place called Pampā in the Vindhyas, while he himself in various disguises watched an opportunity to regain the throne for the prince. Some years passed before he could muster forces and

1. See para 374 *supra*.
2. Ibid.
3. Edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri with an introduction, Madras.

defeat the traitor. At last Kalyāṇavarman was installed on the Magadha throne. The drama was staged on the occasion of his coronation.

An amorous incident covers up the political stratagem of Mantragupta. Kīrtimatī, the daughter of Kīrtisena, the king of the Sūrasenas, accompanied one Yogasiddhi, a nun, who was proceeding to worship Vindhyavāsinī in the Vindhyas. The nun was once the nurse to Kalyāṇavarman at Pāṭaliputra and since the death of his father, Sundaravarman, she renounced all worldly ties and spent her days in various holy places. When she came to Mathura the royal household treated her most kindly and even entrusted their daughter, Kīrtimatī to her care in her pilgrimage to Vindhyavāsinī. During their stay at Pampā the prince and princess met each other by accident and their first sight slowly developed into love. Yogasiddhi saw their portraits as drawn by the goddess and identified between the couple the child growing into prime youth once nursed by her. She fell into a reverie of old reminiscences. Meanwhile Mantragupta killed the usurper and proclaimed Kalyāṇavarman as king of Magadha. The nun and the princess went back to Sourāsṭra, and her father Kīrtisena was doubly pleased to receive the intelligence of Kalyāṇavarman's prosperity and his daughter's overtures of love and sent an ambassador with a pearl-necklace which had a heroic history behind it and with the proposals of marriage of his daughter to the royal youth. Kalyāṇavarman was only too glad to reject such an offer of friendly alliance and prop of life."

627. K. P. Jayaswal (*JBORS*, XIX. 113 *et seq*) discusses historical data in this drama[1]:

"The Guptas appear about 275 A.D. somewhere in Magadha. Gupta, the first Raja, rises as a feudatory prince. As later we find the early Guptas connected with Allahabad (Prayaga) and Oudh (Saketa), Maharaja Gupta's fief seems to have been near about Allahabad. His son was Ghatotkacha, and Ghatotkacha's son was the first prince who turned the name of his ancestor Gupta into a dynastic title. His name was Chandra. At the time of the rise of Chandra, called by the Prakrit name Chandasena in the Kaumudi-mahotsava, the king of Magadha at Patalipụtra was Sundaravarman, ruling from his palace

1. In this connection Jayaswal refers (at page 88) Bhāvaśaṭaka of Nāgaraja (Sri Ganapaṭi Nāgaraja) to this period and identifies him with king Ganapaṭi Naga of the Tak Nāga race now living near Jammu and the Punjab He quotes a correct verse as found in *Cat* of Mithila Mss. II. 105.

On Bhāvaśaṭaka, see para 349 supra.

called Su-Ganga. This palace is named in the inscription of Kharavela as the Su-Gangiya and in the Mudra-Rakshasa as the Su-Ganga. The capital city of Pataliputra thus came down with its ancient palace intact to the period of King Sundaravarman and Chandra. King Sundaravarman was an old man, having a child of a few years of age yet in charge of a nurse. Chandra and Chandrasena has been adopted as his son by the king of Magadha, evidently before the birth of the young prince. Chandra regarded himself as the heir, being the elder, though a Kritaka son. He entered into a marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis who are described as the enemy of the Magadha dynasty in the same drama Kaumudi-mahotsava. The Lichchhavis with a large army and Chandra laid a siege to Pataliputra. A battle was fought in which the old king Sundara-varman died. The young prince Kalyana varman was carried away to the Kishkinda hills by the faithful ministers. Chandra founded a royal dynasty (raja kula). The angry authoress of the drama calls the Lichchhavis 'Mlechchhas' and Chanda-sena a Karaskara, implying a casteless or a low-caste man, not fit for royalty.

The position of the Madraka Jats was probably not very low at the time, for had it been very low, King Sundaravarman would not have thought of making Chandra-sena his adopted son His original intention seems to have been to bequeath the kingdom to Chandra. And it was only due to the birth of Kalyanavarman from some younger queen (Kalyana-varma is said to have several step-mothers-'matarah') that the breach between the adoptive father and the adopted son occurred. The real cause of the opposition from the public, which was very pronounced, seems to be a dislike for the social system of the Karaskaras who were not subject to the fourfold-varnasramism of the orthodox system. It is the same dislike which is expressed in the Maha-Bharata against the Madrakas. They had one caste amongst them with social equality and freedom, which did not agree with the settled rules of the Gangetic society. The compliment was mutually exchanged: the Kaumudi-mahotsava taunted at the Karaskara caste as rulers; the Guptas replied 'we shall abolish the Kshatriyas'.

114. Now we know from the Puranic history that in the reign of Kanishka (and probably also of his successor), Vanaspara imported some Madrakas for administrative purposes. But the Punjab military dress of Chandra Gupta I on his coins would suggest that the family had migrated recently in the Bharasiva period after the liberation of

the Madraka country by the latter. Very likely a Bharasiva king gave Gupta a fief, having border-land between Bihar and Kausambi, for it was to suppress a rebellion of the Savaras that Chandra Gupta I had gone to his frontier when the City Council of Pataliputra pronounced a decree of deposition against him.

115. Chandra Gupta I, having his caste against him and being somewhat of a usurper, was disliked by the Magadhans of his day, particularly as he failed to adapt himself to the traditional Hindu way of Government. He showed a hostile, repressive attitude to the people of Magadha. The Kaumudi-mahotsava records that Chanda-sena had put leading citizens into prison. The people of Magadha looked down upon him as something like a patricide. Chandra Gupta I had thus several elements arrayed against him. A cry was raised that he was not a Kshatriya, he had practically killed his aged adoptive father on the battlefield, he had called in the aid of the hereditary enemies of Magadha—the Lichchhavis, he had married a lady who was neither a Magadhan nor a Brahmanical Hindu. To this we should add that he had defied the imperial authority of the Brahmin Emperor Pravarasena I.

116. With the aid of the Lichchhavi power and protection he trampled upon the liberties of the people of Magadha and put the leading citizens into prison. Alberuni therefore recorded a true and historical tradition when he said that the king or kings associated with the Gupta-kala (era) were cruel and wicked. The Hindus had the constitutional law laid down in their codes to destroy the king who acted as a tyrant or whose hands had the marks of the blood of his parents. They planned and rose, called in Prince Kalyanavarman from the Vakataka territory (Pampasara) and crowned him king at the Su-Ganga Palace at Pataliputra. The authoress of the Kaumudi-mahotsava exultantly said-'the law of Varna is restored; the royal family of Chanda-sena is abolished.' This happened while Chandra Gupta was on his campaign somewhere between Rohtas and Amarkantak fighting the rebellious Savaras. The outlandish monarch was ousted in or about 340 A.D., for Kalyana-varman was of full age to receive Hindu royal coronation at the time. In the year of his coronation Kalyana-varma was married to the daughter of the king of Mathura."[1]

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1. See also K. P. Jayaswal; *Historical Data in the drama Kammudi-mahotsava* (*Annals*, XII. 50) See K. Raghavacharlu, *AHQ*. 139. Vijjaka is mentioned in Gadadharabhatta's Rasikajivana, composed about 1650 A. D. (*Annals*, XII. 399). For Lichchhavis, see *IA*,. XXXII. 233, XXXVII. 78. On Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal, see *IA*, IX. 178, XIV. 350 and Fleet, *GI*, Int. 135, 184, 191.

628. Dhiranaga (Bhadanta) lived at Arālapura, sometime earlier than the 5th century A.D. His KUNDAMALA, a play in 6 acts, describes the later history of Rāma after the coronation, that is, the story of banishment of Sīṭa and her discovery and reunion. In depicting the sentiment of Karuṇa, he is a precursor of Bhavabhūṭi, who wrote Uṭṭararāmacariṭa on the same theme and rightly so, he was mentioned with appreciation by Bhoja and other writers on rhetoric. Verses quoted as his by Vallabhaḍeva and Śrīḍharaḍāsa are not found in this play.[2]

629. Visakhadatta[3] was the son of Pṛṭhu[4] Mahārāja and grandson of Vaṭeśvaraḍaṭṭa, a Sāmanta. "His play MUDRARAKSASA, in

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1. Ed. by M. Ramakishna Kavi, Madras. His mention of Dingnāga as the author is now acknowledged to be an error. See F. W. Thomas (*JRAS*, 1924); D. R. Mankad, *Pratimā and Kundamālā* (*Annals* XII. 97); K. Gopalakishna Sastri, *Kundamālā-vimarsā* (*Jl. Mys. Sans. Col.* V. 166). Aucht (*CC*, I. 109) mention Nāgayya's Kundamāla as from Burnell is erroneous. In *Tanj.* VIII. 3373, the colophon is अनूपुराधस्य कवेर्धीरनागस्य कृतिः कुन्दमालानाम नाटकं समाप्तम् ॥

2. See Peterson, *Subh. Int.* 49 and for his philosophical verses:

समाश्लिष्यत्युच्चैः पिशितघनपिण्डं स्तनधिया
मुखं लालापूर्णं पिबति चषकं सासवमिति ।
अमेध्यक्लेदार्द्रे पथि च रमते स्पर्शरसिको
महामोहान्धानां किमिव कमनीयं त्रिजगताम् ॥
सुधौतं कौशेयं सुरभि कुसुमं कौङ्कुममपि
क्षणात्तत्तद्यस्मिन्पतितमशुचित्वे निपतति ।
त्रिगन्धाभिष्यन्दान्वमति नवभिर्यो व्रणमुखैः
कथं तस्मिन् काये सुभगबहुमानोऽत्रभवताम् ॥

Subh. 3388-9.

3. Some manuscripts read Viśākhaḍeva. *DC*, XXI. 8163; Wilford (*As. Res.* V. 208) called the author of the work Ananṭa and quotes him as declaring that he lived on the banks of the Goḍāvari. But none of the extant commentaries contain this reference.

सूत्रधारः—अलमतिप्रसंगेन । आज्ञापितोऽस्मि परिषदा, यथाद्य त्वया सामन्तवटेश्वरदत्तपौत्रस्य महाराजपदभाक्पृथुसूनोः कवेर्विशाखदत्तस्य कृतिरभिनवं मुद्राराक्षसं नाम नाटकं नाटयितव्यमिति ।

4. Wilson (*Theatre*, II. 128) suggests that he might be identical with the Chohan Chief of Ajmir Pritu Rai. Telang (Int. to Edn. page 12) points out the distinction that Pṛṭhu the father of Viśākhaḍaṭṭa is specially called Mahārāja, while Pṛṭhu of Ajmir is only Prithurai or Prithuraj.

seven acts,[1] has for its theme the reconcillation of Rākṣasa, the hostile minister of Nanda, the late king of Palibora to the individuals by whom or on whose behalf his sovereign was murdered, the Brahmin Canakya and the prince Candragupta. With this view he is rendered by the contrivance of Canakya an object of suspicion to the prince with whom he has taken refuge and is consequently dismissed by him. In this deserted condition, he learns the imminent danger of a dear friend, whom Canakya is about to put to death and in order to effect his liberation, surrenders himself to his enemies. They offer him contrary to his expectations the rank and power of prime minister and the parties become friends."[2]

राक्ष—किमतः परं प्रियमस्ति ।
राक्षसेन समं मैत्री राज्ये चारोपिता वयम् ।
नन्दाश्चोन्मूलिताः सर्वे किं कर्तव्यमतः प्रियम् ॥

630. The date of Viśākhadatta is as usual subject to much speculation. The concluding verse of benediction refers to a king Candragupta.[3]

राक्ष—तथापीदमस्तु (भरतवाक्यम्)—
वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यागुरूणां (नुरूपां)
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिप्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री ।
म्लेच्छैरुद्वेज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ॥

It is possible that the plot of the play as connected with Candragupta was suggested by the identical name of the then reigning king and his victories over the marauding attacks of the

1. Ed. by A. Hillebrandt (Breslaw). See Review of it by Sten Konow, *IA*, XLIII. 64. For an account of the plot and the antecedent events, see introductory verses in Dhundhirāja's commentary (Ed. Bombay)

2. Wilson, *o. c.* 127. There are English Translations by Wilson, (*Theatre*, II. 125–254) and by M. A. Kale, Bombay. For translations in other languages, see Schuyler, *Bibl.* 95.

3. The readings are different : पार्थिवोऽवन्तिवर्मा and पार्थिवो रन्तिवर्मा Several reliable South Indian Manuscripts have the words पार्थिवो दन्तिवर्मा

If this is the correct reading then Danṭivarman was a Pallava king who ruled between 779-830 A.D. See C. J. Dubrauil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 74; *The Pallavas*, 54, 65, 72; T. A. Gopanatha Rao, *The Pallavas and the Ganga Pallavas*, (Christian College Magazine, 1907, April); Venkayya, *EI*, VIII. 291; Fleet's *Carnatic Dynasties*, 32; A, Rangasami Sarasvati, *JMy*, XIII. 686; *EI*, IV. 180.

Huns and the king mentioned there is 'Candragupta Vikramāḍiṭya II, 'who died in 413.' "The play knows the Hunas of a time when they had not yet acquired any territory in India, and the annoyance caused to the country by the Mlechas at the time of the composition of this drama, would refer, if the composition, as it seems probable, took place after the suppression of the Western Satrap (390 A.D.), to the Kushanas or to the new element of the Huns, who might have already made some invasions, probably with the Kushanas about the last year of Chandragupta's reign."[1]

The scene of the play is laid in the city of Kusumapura or Pataliputra.[2] The several indictions of geographical facts show that the city was then in flourishing condition.[3] While Fa Hian the earlier Chinese Traveller described the city as the capital of Magadha,[4] Hiuen Tsang, the later traveller, found the city in ruins, the foundations of which still covered a very large area.[5] Again in the last act the morality of the Buddhas is alluded to and the references to Buddhism must have belonged to a period long prior to the decay of Buddhism[6] in India and in the time of Fa Hian had attained the zenith of its glory.[7] These several considerations suggest that the play might have been composed about the beginning of the 5th century A.D.[8]

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1. Jayaswal (*IA*, XL. 265 ff). suspects a defence of the scandalous murder of the Saka Satrap in the story put forward in the Muḍrā-Rākṣasa of the destruction of the Pantalaka (Philippos) by Canḍraguptа Maurya through the alleged agency of the Viṣakanyā. The Vāyu Purāṇa referred to the attempt at the uprooting of the Sakas in Malva and Rajputana in the early decades of the Gupta rule. He also refers to the passage in Harṣacariṭa VI. अरिपुरे च परकळत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेषगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तश्शकपतिमनाशयत् ॥ He thinks Malayakeṭu is misspelling of Śalayakeṭu (Seleucus)

2. This play treats these as interchangeable (See Telang's Edn. pp. 187, 196, 198, 205). As to these names see Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.* XIV. 1; *JASB*, XVII. 49; Beal's *Fa Hian*, p. 70; *JRAS.* (n. s) VI. 227; Burgess, *Arch. Sur. Rep.* V. 43; Hall's, *Int. to Vasavadatta*, 35.

3. Telang's Ed. (o.c.) 154, 211-14.

4. Between 389-414 A.D. See Wilson, (o.c) 36; Beal's *Fa Hian*, 103; *JBRAS*, III. 153; *JRAS*, XVII. 126; *IA*, VI. 131.

5. See Elphinstone's, *History of India*, 292.

6. Act VII. 5; Telang's Int. (o. c. 25).

7. Beal's *Fa Hian*, Int. lxi.

8. Wilson (*o. c.*) 127 ff interprets the trouble by the Mlechas as meaning the Pattan princes and considers the application of the word Kṣapaṇaka to the Jaina Jīvasiḍḍhi as a characterstic of a period subsequent to the disappearance of the Bauddhas from India. He therefore assigns the composition of the drama to 11 or 12th century A.D. See Weber (*SL*, 207 note), Cunningham (*Arch. Sur.* VIII. 22; *JASB*, XIV. 140;

631. Mudrārākṣasa is unique in Sanskrit literature. "To the entire exclusion of love, the plot is wholly of a political character and represents a series of machiavellian stratagems influencing public events of considerable importance and as a historical record or as a picture of it possesses no ordinary claims on our attention. There is in fact but one female character introduced and not however to suggest any scene of tenderness but only of sacrifice." The language is vigorous, but the verse never loses a melodious flow. The allusion to Varāhāvatāra and the simile "pearls spotless like snow"[1] render it probable that the author was quite familiar with, if not a native of Northern India.[2] The work has been held in high esteem, but without an idea of the historical events precedent to the plot of the work it may be hard to follow the course of the play.

IA, II. 145 : VI. 114 note) accepts the view. Telang however (*o. c.* 16 ff) remarks that
the Mlecha trouble might mean the early Mohammadan depredations of the 8th century
and that the w rd Kṣapanaka is not exclusively applied to the Bauddhas. He reads
the last verse as mentioning Avantivarman who might be identical with the father of the
Maukhari King Grahavarman, the husband of the sister of Harṣavardhana of Kanouj
and on this basis assigns the work to the 7th century A D. tentatively. For this
Avantivarman, see Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. Rep.* XV. 165 ; XVI. 73 and Harṣa-
carita, 103. There is king Avantivarman of Kashmir for which see Rajatarangini
(V, 1-127) and *JBRAS*, Sp. No, 74. Another Avantivarman is mentioned with no
date in *JASB*, XXX. 321. Macdonnel (*SL*, 365) and Rapson (*JRAS*, 1900, 535)
agree with Telang. Jacobi (*VOJ*, II. 212-216) says that the play was enacted before
King Avantivarman of Kashmir on 2nd December 860 A.D. Hildebrandt, Speyer and
Tawney (*JRAS*, 1908. 1910) affirm it to be much older, anterior to the first recension
of the Pancatantra and to Bhatṛhari who died in 651 A.D. and suggest the accuracy of
Jayaswal's view. See V. Smith, (*History of India*, 43 note). Schuyler (*Bib.* 10) gives
the date 1000 A.D. J Antani (*IA*, LI. 49) gives date 7th century A.D. after Yaśodhar-
man who ruled 645 A.D. For other references see Peterson, *Subh.* 123 ; Dhuva's *Age
of Visākhadatta* (*NZKM*, V, 25-35) ; F. Hagg on Visākadatta (Burgdore), Hilde-
brandt's Edn. (Breslaw) and review of it by Sten Konow in *IA*, XLIII and Keith,
Date of Mudraraksasa and Brihatkatha in *JRAS*, (1909) 145 ; R. C. Dutt, *Civ.* II.
281 ; M. Williams *IW*, 507. *Visakhadatta's characters*, (Sahridaya, IV. 61). Two
stanzas of this play are found in Bhartrihari's Subhashita, for which see Telang's
Preface to his Edn. of Bhartrihari, 21. For a critique, see *Sahṛdaya*, IV. 15 and
Bhārati (1927) Aug.

1. आशैलेन्द्राद्धिमान्तस्खलितसुरनदीशिकरासारवर्षात्
तीरान्तान्नैकरागस्फुरितगुणरुचो दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य ।
आगत्यागत्यभीतप्रणतनृपशतैश्शश्वदेव क्रियन्तां
चूडारत्नांशुगर्भास्तवचरणयुगस्याङ्गुलीरन्ध्रभागाः ॥

2. See Telang's Introduction (o.c., 18.)

632. There are several commentaries on the work. Vaṭeśvaramiśra,[1] son of Gaurīpatimisra of Mithila, attempted to give a double interpretation to this composition and to present it as a system of polity as well as a play. Ḍhuṇḍhirāja, son of Lakṣmaṇa, wrote his commentary in the reign of King Sarabhoji of Tanjore in the year 1713 A.D. He gives a short poetical introduction describing the story of the Nandas leading to the accession of Candragupta and the events of the play.[2] Other commentaries are by Swāmi Śāstṛi, a native of Anantasāgara or Solavandān,[3] by T. Ṭarkavacaspati,[4] by (Maheśvara, Vaṭeśvara Prakṛtācārya, Keśava-upādhyāya and Abhirāma),[5] by Graheśvara,[6] by J. Vidyāsāgara,[7] by Sarabhabhūpa.[8]

There is a prose version of the story by Anantapandita,[9] and a poetical epitome, Mudrārākṣasakathāsāra by Ravikartana.[10]

Ananta, son of Bālapandita, lived at Punyastamba on the Godāvari in the middle of the 17th century. He wrote also commentaries on Govardhana's Saptaśatī and Rasamanjarī.[11]

633. In Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali, there are verses attributed to Viśākhadeva, not traceable in Mudrārākṣasa. There are probably taken from some of his lost works :

तत्त्रिविष्टपमाख्यातं तन्वङ्ग्या यद्वलित्रयम् ।
येनानिमेषदृष्टित्वं नृणामप्युपजायते ॥ 1548
सेन्द्रचापैःश्रिता मेघैर्निपतन्निर्झरा नगाः ।
वर्णकम्बलसंवीता बभुर्मत्तद्विपा इव ॥ 1728

1. *CC*, II. 160, 218.
2. Ed. Calcutta, Mysore, Bombay, Ahmedabad.
3. *DC*. XXI. 8468.
4. Printed Calcutta. Śṛngārasarvasvabhāṇa (*DC*, XXI. 8548) enacted at the festival of Mātṛbhuteśvara at Trichinopoly (Trisirapuri). The author is said to have been rewarded by King Ramācandra.
5. *CC*, I. 461; II. 106; 218; III. 99.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8472; *CC*, III. 99. He styles himself Mahāmahopadhyāya and son of Siddheśvara of Śrīvatsagotra and gives his genealogy.
7. Ed. Calcutta.
8. *Tanj*. VIII. 3474, it is the Tanjore king Sarabhoji.
9. *CC*, I. 461. See also Sahṛdaya XIX.
10. Printed at Calcutta and with a short gloss by Rajagopāla of Madura (Madras). He is called Ravinartaka in *DC*, XXI. 8155. He says he proposes to render into verse the story of Cāṇakya which was in prose (which apparently is now lost).
11. *CC*, I. 13. These two latter were composed in 1646 and 1635 A.D.

634. Viśakhaḍeva's Ḍevicandragupṭa is of at least five acts, as inferred from the various quotations from the work made by Bhoja in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and by Rāmacanḍra in his Nāṭyaḍarpaṇa,[1] mentioning the names of Ḍhruvaḍevi, Canḍragupṭa, Māḍhavasenā. The plot of the play appears to be alluded to by Bāṇa in his Harṣacariṭa.

"In *Devichandragupta* the heroine Dhruvadevi when she was in her husband's camp with a small retinue who enjoyed their summer in the cool abodes of the Himalayan frontier, was carried away by an unprincipled foreigner a Saka by birth and was much tormented to accept his hand. A brother of Chandragupta II who was her husband in the disguise of a courtesan formed a dramatic company and approached the licentious Saka. By a series of political strategems Kumarachandragupta makes Dhruvadevi escape and takes her place in a female garb. When the Saka prince almost became mad of his love to Dhruvadevi and self-sufficiency blinded him to the probable dangers from an offended enemy, he allowed himself to meet in a secret chamber the enemy in the disguise of his favourite object which he sought for. He had his emoluments for his accumulated follies. He is no more pitied than Kichaka repaid by Bhima. In this the amorous adventure is entirely subsidiary."

Far beyond the Muḍrārākṣasa, those fragments of splendid poetry and prose reveal a beauty of language and plot, not unequal to Bhāsa's or Kāliḍāsa's. Is it possible that Visākhaḍeva was a contemporary of king Canḍragupṭa of the Gupṭa dynasty and he wrote a drama with

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1. For instance :

i तथा विशाखदेवकृते देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते माधवसेनां समुद्दिश्य कुमारचन्द्र गुप्तोक्तिः—

आनन्दाश्रुजलं सितोत्पलरुचोराबध्नता नेत्रयोः
प्रत्यङ्गेषु वरानने पुलकिषु स्वेदं समातन्वता ।
कुर्वाणेन नितंबयोरुपचयं संपूर्णयोरप्यसौ
केनापि स्पृशताप्यधोनिवसनग्रन्थिस्तवोच्छ्वासितः ॥

ii. इयमपि देवी तिष्ठति, यैषा—

रम्यां चारतिकारिणीं च करुणाशोकेन नीता दशां
तत्कालोपगतेन राहुशिरसा गुप्तेन चान्द्री कला ।
पत्युः क्लीबजनोचितेन यदि तेनानेन पुंसः सतो
लज्जाकोपविषादभीत्यरतिभिः क्षेत्रीकृता ताम्यति ॥

For other quotations, see (*GOS*) p. 71, 84, 86, 118, 141, 193, 194.

his king as the hero and another with his namesake of the Maurya dynasty? There is no record that directly conflicts with this attribution of that antiquity to Viśākhadeva, but the last verse of benediction on King Candragupta lends full support to it.

Rājaśekhara quotes a verse in which Candragupta's rescue of his wife caught in his enemy's camp[1]:

वृत्तेतिवृत्तः कथोत्थः —

दत्वा रुद्धगतिश्शकाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवस्वामिनीं
यस्मात्खण्डितसाहसो निववृते श्रीशर्मगुप्तो नृपः ।
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणक्वणत्किन्नरे
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेयनगरस्त्रीणां गणैः कीर्तयः ॥

Kāvyamimāmsā, p. 46.

635. ABHISARIKAVANCITAKA or Abhisārikābandhitaka is mentioned as Viśākhadeva's play by Bhoja and Abhinavagupta and there are the references:

i. कदाचित्कामोऽनुत्पद्यमानः अङ्गलीलालक्षणात् विचेष्टितात् उपजायते । नष्टरागप्रत्यानयनं वा ततो भवति । यथा विशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकाबन्धितके वत्सेशस्य पद्मावती भट्टशबरी-वेषाङ्गाचारणरूपात् लीलाचेष्टितात् कामः प्रत्याख्यातः (प्रत्यानीतः ?)—

Abhinavabhārati.

ii. क्रोधो यथा—श्रीविशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकावञ्चिते वत्सराजः सम्भावितपुत्रवधार्थं पद्मावत्यै क्रुद्धः । तथा च अभ्यधात्—

प्रदुष्टोग्रग्राहां सरितमवगाढः श्रमवशा-
दुपालीनश्शाखां फलकुसुमलोभाद्विषतरोः ।
फणाली … …नार्भीत्युत परिचयां क्रौर्यनितरां
विषज्वालागर्भां चिरमुरगकन्यामनुसृतः ॥—*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.*

"These two extracts furnish us with some material from which we may make some surmises as to the significance of the title and the nature of the plot. It is well-known that Udayana was a love-hero of the *dakṣiṇa* type. It is also known how the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa lulled the king into the belief that Vāsavadattā was burnt, and persuaded him to marry Padmāvatī. In the same way a mischievous character in this play, might have, with the determined purpose of

1. See *IA*, (1923), 181; *JMy*, XV. 269.

bringing about an estrangement between the king and Pādmāvatī, set afloat the rumour that Padmāvatī killed Udayana's son and that she was a murderess. Udayana had many wives and we do not know whether Padmāvatī, as the rumour had it, killed the son of Udayana born of Vāsavadattā or somebody else; but we may hazard a guess, namely, that it might be Udayana's son through Vāsavadattā. Mutual jealousy and hatred are not unusual features where polygamy prevails and the capricious king probably gave full credence to the prevailing rumour. He lost his self-control. His deep love turned into deep hatred. Rage and fury took possession of him. He saw in Padmāvatī not the nymph of celestial beauty but a "serpent-woman glowing with flames of poison". He rebuked Padmāvatī in menacing tones. Poor Padmāvatī, a victim to slander, found that she had lost the love of Udayana. She tried to regain it. To go and plead before the king and to vindicate her innocence would be useless and futile. Hence she hit upon the following plan. Dressed as a charming huntress she attracted the attention of the tenderminded Udayana. As time rolled on Udayana found himself completely enmeshed in her love. When Padmāvatī found that the love of the king was genuine she revealed her identity. Probably then she explained her innocence. Thus there is the नष्टरागप्रत्यानयन as said in the Abhinavabhāratī. This then explains the significance of the title. By a clever impersonation of a huntress Padmāvatī in the roll of an Abhisārikā decover the king and regains her lost love."[1]

636. **Ramesvara** was the son of Rāmadeva Ṭarkavāgīśa. He was a native of Vanga and flourished in the first half of the 18th century. His patron Citrasena King of Mana. His CANDRABHISEKA is a drama in seven acts and describes the story of the destruction of Nandas by Cāṇakya and the coronation of Candragupta. The scene in the seventh act is interesting where Rākṣasa receives a letter that the Nandas are at the point of death owing to a burning fever produced by a Yoga commenced by Cāṇakya. The style resembles Viśākhadatta's as also the plot. But the tricks of policy, that are so amazing in the latter, are not so original or prominent in Rāmeśvara's work.

1. R. Ramamurti in *JOR*, Madras.

2. *CC*, I. 182.

637. Bhatta Narayana[1] or shortly Nārāyaṇa was of Śāndilya family. He was surnamed Mṛgarāja. Traditionally he was one of the Brahmins that immigrated from Kanouj to Bengal at the invitation of Ādisūra, king of Bengal[2] who reigned in the first half of the 7th century A. D. He is called Niśā-Nārāyaṇa by anthologists because of his beautiful description of the night (*niśā*).[3] In a manuscript[4] of the Nīvī, a commentary on Ḍharmakīrtī's Rūpāvatāra, it is stated that at the request of Bāṇa Bhatta, Bhatta Nārayaṇa became pupil of a Buddhist monk, learnt from him all the tenets of Buddhist philosophy and defeated Ḍharmakīrṭi and that Rūpāvaṭāra is the joint work of Bhatta Nārāyaṇa ane Ḍharmakīrṭi. It may tharefore be inferred that Bhatta Nārāyaṇa lived in the first half of the 7th century A.D.

638. In his Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā, Ḍandin praises Nārāyaṇa[5] as well as Bāṇa and Mayūra and refers to the former as having composed three works. It is quite likely that Ḍandin refers in this verse to Bhatta Nārāyaṇa :

व्याप्तुं पदत्रयेणापि यश्शक्तो भुवनत्रयम् ।
तस्य काव्यत्रयव्याप्तौ चित्रं नारायणस्य किम् ॥

A quotation in the Subhāṣiṭāvali appears to be the nāndi of a drama with the sentiment of love in it :

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1. See K. M. Shembavnekar, *The Gotra of Bhattanārāyaṇa*, *JCCJ*, I. 262, Nārāyaṇakavi, author of the drama Candrakalā (*CC*, I. 179) and Nārāyaṇa Bhatta, author of Jānākīpariṇaya *CC*, I. 206) are different. See A. E Gough, *Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 27.

2. Āḍisura is supposed to have lived in 3rd century B.C. But Abul Fazl makes him the 23rd ancestor of Ballal Sen who reigned 158-1170 A D. (See V. Smith, *EH*. 403, 419 *JASB*. xlvii, 400. *Imp Gaz*. under Rampal ; N.N. Vasu, *Proc. of ASB*. (1902) 207 ; *Int. to Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*, 15 ; *Arch. Survey, Mayurabhanja* (1911) I, lxiv note, and Ballālacarita, Bibl Ind) Writers on Brahminical geneology, particularly, Harimiśra and Eru Miśrā place Aḍisura shortly before the Palas and state that shortly after the arrival of the five Brāhmanas from Kanouj, the kingdom of Gour (Cap. Laknauti of Lakmanāvaṭi) became subject to the Pālas. See V. Smith, *EH* 397 ; U. C. Batavyal, *JASB*, LXII, 411. This date of 6th century A.D. for Bhatta Nārāyaṇa is approved by Weber (*IL*, 207) and Grill, (*Lit. Cent BL*. (1872-612). The story current in Benares that he went from Kānyakubja to Vanga in Saka 999 seems to be incorrect.

3. See Jalhaṇa's Sukṭimukṭāvali.

4. This manuscript has been acquired for the Oriental manuscripts Library, Madras, and I am informed by M. Ramakrishna Kavi that the leaf is half lost.

5. This verse is not found in the printed edition of Subhāṣitāvali, but in a manuscript recently acquired from the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Kuppusami Sastri's *Rep*. (1916-9), 40. See para 378 *supra*.

किं किं मिथ्याप्रचण्डैरपि विषमरुषः कास्मिते यत्करोमि
ज्ञातं चेतस्त्वदीयं परिकलितदृढं चित्तमेतन्ममापि ।
प्रेमग्रन्थिं विमूढं चरणनिपतनैर्घट्टयन्किं तनोषि
स्पृष्टोऽङ्घ्रीरित्युमायाः पुलकभुजलतालिंगितः पातु शंभुः ॥

639. His **Venisamhara**,[1] a drama in 6 acts, alludes to a sensational incident in the Sabhāparvan of Mahābhārata, viz., the forcible exposure of Draupadi's hair and garment by Duśśāsana in the public assembly of Duryodhana's court and to the consequent vow of Bhīmasena that the locks of hair would not be braided again save by his own hands wet with the blood of the infamous king. The play takes through the battle of the Bhārata war and negotiations prior to it and culminates in the coronation of Yudhisthira.

Traces of Pāncarātra tenets are visible in the work and his ridicule of the Cārvāka doctrine of materialism shows the religious tendency of his age. As a heroic piece, with the ruling sentiment of valour (vīrarasa), the play is very popular among writers on rhetoric. For admixture of humour and pathos, in dignity of thought and ease of expression the last Act commands high appreciation.

Among the earliest writers, Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta quote Veṇīsambāra as the most appropriate illustrations of canons of dramaturgy.[4]

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1. Called also Veṇisamvaraṇa. Tran. into English by S M. Tagore (Calcutta) and by M. R. Kale (Bombay). See generally, G. Narasayya and N. Veeraraghavayya, *Bhārati*, VI. 403, 575, 578); Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 335; R.C. Dutt. *Civ.* II. 281; Muktaram Vaidyabagish, Int. to Edn. (Calcutta); L.R. Vaidya, Int. to Edn. (Poona): Keith, *SD*, 212; M. R. Kale (Int. to Edn.) gives date 7th or 8th century.

2. The vow is expressed thus :—

चञ्चद्भुजभ्रमितचण्डगदाभिघातसञ्चूर्णितोरुयुगळस्य सुयोधनस्य ।
स्त्यानावबद्धघनशोणितशोणपाणिरुत्तंभयिष्यति कचांस्तव देवि भीमः ॥

3 Ānandavardhana flourished in the court of King Avantivarman (855-884 A D). This reference is sufficient to refute the identification of the author of Veni-sambāra with one Bhattanārayaṇa, the donee under a copper-plate grant of 840 A.D. (Khalimpur copper plate *EI*, IV. 252). Macdonell (*SL*. 366) and M. Duff (*Chronology*) rely on this plate and say Bhattanārāyaṇa's son Adigai Ojha was patronised by king Dharmapāla who reigned about 800 and 840 A.D. (See V. Smith, *EH*. 398; Watters, II, 87; Beal, II. 82, 86 and *IA*, XV. 304, ibid. XX. 308. On this grant, see *IA*, XX, 108; ibid. XXI, 99, 254.

4. For quotations in Subhāṣitāvali etc. see Pet. Int. 50-51.

There are commentaries by Jagaḍḍhara,[1] Jaganmohana Ṭarkālankāra,[2] Ṭarkavācaspaṭi,[3] C.R. Tivari,[4] Ghanaśyāma,[5] and Lakṣmaṇasūri.[6] There is a summary in prose by Ananṭācārya.[7]

640. This play appears to have travelled to Java very early. In his introduction to *Sanskrit Texts from Bali* (*GOS*, xxxiii.) S. Levi writes

"The Mahabharata was translated into (Old) Javanese at the end of the Xth century A.D. under the reign of King Sri Dharmmavamsa teguh Anantavikramadeva who was ruling in Eastern Java, and, rivaling the Sumatranese empire of Srivijaya, endeavoured to promote the study of Sanskrit literature. Only some parts of the whole translation have been preserved, and in Bali only. Kern had published, as early as 1871, a notice on the Adiparva with the text of the Pausyacarita (Verhand. K. Akad. Wet., Amsterdam, afd. Lett. dl. XI. 1877).

The Adiparva begins with three Sanskrit stanzas; the first is clearly an arya, the second stanza is rather unexpectedly the well-known benedictory verse of Bhatta Narayana's Venisamhara.

जयति सनाभिर्जगतां स्वनाभिरन्ध्रोद्भवजगद्बीजः ।
दामोदरो निजोदरगह्वरनिक्षिप्तजगदण्डः ॥

The point is of a particular importance on account of its bearing to the origin of the Javanese shadow-theatre (Wayang). The first mention of the Wayang occurs just some years later than the Javanese translation of the Mahabharata, in the Javanese Arjunavivaha written under the great king Airlanga, who had succeeded Sri Dharmmavamsa. During the IXth and Xth centuries the connection between Bengal and Indonesia was very active; I refer here only to the Pala inscription at Nalanda (Epigr. Ind., 1924, 310-327). If the Venisamhara was known to the Javanese translator of the Mahabharata, it follows that the

1. Ed. Poona.
For his geneology given here, see also in also XXI. 8332. He was the son of Ratnaḍhara, and grandson of Viḍyāḍhara all learned in the sastras. He held two umbrellas as a man of scholarship. His poetry is excellent as seen from introductory verses to his commentary on Vāsavaḍaṭṭā and Mālaṭīmāḍhava.
2. Ed. Calcutta.
3. Ed. Calcutta.
4. Ed. Benares.
5. *HR.* III, (1905) xi.
6. Ed. Madras.
7. *Sah.* xix, 165.

Sanskrit theatre had reached Sri Dhammavamsa's court, and the Wayang may have been born under the influence of the Sanskrit plays."

641. **Bhavabhuti**[1] whose real name was Śrikantha was the son of Nilakantha and Jaṭukarṇī. He was born at Paḍmapura[2] in the country of Viḍarbhas, the modern Berars, "somewhere near Chanḍa in the Nagpur territories where there are still many families of Mahrati Ḍeśastha Brahmins of the Black Yajurveḍa with Āpastamba for their sutras."[3] He gives us a short account of himself and his family in the prologues of his plays. His ancestors were Brahmins surnamed Uḍumbara tracing their lineage from Sage Kāśyapa. They were "teachers of their charana, so learned and pure as to be fit to purify by their association those receiving purification, the keepers of the five sacrificial fires, faithful to their religious vows, drinkers of Soma, and students of theology." His grandfather Bhatta Gopāla performed the sacrifice of Vājapeya. Bhavabhūṭi therefore belonged to a family of Vedic scholars. He is a Vedic bard with Vedic ideas and expressions which unconsciously get in and abound in the writings.[4] Jñānaniḍhi was his guru, a name which looks as one assumed by persons of the monastic order. Unlike other dramatists he develops the marriage of Mālaṭi and Māḍhava on lines peculiar to his own study. He follows Gauṭama and holds the mind and the eye as the sole guide in the choice of a bride. The atheistic Sānkhya and theistic yoga philoso-

1. As Ghanaśyāma says the name Bhavabhuṭi was given to him from his composition साम्बा पुनातु भवभूतिपवित्रमूर्तिः (See *TC*, II. 1723) or as the commentator Virarāghava says

गिरिजायास्स्तनौ वन्दे भवभूतिसिताननौ ।
तपस्वी कां गतोऽवस्थां इति स्मेराननाविव ॥

Two other poets Āluri Ṭirumalakavi and Raṭnakhetaḍikṣiṭa bore the title Abhinava-Bhavabhuṭi. On the description of Padmāvaṭi, see Khajaraho inscription *EI*, I. 149.

2. M. V. Lele in his book on *Malati-Madhava-rasavichara* (in Mahratti) at page 5 identifies Paḍmāvati with the modern village Pavāya or Pola-pavaya north-east of Narvar in Gwalior state and Cunningham with Narvar (Nalapura) itself [*Arch. Rep.* (1862-5) II. 307]. Other identifications are (i) near Amaravati (ii) Karavirapura (Kolhapur) (iii) Ujjain (iv) Pampur in Kashmir. Belvalkar denies the identity of Paḍmāvaṭi and Paḍmapura (Introduction to Uttararamacharita, Harward Oriental serise). It must be said however that the oldest extant manuscript of the dated Nevari Samvat 276 (1156 A.D.) does not mention the province viz. "Viḍarbheṣu" [*Nepal*, (1905) No. 1473]. See Jayaswal, *JBORS*, XIX. 11.

3. Bhandarkar's Int. to Mal. note to Act I, line 31.

4. See A. B. Keith, *Bhavabhuti and the Vedas*, *JRAS*, (1914), 729.

phies were known to him. He was perhaps a wanderer in his youth intimate with actors and it is not improbable that he himself acted on the stage.[1] In his middle life he attached himself to the court of Kanouj, and there standing by king Yaśovarman in his vicissitudes followed him to Kashmir. On his way he visited Buddhist Vihāras and observed the variety of Pāṣanda worship and human sacrifices offered to Cāmuṇḍā to which he often alludes in his works.

As a poet he had his reverses in his early days and apparently his critics were severe on him. He slily refers to them when he says "As of women, so of compositions, people are malicious as to their purity.[2] That accounts for his pessimism which went so far as to flout the opinion of his contemporary world. He was conscious that his poetry was good and he left it for future generations to appreciate it. He wrote that a "spirit kindred to mine will some day be born; for time is endless and the world is wide."[3]

He was conscious of his merit and he expressed that "Goddess of speech attends on him as on Brahma like a submissive hand-maid."[4] Vākpaṭi describes the excellences of Bhavabhūṭi's compositions as shining like particles of liquid nectar of poetry.[5] Rājaśekhara fancies him as Vālmīki himself re-incarnate.[6] Bhavabhūṭi was an admirer of Kālidāsa. When the love-lorn Mādhava wandered in quest of Mālaṭī or when the desperate Mādhava sent a cloud as messenger to his beloved, Bhavabhūṭi had in his mind the distracted Purūravas and the Yakṣa. He was however not a mere imitator. He was the master of the sentiment of pathos[7] and his mode of dramatic composition was original.[8] Tradition couples the name of Bhavabhūṭi with that of

1. Belvalkar thinks (l.c. page 101 note) that Bhavabhuṭi played the part of Vālmiki in the Uṭṭararāmacariṭra.

2. यथा स्त्रीणां तथा वाचां साधुत्वे दुर्जनो जनः ।

3. ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालोऽह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

4. Uṭṭararāmacariṭa Act, I. 2 : यं ब्रह्माणमियं देवी वाग्वश्येवानुवर्तते ।

5. Gaudavaho, 799.

6. Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act I. 16.

7. According to him Karuṇa is the only rasa : एको रसः करुण एव ।

8. For a critical appreciation of Bhavabhuṭi's poetic merits, see Addanki Kumāraṭāṭācārya's *Bhavabhuṭi-bhāraṭi* (Madras); T. Suryanarayana Rao, *Bhava bhuti and his masterly genius* (Poona).

Kālidāsa. They are mentioned together in the Bhojacaritra of Ballāla along with others as the poets of Bhoja's court;[1] but Kālidāsa of the dramatic fame must have long preceded our poet.[2] Kalhaṇa mentions[3] Yaśovarman king of Kanouj as the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpati[4] as a poet in the same court. Yaśovarman[5] was subdued by Lalitāditya of Kashmir[6] who ruled between 699 and 735 A.D.

On Bhavabhuti generally, see K. M. Banerjee, *Bhavabhuti in English Garb* (*IA*, I. 143); Kale, *Int. to Uttararamacharitra* (Bombay); A. Borooah, *Bhavabhuti, his place in Sanskrit literature* (Calcutta); Bandarkar, *Bhavabhuti's quotation from the Ramayana* (*IA*, 123); Schuyler, *A Bibl. of Bhavabhuti* (*JAOS*, XXV. 189); Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 83 4; *CC*, I. 398; Peterson, *PR*, IV. lxxxv, 77-8; *Subh.* 77; F. W. Thomas, *Kav.* 60-2; Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 1-6; Macdonell, *SL*, 362.

1. On Ballāla's work see under Bhoja post and Index.

2. Belvalkar (*o. c.* p. xxxix) says that Bhavabhuti's name is grouped with others as the 9 gems of the court of the king Vikramāditya of Ujjain. This seems to be mistake, for in the well known stanza (see para 14 *supra*) the name of Bhavabhuti is not mentioned.

3. कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥ *Raj*, IV. 144.

"Yaśovarman on whom attended the poet Vākpatirāja, the illustrious Bhavabhuti and others became by his defeat (at the hands of Lalitaditya) a panegyrist of his (Lalitāditya's) virtues."

MaxMuller (*India, what can it teach us?* page 334) reads Rājaśri separately as a distinct poet. He is obviously wrong, for Vākpati is also called Vākpatiraja. See Prabhāvakacarita, IX. 465 'Sri' is prefixed to Bhavabhuti.

4. Vakpatiraja, son of Harṣadeva, otherwise known in Prakrit as Bappaira was the author of the Prakrit poem Gauḍavaho (Ed. by S. P. Pandit, BSS No. 34 with the commentary of Haripāla with a valuable introduction). It is a historical poem apparently suggested by Ravanavaho or Setubandha of Pravarasena (or Kalidasa? See para 32 *ante*). It is divided into cantos and the extant work is a series of 1209 couplets. It is curious that the work as it is appears to be a prelude to the theme and the actual 'Slaughter of Gauda King' is yet to come. He describes the glory of King Yaśovarman and his expedition of conquest. He says in the introduction to the poem "that he was the poet laureate of the court of Yasovarman, a pupil of the poet Kamalayudha, a personal admirer of Bhavabhuti, and the works of Bhasa, Jvalanamitra, Kunthideva, of the author of Raghuvamsa, of Subandhu, and Harischandra, well read in the Nyaya sastra, the science of poesy, in the Puranas, and in the works of many poets." (verses 797-804). He refers to another poem of his not now available called 'Mahumahana-Viyayo' (verse 69; also referred to in Rājaśekhara's Prabandhakośa), See S. K. Belvalkar (*HOS*) *l.c.* iii; R. G. Bhandharkar, *Int. of Malati*, xiii.

5. According to Dutt (*Civ.* II. 264) Yaśovarman ruled 700-750 A.D. See V. Smith, *The History of the City of Kanauj and of King Yasovarman*, [*JRAS* (1908). 765-93]; *EHI*, 379. See also C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval India*, (Poona), 208-214; 334-42; Belvarkar's (*o. c.* 43); M. Duff, (*Chronology*) gives Yaśovarman under date 690 A.D. Lassen gives him A.D. 695-733.

6. According to Kathaṇa, Lalitāditya ruled 695-732 A.D. Cunningham,

642. Bhavabhūṭi's works belong to a later period[1] when a new style of the period of Ḍandin, Subanḍhu and Bāṇa, all poets of a school to which Ojas (powerful expression) is the soul of elegant style. Bhavabhūṭi flourished about the close of the 7th century or in the beginning of the 8th century A.D.[2]

643. In the colophon to a manuscript of Mālaṭī-Mādhava[3] it is stated that the drama was composed by 'a pupil of Bhatta Kumārila.' Kumārila was a professor of Mimāmsa and flourished between 590 650 A.D.[4] It has been said that the family of Bhavabhūṭi was renowned for sacrifices and vedic rites and study of Mīmāmsa is indispensable for an orthodox exegisis of the Vedas. It is possible therefore that there is some truth in the tradition that Kumārila was a teacher of Bhavabhūṭi.[5]

(*Ancient Geography of India*, 90 22) adopts a correction of 31 years after 696 A.D. and dates Laliṭāḍiṭya's accession in A.D. 727. Buhler follows this view and so does MaxMuller (*o. c.* 334 note 1). For a discussion of Cunningham's view, see S. P. Pundit's, *Int. to Gaudavaho* ,*o. c.* p. lxvii and lxxxi *et seq.* S. P. Pundit gives the date 695 to 73^ A.D. For Cunningham's earlier view (693-729 A.D.), see *Arch. Survey of India*, (1873), III. 125 and Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, II. 245. As to Laliṭāḍiṭya's date, see Bhandarkar, *Int. to Mal.* 9; Dutt (*o. c.* II. 178). See also Buhler's paper in *WZKM*, II. 328 , Jacobi's paper in *Gottinger Gel. Anzeigen* (1888) No. 2 page 68 and *VOJ*, II. 332 ; Stein's *Int. to Raj.* and notes on IV. 126, 134 ; Levi and Chavannes, *Itineraire d'Oukong* [*JA*, (1895) 353], fix the date of Yaśovarman's defeat between 736 and 747 A D. See also Prabanḍhakośa of Rājaśekhara (composed 1405-1349 A.D.), Prabhāvakacariṭa of Prabhācanḍra and Ṭirṭhakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri (composed 1364 1308 A.D.)

1. For a full account of these works, see J. K. Belvalkar (*HOS*) l.c Introduction.

2. Peterson, *JBRAS*, XVIII. 109 ; Bhandarkar's, *Int. to Mal.* iv and *JBRAS*, XVII. 572 ; Keith, *SD*, 186.

3. See Lele, *Mal.* (*o. c.* 84) ; S.P. Pundit, *Int. to Gaudavaho* (*o. c.* ccv); Bandarkar, *Mal.* (*o. c.* viii).

4. S.P. Pundit (*l.c.*) K.B. Pathak. (*JBRAS*, XVIII. 213) assigns Kumārila to 700 A.D.

5. K.T. Telang (*JBRAS*, XVIII. 159) and Buhler (*VOJ*, II. 332) are against this view. Belvalkar (*o. c.* xli) remarks " Unfortunately the colophon to act vi complicates the matter by giving the name of that pupil as Umvekacharya. It follows either that this was an alias of Bhavabhuti or else that the Mal. Madh. is a composite work and that while the other eight acts are by Bhavabhuti, acts III and VI are by Umvekacharya, perhaps a substitution of his own version of these two acts in place of Bhavabhuti's original version which this pupil of Kumarila did not like. Obviously we are giving undue weight to the testimony of a single manuscript. A solitary manuscript of the Uttararamacharita gives Bhavabhuti's original name as Neelakanta instead of Srikantha and the oldest extant manuscript of the Mal. Madh. (A.D. 1156) says after the colophon to act X *Kritiriyam Mahakaver Bhugarbhasya.* Is Bhugarbha another alias of Bhavabhuti ? Perhaps all this confusion means only that our poet was not so well and widely known as we might like to think."

Mandana became an ascetic and assumed the name of Sureśvarācārya. There is a controversy whether Mandanamiśra and Sureśvarācārya were identical. "In Madhava's Sankaravijaya, they are treated as synonymous and in the Vivaranaprameyasangraha, Madhava quotes from the Brihadaranyakavartika of Suresvaracharya (Ed. Vizianagaram, p. 92) but names the author as Viśvarupacarya. Madhava therefore considered them identical. (For further particulars on this identity, see T. Ganapati Sastri, Int. to Yagnavalkyasmriti, *TSS*, No. 74). There the statement is quoted भवभूतिसुरेशाख्यं विश्वरूपं प्रणम्य तम् from the Vibhavana, the gloss of Visvarūpa's commentary on Yagnavalkyasmṛti. The learned Pandit has probably not noticed the passages in the Śankaravijaya and the colophons of the Malatimadhava about Umbeka and has therefore found some difficulty in explaining the meaning भवभूति in the compound भवभूतिसुरेशाख्यम् and he says 'The word Bhavabhūti prefixed to the name Suresvara, is, I think, used in the sense Śivabhūti.' If the line is read in its proper sense according to its tenor and in the light of the information about Umbeka, it may lead to the conclusion that Umbeka was Bhavabhuti, was Mandanamisra, was Viśvarupacharya and was Suresvaracharya.[1]"

In the colophon to a manuscript of the Mālaṭimāḍhava[2] it was written at the end of Act III इति श्रीमट्टकुमारिलशिष्यकृते मालतीमाधवे तृतीयोऽङ्कः (composed by the pupil of Kumārila,[3] at the end of Act X इति श्रीमद्भवभूतिविरचिते (composed by Bhavabhūṭi); and at the end of Act VI, इति श्रीकुमारिलस्वामिप्रसादप्राप्तवाग्वैभवश्रीमदुंवेकाचार्यविरचिते मालतीमाधवे षष्ठोऽङ्कः the name of that pupil is mentioned as Umbeka. Umbeka is a very respected name in Mīmāmsa literature. Ha is quoted by Ānanḍapūrṇa in his commentaries on Khandana of Śrīharṣa, by Rāmakṛṣṇa in his commentary on Śāsṭraḍīpikā, by Nārāyaṇa in his commentary Vijaya on Ajiṭa, a commentary on Ṭanṭravārṭika, and by Parameśvara in his Gopālikā, a commentary on Kāśikā (which is a commentary on Sloka-vārṭika). He severely attacks Prabhākara who was Kumārila's adversary. In Ciṭsukha's Ṭaṭṭvapraḍīpikā (Ed. Bombay, 265) he quotes the poet Umbeka and commenting on that passage Praṭyagrūpabhagavān in his Nayanaprasāḍinī (Ed. l. c.) says उम्बेको भवभूतिः (*Umbeka is Bhavabhūṭi*). Umbeka has written a commentary on Kumārila's Ślokavārṭika up to Vanavāda and the rest of it is commented upon by Jayamiśra, son of Kumārila. If Bhavabhūti and his ancestors were, as he says in his

1. See D. C. Bhattacarya, *IHS*, VII. 302 where Mandana is said to be different.

prologues, learned in the Mīmāmsa, this is another indication that Umbeka and Bhavabhūṭi might be identical. Above all a strong proof of the identity of Umbeka with Bhavabhūṭi is furnished by commentary which begins with Bhavabhūṭi's well-known verse, ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञाम् ॥

In Māḍhava's Śankaravijaya (VII- 113-16) it is said that Umbeka was the name of Maṇḍanamiśra (also called there Viśvarūpa).

अयं च पन्था यदि ते प्रकाश्यः सुधीश्वरो मण्डनमिश्रनामा ।
दिगन्तविश्रान्तयशा विजेयो यस्मिन् जिते सर्वमिदं जितं स्यात् ॥
सदा वदन् योगपथं च सांप्रतं स विश्वरूपः प्रथितो महीतले ।
महागृही वैदिककर्मतत्परः प्रवृत्तिशास्त्रे निरतः सुकर्मतः ॥
निवृत्तिशास्त्रे न कृतादरः स्वयं केनाप्युपायेन वशे स नीयताम् ।
वशं गतं तत्र भवेन्मनोरथः तदन्तिकं गच्छतु मा चिरं भवान् ॥
उंबेक इत्यभिहितस्य हि तस्य लोकैरंबेति बान्धवजनैरभिधीयमानम् ।
हेतोः कुतश्चिदिह वाक् सुरुषाभिशप्ता दुर्वाससाजनि वधूर्द्वयभारतीति ॥

644. The works of Bhavabhūṭi have always been regarded as a standard for dramatic study, but only three dramas have come down to us. Stanzas are ascribed to him in various anthologies which are not traceable in the extant works.[1] It is, therefore presumable that other work or works of his have now been lost to us. Guṇaratna, a treasury of thirteen verses, is ascribed to Bhavabhūti.[2]

645. Bhavabhūṭi is a worthy peer of Kāliḍāsa in merit and fame.[1] Kāliḍāsa is terse and brief in his expression and working upon the reader's feelings puts to exercise his full imagination. Bhavabhūṭi's language is comparatively diffused and a redundancy of ideas often makes a strong impression on the reader's mind. In short, Bhavabhūṭi expresses in the *vācya* sense what Kāliḍāsa does in the *vyangya* sense. In describing human emotions of Pathos and Heroism, Bhavabhūṭi surpasses his rival. Kāliḍāsa's style is graceful ; Bhavabhūṭi's sounds grand. In delineations of nature and chivalry Bhavabhūṭi feels at home. " Bhavabhuti is skilful in detecting beauty even in ordinary things and actions and in distinguishing the nicer shades of feelings. He is a master of style and expression and his cleverness in adapting his words

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1. See Peterson, *Subh.* 77-78 ; Jalhaṇa's *Suk* for which see *PR.* (1887-1891) xxxv ; also appendix II of Harward University Series Vol. xxiii (It is not known whether this volume has yet been printed).

2. Printed, Haeberlin. *SKC*, 282.

to sentiment is unsurpassed." Like Kālidāsa's, Bhavabhūṭi's language is full of melody and lyrical beauty. In religion Kālidāsa is a man of the city teeming with amorous intrigues. Bhavabhūṭi is rural. True to his lineage he would not loose sight of the minutest ceremony; his guest would not be allowed to depart without *madhuparka.*[1]

646. Malati-Madhava is a prakarana in ten acts.[2] "The scene is laid in Ujjain, and the subject is (a fiction and is) the love-story of Malati, daughter of a minister of the country and Madhava a young scholar of the city and son of the minister of another state. Skilfully interwoven with this main story are the fortunes of Makaranda a friend of Madhava and Madayantika, a sister of the king's favourite. Malati and Madhava meet and fall in love, but the king has determined that the heroine shall marry his favourite, whom she detests. This plan is frustrated by Makaranda, who personating Malati goes through the wedding ceremony with the bride-groom. The lovers, aided in their projects by two amiable Buddhist nuns, are finally united."[3]

The poet displays here an all-round learning and developes the love of Mālaṭi and Mādhava, as it were, to illustrate the tenets of Vāṭsyāyana's Kāmasūṭra.

There is an epitome of Mālaṭīmādhava in verse called Ṛjulaghvī by Maiṭhilaśarman[4] and commentaries on it by Ḍharānanda,[5] Jagaddhara,[6]

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1. Here is a traditional verse, attributed to Kalidāsa himself:

अहो मे सौभाग्यं मम च भवभूतेश्च भणितिं
तुलायामारोप्य प्रतिफलति तस्यां लघिमनि ।
गिरां देवी साक्षाच्छ्रुतिकलितकल्हारकलिका-
मधूलीमाधुर्यं क्षिपति परिपूर्त्यै भगवती ॥

2. Ed. *BSS* by R.G. Bhandarkar, There are several other editions in different languages.

3. Macdonnel, *SL.* 364; Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 166. Schwyler, *Bibl.* 29, gives the translations in foreign languages. For a short sketch, see *SR.* II, 69; R. C. Dutt, *CI.* II. 264, 270 and M. Williams, *IW.* 503. Tr. into English by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 1-123 and by M. R. Kale, Bombay.

4. *CC*, I. 453.

5. *PR*, V

6. Ed. *BSS*. Bombay and elsewhere and by M. R. Telang (Bombay).

Ṭripurāri,[1] (Mānānka,[2] Rāghavabhatta, Nārāyaṇa, Prākṛtacārya),[3] J. Vidyāsāgara,[4] Pūrṇasarasvati[5] and Kunjavihāri.[6]

647. Mahaviraçarita describes in seven acts the life of Rāma as a warrior. The plot follows Rāmāyaṇa with slight variations meant to show Rāma's heroism in relief. The last act describes the country traversed by Rāma and Sītā on their way to Ayodhya in the aerial car.[7]

" The situation and sentiment of the drama " says Wilson, " are of a stirring and martial description and the language is adapted with singular facility to the subjects from which it springs. It is sonorous and masculine, more vigorous than musical, and although highly elaborate and sometimes rigid is in general chaste and always classical and stately."

For long years the manuscript of the work beyond Act V, 46[8] was not available.[9] The lost portion was completed by Subrahmaṇya. Later

1. Ed. Madras. Ṭripurāri was the son of Parvaṭanāṭha of Bhāradvājagoṭra. His commentary extended only to 7 acts and the rest is continued by his pupil Nānyadeva son of Haricandra of Salahabhattaya family. *SR*, II. 73. Nānyadeva has written a commentary on the whole drama too. (*TC*, II. 2220). He is probably identical with the king Nānyadeva of Tirhaut who is said to have been subjugated by Vijayasena of Bengal about 1200 A.D. and founded Simraun in 1097 A.D. and afterwards established a Kanātaka dynasty in the valley of Nepal. See V. Smith, *EH*, 418-19; S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, II. 198; Keilhorn, *EI*, I. 313, note 57. See also *IA*, XI. 188.

2. Mānānka was a royal author and flourished about the 13th century A D. He is quoted by Royamukuta in his commentary on Amara composed in 1431 A.D. His Bṛndāvanakāvya relates the life of Kṛṣṇa and Meghābhyudaya is a highly artificial poem. *PR*, III. 11, 291. In *BR*, II (1907) there is a commentary on it by Lakṣminarasa where author is called Sāyankeli. He wrote commentaries on Giṭagovinda and Mālatīmādhava.

3. *CC*, I. 453; II. 104.

4. Ed. Calcutta.

5. *TC*, III. 4118.

6. Ed. Calcutta.

7. Macdonnel, *SL*, 361; Weber, *IL*, 207; Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 323-334; R.C. Dutt, *Civ*. II. 274; M. Williams, *IW*, 502.

8. दौरात्म्यादरिमि: etc.; the last time was made up by Mahādeva हन्त प्रत्युत दारुणं व्यवसितं धिक्सख्यमेवं विधम् । and by Muddurāma हन्त प्रत्युत दुष्कृतं च सुमहत्कर्तव्यमुद्वीक्षितम् ।

9. There is a manuscript in the Tanjore Library No. 10703 (*Tanj*. VIII. 3454) in which it is said राजशेखरदग्धशेषे which indicates a tradition that Rājaśekhara had the manuscripts of Mahāvīracarita destroyed. In *Tanj*. VII. 4433-5, it is said श्रीवश्यवाचा भवभूतिमहाकविना विरचितं महावीरचरितं नाम नाटकमेतावदेवास्मिन् देशे दृश्यते, शेषं तु राजशेखरेण दग्धमिति प्रसिद्धिः ।

however, the later portion was discovered.[1] SUBRAHMANYA was probably identical with the author of the drama Sīṭāvijavenḍirāpariṇaya,[2] which likewise in seven Acts describes the marriage of Rāma with Sīṭā. Subrahmaṇya was the son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Kāśyapagoṭra. He lived in Southern India in the 17th century A.D.

This is a commentary on the play by Vīrarāghava.[3]

648. **Uttararamacaritra** describes in seven Acts the story of Uṭṭarakānda of Rāmāyaṇa, that is, the abandonment of Sīṭā, her residence at the hermitage of Vālmīki, the birth of Kuśa and Lava and there the union of Sīṭā and Rāma. "The catastrophe is differently brought about," says Wilson "in the Ramayana and the Raghuvamsa, and the poetical account of Rama and his race closes in a different manner. Rama discovers his sons in consequence of their recital of the Ramayana at his sacrifice and Sita upon her innocence being recognised by the people is suddenly carried off by the goddess of Earth, and disappears for ever. The denouement is very judiciously altered to her reunion with her sons and husband in the play."[4]

This play holds a high place in the theatrical literature of the world. In the expression of genuine pathos (*Karuṇa*) and the description of wild scenery, it has rarely been surpassed anywhere.

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1. Ed. Bombay 1892 (in which both the versions are given), with the commentary of Vīrarāghava; Ed. Todarmall, Lahore; Ed. F. H. Trithen, (London); Ed. by A. Boorosh, Bombay with Com. and notes. Trans. into English by J. Pickford (London).

2. *DC*, XXI. 8512.

3. The manuscripts of Mahāvīracariṭa in South India (*e.g.*, *DC*, XXI, 8451) were found incomplete and stopped with V. 46. So it was that Vīrarāghava in his commentary could get at only the incomplete work and for the rest had to continue the commentary on Subrahmaṇya's supplement. Apart from the name Subrahmaṇya, this is another indication that Subrahmaṇya was a native of South India.

Vīrarāghava was son of Nṛsimha, a descent of Dāśaraṭhi of Vāḍhūlagoṭra and resident of Bhuśarapura or Tirumalisai near Poonamalli, Chengleput District. He was called Annāvappangār.

4. For an introductory account and translation see Wilson, *Theatre*, I. 275-334. Tr. into English by H. Mukhopadhyaya (Calcutta), by C.H. Tawney (Calcutta), by K K. Bhattacharya (Calcutta) by S.K. Belvalkar, Harward (*HOS*), by V.S. Patvardhan (Nagpur). For translations into other languages, see Schwyler, *Bibl*. 31. For a general account, see M. Williams, *IW*, 503 and R.C. Dutt, *Civ*., II. 275. For a full critique see Venkataramasastri, *Sahridaya*, XXIV. 7 and K. Subbayasastri, Uttararamacaritarasavicara, *Bharati*, VI. Juy and the same by R. Venkataramaśastri, (*Jl. of Andh. Sāh. Par.* XXI. 81).

649. There are commentaries on the play by Vīrarāghava,[1] Āṭmarāma,[2] Lakṣmanasūri,[3] A. Borooah,[4] J. Vidyāsāgara, Abhirāma,[5] Premaçandra Tarkavāgīśa,[6] Bhotajiśāstrin,[7] Ṭārākumāracakravarṭin,[8] Rāmacandra,[9] B.S. Ghate,[10] Ghanaśyāma,[11] Lakṣmīkumāra Tāṭācārya,[12] Rāghāvācārya,[13] Pūrṇasarasvaṭī,[14] and Nārāyaṇabhatta,[15] and one anonymous.[16]

650. LAKSMIKUMARA Ṭāṭācārya known as Kavibhūṣana was son of Ṭiruvenkata of Śathamarśaṇagoṭra. He was a High Priest and lived at Triplicane, Madras. He passed away in 1923. He wrote facile poetry and among his various poems are Bhavabhūṭibhāraṭī, Pādukāsṭuṭi, Subhāṣiṭaranjinī and Rāmabāṇa. Besides a commentary on Acyuṭaśaṭaka (prākṛṭ) he attempts to show in his commentary on Uṭṭararāmacariṭa, that the prevailing sentiment there is not Karuṇa but Vipralambhaśṛngāra.

VIRARAGHAVA popularly known as Aṇṇāvappangār, was the son of Nṛsimha and descendant of Ḍāśaraṭhi of Vāḍhūlagoṭra. He was born at Tirumalisai (Bhūsārapurī) in Chingleput District, Madras, about 1770 A.D. and lived for 48 years. He was much respected in Mysore and other provinces. He wrote a commentary on Mahāvīracariṭa, the drama Malayajāpariṇaya, a poem Bhakṭīsārodaya and other philosophical works. He had no son and his daughter's grandson R. Alasingarāchari now lives in the same town. It is not known whether these works are now available there.

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1. Ed. Bombay.
2. *TC*, III. 1599, 1601. Āṭmarāma was father of Nīlakanṭha Dīkṣiṭa and son of Accāḍīkṣiṭa. He also wrote a commentary on Sāhiṭyaraṭnākara.
3. Ed. Kumbhakonam. About the author, see para 246 *supra*.
4. Ed. Calcutta.
5. *TC*, III, 2823.
6. Ed. Calcutta with a preface by E. B. Cowell.
7. Ed. Nagpure by V. S. Pattavardhan.
8. Ed. Calcutta, with a preface by B P. Mujumdar.
9. Ed. Madras.
10. Ed. Nagpur.
11. *TC*, III. 1720. Ed. Bombay by P. V. Kane. On Ghanaśyāma, see para 166 *supra*.
12. The manuscripts are with his son S. A. T. Singarācārya, Triplicane, Madras.
13. *CC*, I. 63.
14. About the author, see index *post*.
15. See *Sah*. XX. 248. He was a Malabar Brahmin who wrote at the instance of Aluvancheri Tamprakkal (Neṭranārāyaṇa) Nambuḍri.
16. *TC*., III. 3503, 3836 ; *CC*, I. 63.

The story of Bhavabhūti's plays has been summarised by V. Anantācārya in Nāṭakakathāsangraha.[1] Uttararāmacaritākāvya is a poem in 5 cantos on the theme of the later life of Rāma.[2] It is a sequel to Rāmapāṇivada's Rāghavīya and was probably composed by Meppathur (Nārāyaṇa) Bhaṭṭāttiri.

651. King Yasovarman wrote the play Rāmābhyudaya on the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa. Śāradātanaya says it was in 6 acts,

षडङ्कं दृश्यते लोके रामाभ्युदयनाटकम् ।

and quotes incidents for illustration.[2] Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Dhvanyāloka mentions Yaśovarman as its author :

सन्ति सिद्धरसप्रख्या ये च रामायणादयः ।
कथाश्रया न तैर्योज्या स्वेच्छा रसविरोधिनी ॥

कथानामाश्रयाः इतिहासाः, तैः इतिहासार्थैः सह स्वेच्छा न योज्या । ...कथंचिद्वा यदि योज्यते तत् तत्प्रसिद्धिविरुद्धा न योज्या । यथा रामस्य धीरललितत्वयोजनेन नायिकानायकत्वं कुर्यादिति तु अत्यन्तासमञ्जसम् । यदुक्तं 'कथामार्गे न चाक्रमः' इति रामाभ्युदये यशोवर्मणा । "स्थितमिति (?) (स्थितिमति) यथा शय्याम् ॥" *Locana*, p. 148.

652. Rajasekhara was the son of Durduka and Śīlavatī. His family name was Yāyāvara.[3] His father Durduka was a high priest. His great-grand father Akālajalada[4] was a great poet. He was married to Avantisundarī[5] an accomplished Rajaput princess, "the crest-jowel of the Chauhan family." She was proficient in poetics and Rājaśekhara quotes her views with regard.[6] He appears to have belonged to the Mahratta country i.e. the Vidarbha and Kuntala.[7]

1. Printed, Allahabad.
2. Ed. Annamalai University by K. R. Pisharodi. There is Uttararāghavīya-kāvya (*DC*, XX 7694).
3. Rājaśekhara was himself called "Yāyāvara" or the Yāyāvara Kavi. He is so called in Tilakamanjarī and Udayasundarī. (See Int. to Kāvyamīmāmsā, Gaekwad's Oriental series, xii). He is also referred to as *Bālakavi* and *Kavirāja* (see *Karp*. I. 9).
4. His name is referred to in Jalhaṇa's Suktimuktāvali and his verses are there said to have been plagirised by Kādambarīrama in his drama. For his verses in *Śārg*. see Peterson, *Subh*. 102. F. W. Thomas, *Kav*. 80.
5. On account of this marriage with a Rajput princess Durgaprasad and Konow doubt whether Rājaśekhara was a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya.
6. See Kāvyamīmāmsā, (O.C. 46, 57).
7. Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita in his commentary on Viddhasālabhanjikā says that Rājaśekhara declared himself in the Bālarāmāyaṇa as a native of Mahārāṣtra and that to a large extent he made use of the language of that country. In the colophon to the Bombay Edn. of Karpuramanjarī the poet is styled Mahārāṣṭracuḍamaṇi; but in the Suktimuktāvali, Surānanda an ancestor of Rājaśekhara is called Cedimandala-mandanam, that is the ornament of the country of the Cedis.

He must have travelled all over India[1] and his knowledge of south India is particularly remarkable.

In the prologues to his plays Rājaśekhara calls himself the spiritual teacher of King Mahendrapāla and that he was patronised by his son and successor Mahīpāla. The Siydoni inscription mentions Mahendrapala reigning in 903 and 907 A.D. and Mahīpāla in 917 A.D.[2] In Viddhasālabhanjikā Rājaśekhara refers to Yuvarājadeva who is probably the Kālacuri being Keyūravarṣa Yuvarājadeva I, who had his capital at Tripuri, the modern Tewar near Jabbulpore.[3]

653. In the Śankaravijaya of Mādhavācārya Rājaśekhara is called a king of Kerala and it is stated that he presented three natakas of his own composition to the great Śankaracarya. In Sadāsivabrahmendra's Jagadgururatnamālāstava composed in the latter half of the 16th century A.D., Rājaśekhara is said to have been easily cured of his blindness by Gangādhara, third in descent from Abhinavaśankara. In Trav. Arch. series II. 8-13, there is an inscription of king Rājaśekhara dated on paleographical grounds as of 9-10th century A.D. and a learned discussion on the identity of that king with the author of these plays. The conclusion there arrived at is that Rājaśekhara, the author of the dramas, was a successor of king Rājaśekhara of the inscription, very likely also his nephew.[4]

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1. V. S. Apte (*Rajāsekhara and his writings*, *Poona*, 20) shows that Rājaśekhara is specially acquainted with southern customs and places and often alludes to southern rivers as the Kāverī and Ṭāmraparṇī. The stanza '*Karnati-dasanankito* etc,. in Kṣemendra's Aucityavicāracarcā (V-27) covers a range from Cambay to Cape Comorin.

2. *EI*. I. 162-79; IX, 1-10 Copper plates bearing dates 57[?] of the Gupta era, that is 899 and 900 A. D. See also *EI* I. 173, 242, *IA* XII 190 *EI*, IX 1. 130 *EI*, II. 304; *IA*, XV 105 XVIII. 90; For all references to inscriptions, see *JRAS* (1909), 70-75. See also The Asni Inscription of Mahīpāla (*IA*, XVI 173) comes from a locality only 90 miles south east of Kanouj, which is now indentified with Mahodaya referred to in Rājaśekhara's dramas. It is dated Sam. 974—917 A.D.

3. See the Bilhari Inscription (*EI*, I. 251, 265) particularly verse 75 which refers to Rājaśekhara, *Vismita-kavi-Rājaśekhara stutyā* and Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Nos. 186, 407, 416 and 419. E. Hultzsch justifies the identity by the fact that the hero of the Viddhasālabhanjikā is called Karpuravarṣa, a name strongly reminding us of the name Keyuravarṣa. See also M. Duff, *Chronology*, 293; Konow (*Int. to Karpuramanjari*, *HOS*. Harward, IV) 186 suggests that he may be Yuvarājadeva, a contemporary of King Vākpati of Malwa, See also *IA*, XXXIV. 177.

4. कृतसट्टकसत्त्रिनाट्यबन्धव्रतयायायर राजशेखरान्ध्यम् ।
हृतवन्तमनन्तमन्त्रशक्तिं व्रतिगङ्गाधरमाश्रयेऽर्थसूक्तिम् ॥

On this the commentary of Ātmabodhendrasarasvatī mentions the names of the plays.

654. Rājaśekhara praises Bhavabhūṭi as Vālmīki re-born,[1] and quotes the poet Vākpaṭirāja, and the rhetoricians Uḍbhata,[2] and Ānanḍavarḍhana.[3] He is referred to by Somaḍeva,[4] and Ḍhananjaya,[5] and eulogised by Soddhala.[6] From these references it appears safe to say that the poet flourished about 900 A.D.[7]

655. In the prologue to Bālarāmayaṇa, Rājaśekhara himself says that he wrote six works Four dramas are known and Raṭnamanjarī[8] a nāṭikā is probably also his work.[9] Hemacanḍra instances Rājaśekhara's

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1. Bālarāmāyaṇa, I.
2. Uḍbhata was the councillor of King Jayāpīda of Kashmir (779-813 A D.)
3. He flourished in the reign of Avanṭivarman of Kashmir (857-884 A.D.)
4. His Yaśastilakacampu was finished in 960 A.D.
5. He was in the Court of King Munja of Dhar (974-993 A.D.)
6. His Uḍayasunḍarī, was compcsed about 990 A.D.
7. As to the date of Rājaśekhara, opinions are various. Fleet (*IA*, XVI. 178), and Kielborn (*EI*, I. 162, Nachrichten von der K. Ges. der. Wiss. Zu Gottingen, 1904. 204 ff.), give the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th Century A.D. Aufrecht (*ZDMG*, xxv. 1-1∷0) says he was the immediate predecessor of Jayaḍeva. See also (*CC*. I. 503 and III. 107). Bhandarkar [*BR*, (1882-3), 44] called him preceptor of Mahenḍrapāla who flourished about the 10th century. A. Boaroah (*OC*, 17) makes him contemporary of Śankara and assigns him to the 7th century A.D. Pischell (*Review of Candakausika*) gives the 10th or the 11th century A.D. Peterson (*Subh.* 21) gives the middle of the 8th century A.D.: "This is established by the fact that Kṣiraswami who wrote a commentary on the Amarakosa and who was the teacher of Kashmir (750 A D.) quotes a verse from the Viddhasalabhanjika in his note on Amara I. viii, 4 and that King Mahendrapala to whom Rajasekhara himself refers as a pupil of his own was reigning in 761 A.D." This king Mahenḍrapāla is the one referred to in the Dighwa-Dubauli plate dated Harsha-Samvat 155 (=A.D. 761-2) edited *IA*, XV. 105. Cunningham adopts this view (*Arch. Sur*. IX. 85) Aufnecht, on other hand (*ZDMG*, XXVIII. 104) states that Kṣīraswāmi must have lived in 11th century A.D. since he quotes Bhoja and is quoted by Varḍhamāna. Fleet discusses the Dighwa-Dubauli plate in *IA*, xvi. 175. Durgaprasad and Parab (*Kavyamala* No. 4 *Int.*) gives the date 884-959 A.D. and H.H. Wilson (*Theatre*, II. 362) the beginning of the 12th century A.D. and Bhandarkar about the 10th century A.D. [*BR*, (1882-3). 44 and (1897), xliii]. MaxMuller (*India, What can it teach us?* 328) confounds him with the younger Rājaśekhara, the author of the Prabanḍhakośa (1347 A.D.). A·te discusses all these views and places him between the 7th and the 10th centuries, probably the end of the 8th century. F. E. Hall in his paper on the "*Vestiges of the Three Royal Lines of Kanyakubja*, (*JASB*, XXI. 1) gives the dates V. Samvat 960, 964, 1005 and mentions two Mahenḍrapālas. See also *JBRAS* XVI. 177; *EI*, (1917 Part v. (on Partabgarh Inscription dated Samvat 1003), *JAQS*, XXVII. 1. Levi, *Theatre*, i247; Klein, *Gestiechte des Dramas*, III; Henry, *SL*, 313.
8. A. E. Gough. *Records*, 203.
9. See *Andhra Patrika*, Annual number (1930),-78, by E. V. Vīraraghavacarya.

HARAVILASA[1] as containing the poet's *anka,* and for *asih,* Ujjvaladatta quotes from Haravilāsa.[2] Bhoja mentions an Aṣṭapatradalakamala as Rājaśekhara's.[3]

It is possible that many laudatory verses about poets quoted in Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvali under the name of Rājaśekhra may be found in this lost treasure Rājaśekhara's knowledge of geography was embodied in a work called Bhuvanakośa.[4] Rājaśekhara belonged to a family of poets. From that family dawned[5] the great men Surānanda,[6] Tarala[7] and Kavirāja. He mentions Aparājita[8] and Śānkaravarma,[9] as his

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1. i स्वनामाङ्कता यथा राजशेखरस्य हरविलासे ।

ii आशीर्यथा हरविलासे—

ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म श्रुतीनां मुखमक्षरम् ।
प्रसीदतु सतां स्वान्तेष्वेकं त्रिपुरुषीमयम् ॥

iii सुजनदुर्जनस्वरूपो यथा हरविलासे—

इतस्ततो भषन् भूरि न पतेत्पिशुनश्शुनः ।
अवदाततया किंचिन्नभेदो हंसतस्सतः ॥

2. दशाननक्षिप्तखुरप्रखण्डितः
क्वचिद्गतार्थो हरदीधितिर्यथा ॥

3. राता वद्याधिराज्या:विसररस विद्व्याजवाक् क्षापकारा
राकापक्ष्माभशेषानयननयन स्वाखयान्तव्यमारा ।
रामाव्यस्तास्थिरत्वातु हिननहितुः श्रीः करक्षारदारा
राधा रक्षास्तु मह्यं शिव ममवशिन्यालविद्यावतारा ॥
निर्दिष्टाष्टदलन्यासमिदं पादार्थभक्तिभिः ।
अस्पृष्टकर्णिकं कोणैः कविनामाङ्कमंबुजम् ॥

4. नदीनां मेखलसुता नृपाणां रणविग्रहः ।
कवीनां च सुरानन्दः चेदिमण्डलमण्डनम् ॥

5. Raṇavigraha is the title of a Cedi prince Śankaragaṇa who lived in 10th century. See Gaz. of Bombay Presy. I. 414.

6. Jalhaṇa's Sukṭimukṭāvali.

7. Rājaśekhara (l. c.) wrote

यायावरकुलश्रेणेर्मुक्तायष्टेश्च मण्डनम् ।
सुवर्णबन्धुरुच्चिरस्तरळस्तरळो यथा ॥

8. Karpuramanjarī (1-8) calls him 'Mṛgānkalekhākaiāra' Subhāṣiṭāvali gives 'Kṣuṭkṣāmeṇa etc.' (verse 1024) as his. Padyāvali quotes some other verses.

8. Mentioned in Jalhaṇa's Sukṭimukṭāvali.

contemporaries and Vasukalpa and Abhinanda[1] were also of the same age.

656. Balaramayana relates in ten Acts the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa. The narration often deviates from Rāmāyaṇa and the effect of such deviation has had a good dramatic effect. Rāvaṇa is from the beginuing represented as a rival of Ramā for the hand of Sīta and his love and longing are more prominent than his ferocity.[2] In describing the tale of Rāma Rājaśekhara might call himself an incarnation of Vālmīki, Mentha and Bhavabhūti.[3]

There are commentaries by J. Vidyāsāgara,[4] and Lakṣmaṇasūri,[5] and one anonymous.[6]

657. Balabharata or Pracanda-Pundava is incomplete. The two acts now available describe with vividity the marriage of Draupadī, the loas of kingdom at dice, the public insult of Draupadī and the departure of the Pāndavas to the forest.[7]

658. Viddhasalabhanikam,[8] is a nātika in four acts. King Candravarman of Lāta having no sons tries to pass his daughter Mṛgānkavatī as a boy and sends her to the queen of King Vidyādhara of the Keralas. This leads as anticipated to a real marriage in secret between the king and the princess and the confidence was suddenly disclosed by a messenger who brings news of the birth of a son to Candravarman.

There are commentary on it by Nārāyaṇa,[9] by Ghanaśyāma and by

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1. This must be Gaudābhinanda the author of the Kādambarikathasāra, see para 60 *supra*.

2. Ed. by G. D. Sastri Benares. The Acts are all named in the Mahānātaka.

3. बभूव वल्मीकभवः कविः पुरा ततः प्रपेदे भुवि भर्तृमेण्ठताम् ।
स्थितः पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया स वर्तते सम्प्रति राजशेखरः ॥

4. Ed. Calcutta.

5. Ed. Tanjore.

6. *Tanj*. VIII. 535.

7. Ed. Strassburg and Bombay. See generally Wilson, *Theatre* II. 361; Macdonnel, *SL*, 366.

8. Ed. Benares by Vāmanācārya. The name has been rendered as *The Lady of the Statue*. On this play generally, see Levi, *TI*, 247. Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 354 Henry, *SL*, 318. Tr. into English by L. H. Gray, *JAOS*, XXVII. 1 ff).

9. Ed. Poona. He was the son of Ranganātha and lived in 18th century. He also commented on Mālaṭī-Mādhava, Hanumannātaka and Vāsavadatto (*CC*, I 292). *Tanj*, VIII. 3664-8.

his wives Súndarī and Kamalā,[1] by Saṭyavraṭa,[2] by J. Viḍyāsāgara,[3] and by a pupil of Karuṇākara,[4] and by Vāsuḍeva.[5]

659. Karpuramanjari,[6] a Śattaka (in prakrit), in 4 acts, describes the vicissitudes of the loves of King Canḍrapāla with a princess of Kunṭala. the jealousy of the queen with the consequent impediments, the secret meetings of the lovers and the final marriage. The drama was enacted at the instance of his patron king for the pleasure of his own consort Avanṭī.

There are commentaries by (Kāmarāja, Ḍharmaḍāsa, Pīṭāmbara, Ḍharmacanḍra),[7] Vāsuḍeva,[8] by J. Viḍyāsāgara,[9] Kṛṣṇasūri,[10] Nṛsimharāja,[11] and Ananṭaḍāsa.[12]

Ruḍraḍāsa's Canḍralekā is a similar Sattaka in four acts describing the story of the marriage between Canḍralekhā and Manaveḍarāja. He was pupil of Śrīkantha of Malabar.[13]

660. Jalhaṇa quotes Rājaśekhara's eulogies of Ṭrilocana, Gaṇapaṭi, Praḍyumna, Bhīmata, Māyurāja and Kāḍambarīrāma. These poets must have lived before the 6 or 7th century AD.

कर्तुं त्रिलोचनादन्यो न पार्थविजयं क्षमः ।
तदर्थश्शक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिभिः कथम् ॥
अधोगणपतिं वन्दे महामोदविधायिनम् ।
विद्याधरगणैर्यस्य पूज्यते कण्ठगर्जितम् ॥

1. See para 166 *supra*.
2. Ed. Calcutta.
3. Ed. Calcutta.
4. Anonymous. *DC*, XXI. 8518.
5. *TC*. III. 3870. He was also called Sāhiṭyamalla and was resident of Malabar. He was pupil of Karuṇākara.
6. On this play, see Konow's Int. to Edn. (*HOS*, Harward) Tr. into English by C. R. Lanman. See Schuyler, *Bibl* 176-77. There is another play of this name by Rajanīvallabha (*CC*. I. 82).

In the colophon of two manuscripts the play is ascribed to a Vācanācarya, pupil of Jinasāgara who is styled the "sun in the sky of Kharatara." Jinasāgara was the first high-priest of a new branch of the Kharatara sect which was established in Samvat 1686 or 1630. A.D. (See *IA*, XI. 250).

7. *CC*, I. 82, II. 15, III. 18, *PR*, IV. 25, V, 423.
8. Ed. Bombay.
9. Ed. Calcutta.
1. *DC*, XXI. 8355.
11. *TC*, III. 382. He was the son of Samuḍrabanḍhayajvan who wrote a commentary on the Seṭubanḍha.
12. *TC*, III. 3935. He was pupil of Kṛṣṇaśankaraguru, probably of Malabar.
13. *OML*, R. No. 3207.

प्रद्युम्नान्नापरस्येह नाटके पटवो गिरः ।
प्रद्युम्नान्नापरस्येह पौष्पा अपि शराः खराः ॥
कालञ्जरपतिश्चक्रे भीमटः पञ्चनाटकीम् ।
प्राप प्रबन्धराजत्वं तेषु स्वप्नदशाननम् ॥
मायुराजसमो जज्ञे नान्यः (मा?) कालचुरिः कविः ।
उदन्वतस्समुत्तस्थुः कति वा तुहिनांशवः ॥

661. TRILOCANA's verses quoted by Śārṅgadhara allude to Bāṇa and Mayūra.

हृदि लग्नेन बाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदक्रमः ।
भवेत्कविकुरङ्गाणां चापलं तत्र कारणम् ॥
तावत्कविविहङ्गानां ध्वनिर्लोकेषु शस्यत ।
यावन्नो विशति श्रोत्रे मयूरमधुरध्वनिः ॥

Extracts from his PARTHAVIJAYA, a play on the exploits of Arjuna, are given in Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and Nāṭyadarpaṇa. Ganapaṭi's Mahāmoḍa was probably a play. Pradyumna's plays are lost. Kaḍambarīrāma is also unknown, unless he is identical with Kaḍambarī Rāma Kṛṣṇa, the author of the play Aditikundalāharaṇa.

662. BHIMATA or Bhīmaḍeva was king of Kalinjara, a place 100 miles north-west of Prayāg. He wrote five dramas, all of which are now lost. Among them are Svapnaḍaśānana, Praṭibhācāṇakya,[4] and

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1. See *JOR*, II. 243, for an account of the plac by R. Ramamurti.
2. *CC*, I. 2.
3. These are mentioned by Bhoja and Abhinavagupṭa and Rāmacanḍra who gives extracts from the last. *ND*, p. 144
4. अलङ्कारशास्त्रालङ्कारभूता अभिनवगुप्ताचार्याः नाटकमिदं द्विः उदाहरणाय स्वीकुर्वन्ति स्वकीयायामभिनवभारत्याम् :—

"भवतु तनयं लोके जातापशब्दपरम्परा-
परिचयमयी वार्ता कीर्तिं निकृष्य निकर्तनी ।"

प्रतिभाचाणक्ये महाकविना भीमेन राजाऽपि विन्ध्यकेतुः भूयसा व्यवहृतः
(*P.* 343, *Vol. II*) अभिनवभारती ।

प्रवेशकाबाहुल्येन तावच्चापसवत्सराजप्रतिभाचाणक्यमुद्राराक्षसादिषु ...
(*P.* 459, *Vol. II*) अभिनवभारती ।

उदाहृतात् गद्यद्वयात् नाटकस्य द्वे नामनी विद्येते 'प्रतिज्ञाचाणक्यं' 'प्रतिभाचाणक्यं' चेति, नाटकमिदं भीमो नाम कश्चन महाकविः निबबन्ध इत्यपि चावगच्छामः ।
—R. Ramamurti, in *Udyanapatrika.*

Manoramā-Vatsarāja. His son Vasunāga wrote the play Pratimāniruddha.[1]

663. Mayuraja[2] (Mātrarāja) Anangaharṣa was a Kālacūri king who ruled over Cedi country, with his capital Māhiṣmatī.[3] He was the son of Narendravardhana. The word Māyurāja seems to be a version of the prākṛt Mā-u-rāja (माउराज) and Soddhala refers to him along with Vākpati and Viśākhadeva :[4]

" सामन्तैश्च वाक्पतिजमाउराजविशाखदेवप्रभृतिभि:

Dāmodaragupta deplores the demise of Anangaharṣa a patron actresses[5] Murāri derides Māhiṣmatī and its king Anangaharṣa.[6]

Abhinavagupta, Bhoja, Dhanika, Hemacandra, Rāmacandra, Kuntaka and Sarvānanda refer to and quote from Māyurāja's plays Udāttarāghava and Tāpasavatsāraja.[7]

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1. Mentioned by Rāmacandra in *ND*, (p. 115-6) and Abhinavagupta in AB Chap. 19.

2. On Māyurāja see M. R. Kavi, *JAH*, I. 155, Bhattanathāwami, *IA*. XLI. 139. There are quotations by Viśvanātha in his *SD*, p. 265, 310.

3. Māhiṣmatī is "Mahesvara or Mahes on the right bank of the Warbuda, 10 miles south of Indore. It was the capital of Haihaya or Anupadesa, the kingdom of the myriadheaded Kartaviryarjuna of the Purana" N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, 56. Cedi country embraces Behar and North Central Provinces.

4. Later the capital was changed to Tripura, modern Tewar near Jubbalpore.

5. वयमपि देवनिकेतनमनङ्गहर्षे गते त्रिदिवलोकम् ।
आश्रितवन्तो गत्या तीर्थस्थानानुरोधेन ॥ (777)
इह तु कदाचित्किञ्चिद्वृत्तिनिरोधाभिशङ्कया निरुत्साहा ।
रत्नवल्यामेता विदधति करपादविक्षेपम् ॥ (77)

Kuttinimila.

See para 310 *supra*. Bur N. L. Mehta (*JBORS*, XIV 353) says that Anangaharṣa' is only a titular name given to Harṣa, anothor of Priyadarśikā from the verse :

अनङ्गोयमनङ्गत्वमद्य निन्दिष्यति ध्रुवम् ।
यदनेन न सम्प्राप्तः पाणिस्पर्शोत्सवस्तव ॥

6. See under Murāri.

7. पुनरारब्धविश्रान्ते रसस्याङ्गिनोऽनुसन्धिश्च यथा तापसवत्सराजे---*Abhinavabharati*.
शृङ्गारानन्तरं नियमेन करुणे व्याप्रियते । तज्जन्मनि यथा तापसवत्सराजे—*Lūcana*.

In illustrating *anka* in poems, स्वाभिपायस्वनामेष्टनाममङ्गळाङ्कितसमाप्तित्वं in Kāvyanuśāsana (p. 335), Hemacandra gives illustration : तेष्वभिप्रायाङ्कता यथा धैर्यं मायुराजस्य, उत्साहः सर्वसेनस्य, अनुरागः प्रवरसेनस्य । स्वनामाङ्कता यथा राजशेखरस्य हरविलासे । इष्टनामाङ्कता यथा लक्ष्म्यङ्कता किराते भारवेः । श्र्यङ्कता शिशुपालवधे माघस्य । मङ्गळाङ्कता यथा अभ्युदयः कृष्णचरिते, जयाः उषाहरणे, आनन्दः पञ्चशिखस्य शूद्रककथायामिति ।

Udāttarāghava is based on Rāmāyana. Tāpasavatsarāja relates the story of the life of Udayana, king of Kausambi in Vatsas, the second half of it narrated in 2nd and 3rd Lambhakas of Kathāsaritsāgara. The first half is the story of Vāsavadattā and the second of Padmāvatī.[1]

"To strengthen the suggestion that *Tapasavatsaraja* might be an older work than *Ratnavali* arguments are not wanting. Before Sri Harsha, the themes of the marriages of Vāsavadatta and Padmāvati were exhausted by Subandhu, Sūdraka, Bhāsa, and probably Māyurāja and hence Ratnāvali who takes the place of Padmāvati in the original story of Udayana has been newly invented while the marriage of Padmāvati, the central theme of this work exists even in Bṛhatkatha. If the Kashmerian version is thought as an improvement upon later dramas in Sanskrit, the Nepalese version also contains it.

महाव्ररोधनस्यापि भार्याबद्धिर्व्द्वये स्थिता (?)
तस्य व्रासवदत्तायां पद्मावत्यां च भूपतेः ॥

Udayana is the hero of a cycle of dramas and *kavyas* in early centuries of the Christian era both before and after, for Subandhu a contemporary of Bindusāra, introduced in his Vāsavadatta a series of inter-dramas, one in another. Bhāsa used the same theme in his *Svapnavasavadatta*. If the printed edition does not represent the real work of Bhāsa in entirety the story is the same and the author of

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Bhoja quotes a verse probably from *Udattaraghava* whose latter half coincides with the latter portion of a verse at the end of the first act in our drama. This shows that even if *Udattaraghava* is not his work there must be another yet not available to us.

सन्ध्याकान्तिकषायितेन नमसा प्रत्यक्षसन्नं शनै-
र्लीलावेश्मनि दीपरश्मिजटिलं नीलं तमो जृम्भते ।
वेल्लद्बाहुलताविलोलवलयस्वानैरितः सूचित-
व्यापाराः प्रनियोजयन्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ *Udattaraghava.*

प्रारब्धो मणिदीपयष्टिषु समं पातः पतङ्गैरितो
गन्धान्धैराभितो मधुव्रतकुलैरुत्पक्ष्मभिस्स्थीयते ।
वेल्लद्बाहुलताविलोलवलयस्वानैरितः सूचित—
व्यापाराः प्रतियोजयन्ति विविधा वाराङ्गना वर्णकान् ॥ *Tapasavatsaraja.*

Under these circumstances on the strength of Sarvananda alone *Tapasavatsaraja* may be ascribed to Mayuraja, the author of *Udattaraghava*." —M. R. Kavi.

1. Edited by M. R. Kavi, Madras with an introduction. Hultsch says that the author is indebted to Buddhist sources for his plot. Nachrichten Wissenschaffin, 886, No. 7.

Natyadarapana quotes from it as भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते and Bhoja gives the explanation of the word Svapnavāsavadatta as

स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमस्वस्थां द्रष्टुं राजा समुद्रगृहकं गत...वासवदत्तां च स्वप्नवदस्वप्ने ददर्श। स्वप्नायमानश्च वासवदत्तामाबभाषे...

There is a drama called *Manoramavatsaraja* written by Bhimaṭa who according to Rājasēkhara was the author of five dramas in which *Svapanadasanana* is mentioned by Bhōja. We know that Manōrama was the handmaid of Priyadarśika who was set to put on the character of Udayana in the inter drama in it. Viśākhadēva, now assigned to the court of Chandragupta II, wrote three dramas (*Mudrarakshasa, Devichandragupta* and *Abhisarikavanchitaka*) and in the last of these Padmāvatī s characterised as murderess of Udayana's son. This terrible characterisation of Padmāvati was probably borrowed from the Buddhist *Jataka* stories where Mākandika or Anupama, an envious creature, dupes Udayana."[1]

664. **Saktibhadra** belonged to Dakṣiṇāpaṭha (Deccan). Beyond this general statement in the prologue[2] there is nothing to indicate the place of his birth or sojourn. He is held the high esteem in Malabar and his play Cūdāmaṇi is known to the Sakyars, professional players of Malabar along with some of the plays attributed to Bhāsa,[3] with which it exhibits similar peculiarities of dramaturgy.[4] Tradition says that he was a pupil of Śankarācārya. Leaving aside Ādi Śankara, of pre-Christian period Śankarācāryas of equal fame flourished in the 8th and 9th centuries and if Śaktibhadra was a desciple of an Ācārya of that period, he might have lived about 800 A.D. The surprise expressed in the prologue that the south produced a dramatic work shows that other plays of merit had not been known then in Malabar and from this it is inferred that Kulaśekhara's plays of about the 10th century were of a later date. There is parity of idea and expression in some verses of Cūdāmaṇi and Bhattanārayana's Veṇīsaṃhāra which may show that Śaktibhadra was well familiar with Veṇīsamhāra. These considerations

1. M. R. Kavi, Int. to Edn., *o. c.*

2. आर्ये दक्षिणापथादागतमाश्चर्यचूडामणि नाम नाटकमभिनयाभ्रेडितसौभाग्यमभिलषाम इति।

3. In a manuscript in the Oriental Manuscript Library, *DC*, XX. 8382. Cudāmaṇi is found written along with Abhiṣeka and Pratimā.

4. The play begins with नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः the word स्थापना in used instead of प्रस्तावना.

make the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century a likely date for Saktibhadra.[1]

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1. S. Kuppusami Sastri sums up these arguments in his introduction to edn.

R Vasudevasarma (Hindu 2nd Feb. 1927) thus summarises the views of S. Kuppusami Sastri, on the connection betwgeu Saktibhadra and "Bhasa's" playe and refutes them.

The arguments of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar are :—(1) That these plays are what are called "Chakkiar plays" and being such are relegated to the last place in the "Attaprakaram" where 14 plays are being treated of, the order adopted being 1 and 2 "Tapatisamvarana" and "Subhadradhananyaya" of Kulasekhara Varmn 3 "Nagananda" of Sriharsha 4 "Ascaryacudamani" of Saktibhadra, 5 "Kalyana-saugandhika" of Nilakantha, 6 an anonymous poet's Krishnacarita and 7 to 14 being eight plays ascribed to Bhasa, thereby indicating the contemporaneity or, may be, a chronology as evidenced by the order of mention ;

(2) That the oldest Sanskrit play in South India was possibly "Ascaryacudamani" by Saktibhadra as in his "Sthapana" to that play Saktibhadra himself distinctly says "Sir! Novel indeed is it to hear that a dramatic composition should hail from the south! Likelier still that the horizon should burst to blooms and the sands yield some oil";

(3) That Saktibhadra announces himself as the author of an "Unmada-Vasavadatta and other works," that this play might be the same as the present "Pratignayaugandharayana;"

(4) That inasmuch as "Ascaryacudamani" was found written alongside of "Abhisheka" and "Pratimanataka" in manuscript they were all written by the same author, viz., Saktibhadra ;

(5) That the departure from the injunctions of Bharata were not peculiar to these dramas, as in fact all the South Indian dramas exhibited the same characteristic (vide "Bhagavadajjukiyam", "Mattavilasaprahasanam", etc) ;

(6) That Bhamaha might have referred to Brihatkatha and not necessarily to the "Pratignayaugandharayana" ;

(7) That Kautilya is found quoting from a work called "Manugita" as is disclosed by Madhavayajvan's "Nayacandrika" ;

(8) That the quotation by Abhinavagupta beginning with "Sancitapakshma-kavatam" taken expressly from Svapnavasavadatta is not to be found in the Trivandrum drama ;

(9) That there is no "krida" or sport in the "Svapnavasavadatta" which according to Abhinavagupta's, "Abhinavabharati" should be characteristic of that drama ;

(10) That quotations in anthologies ascribed to Bhasa by name are not to be found in the published plays ;

(11) That "Carudatta" is but a crude abridgement of Sudraka's "Mricchakatika";

(12) That Mahasena's queen behaved much like a latter day Malayalee lady and used "Sambandham" in the sense of marriage (Pratigna p. 37 and 73) quite as they are used to-day in Malayalam ;

(13) That "Avimaraka" uses "Vicaritam" in the vernacular sense of "enquired";

(14) and that 'the exceptional degree of solicitude and respect for "matula" (uncle) shown in the duplicated "abhivadana" (salutation) betrays the influence of "Marmakkattayam custom."

In the play Ascaryacudāmaṇi,[1] the introduction of Āscaryacudāmaṇi and Adbhuṭāṅgulīyaka to act as a charm to detect fraud and disguise in the creation of fictitious Rāma, Sīṭā and Lakṣmaṇa acts as the main proof of the sentiment.

" The seven acts which compose the play present in dramatic form episodes of the Ramayana—the coming of Surpanakha into Rama's hut, her mutilation by Rama, the rape of Sita by Ravana, his passion for her in Lanka, Hanuman's visit to Lanka, and the final scenes where Rama, after his victory over Ravana, ascertains Sita's purity by the fire-ordeal and a message delivered by Narada and it takes its name from the miraculous crest-jewel and ring given to Rama and Sita by the hermits."[2]

Here are some of his fine ideas:

क्वेदं वनं वनचरैरपि दुर्विगाहं केयं वधूः कुवलयच्छविचारुनेत्रा ।
हेमारविन्दमकरन्दरसोपयोगां कश्चधीत जलधौ कलहंसकन्याम् ॥

नियमाभिषेकजटिलं तपोवने दिनवल्लरीकुसुममात्रमण्डनम् ।
रचयामि देवि रथयानवेगतः श्लथितं शिरोरुहनिबन्धनं तव ॥

वसुदेवमहीभुजः प्रियेयं पतिरस्माकमपामिवैष राशिः ।
अनयोरयमन्तराभवन्ती मयकन्या क्षितिपालिनीव वेला ॥

अरुणे परिशीर्णमञ्जलौ निपतन्तो नयनोदबिन्दवः ।
शकलीकृतमौक्तिकाविषो हिमलेशा इव पङ्कजोदरे ॥

The arguments advanced by Mr. Hirananda Sastri are much in the same strain, additional reasons being:

(15) That the patron Rajasimha referred to by Bhasa might be some Pallava Prince of the 6th or 7th century A.D.

(16) That the Pratimagriha in the Pratimanataka might have been borrowed from the sculptured rocks of Mahabalipuram of the 6th century A.D.

(17) That the great resemblances, coincidences to the extent of expressions, and casts even, must be due to plagiarism.

(18) And that possibly there might have been two "Svapnavasavadatta natakas" and two "Balacaritas", the other unrecovered one being Bhasa's.

1. Ed. by S. Kuppusami Sastri Madras, with a valuable introduction where he incidentally says that the plays attributed to Bhāsa are not his.

On Śaktibhadra, see A. Krishna Pisharoti, *Bhasa's works* (Sridhara Press, Trivandrum) and A. Kishna Pisharoti and A. Rama Pisharoti, *Bhasa's works. Are they genuine?* (*Bull. of London Sch. of Or. Studies*, III. 107-117).

The prologue calls Śaktibhadra, author of Unmādavāsavadatta and other Kāvyas, but there are not now available.

See articles by T. K. Kishna Menon in *Annals*, VIII 43.

2. F. Thomas, review in *JRAS*, (1927), 352.

The description of Kāñcī is enchanting:

देवि द्रविडमण्डलमौळिमण्डनमाणिक्यमणिस्तबकमिदं काञ्चीनामधेयमायतनं मनिकेतनस्य ॥

(सीतामपवार्य) इह हि—

स्वेदजलपिच्छिलाभिस्तनुभिर्यूनां च शिथिलमाश्लेषम् ।
विपुलं पुलकाशलाकपटलं घटिति प्रतिकरोति ॥ अपि च—
अभिमुखपतयालुभिर्ललाटश्रमसलिलैरवधूतपत्रलेखः ।
कथयति पुरुषायितं वधूनां मृदितहिमद्युतिनिर्मलः कपोलः ॥ vii 106-7

and so is the devout obeisance of Bhīmeśvara to the Sapta-Godāvari and to Māhākāla of Ujjain and to Gaṅgā.

विभीषणः—देव प्रणम्यतामयमान्ध्रविषयलक्ष्म्याः सप्तगोदावरहारकलापैकनायको भगवान् भीमेश्वरः । रामः – (कृताञ्जलिः)

नृत्तारम्भपरित्रसद्गिरिसुतारिक्तार्थसम्पूर्तये
निर्व्यूढभ्रमिविभ्रमाय जगतामीशाय तुभ्यं नमः ।
यश्चूडाभुजगेश्वरप्रभृतिभिस्तादृग्भ्रमन्तीर्दिशः
पश्यद्भिर्भ्रमघूर्णमाननयनैश्शान्तोऽपि न श्रद्दधे ॥ vii. 104.

विभीषणः— इहैवायमलकायाश्शाखानगरगौरवभाजि त्रिपुरदहनाधिष्ठानप्रतिष्ठो भगवान्महाकालनाथः । अयं हि

उद्दामभ्रमिवेगविस्तृतजटावल्लीप्रणालीपतत्-
स्वर्गङ्गाजलदण्डिकावलयितं निर्माय तत्पञ्जरम् ।
सम्भ्राम्यद्भुजदण्डपक्षपटलद्वन्द्वेन हंसायित-
स्त्रैलोक्यव्ययनाटिकानयनटस्स्वामी जगत्त्रायताम् ॥

रामः—(प्राञ्जलिः)

नमस्तुभ्यं देवासुरमुकुटमाणिक्यकिरण-
प्रणालीसम्भेदस्नपितचरणाय स्मरजिते ।
महाकल्पस्वाहाकृतभुवनचक्रेऽपि नयने
निरोद्धुं भूयस्तत्प्रसरमिव कामं हुतवते ॥ vii. 113

रामः—(सहर्षम्)

गौरीविभज्यमानार्धसङ्कीर्णहरमूर्धनि ।
अम्ब द्विगुणगम्भीरे भागीरथि नमोऽस्तुते ॥

(सीतां प्रति) देवि, विन्दस्व ।

देवस्याम्बुजसम्भवस्य भवनादम्भोधिमागामुका
सेयं मौळिविभूषणं भगवतो भर्गस्य भागीरथी ।
उद्घातानपहाय विग्रहमिव स्रोतः प्रदीपानिव
स्रोतस्तीव्रतरत्वरा गमयति द्राग्ब्रह्मलोकं जनान् ॥ vii. 118-9

665. **Murari** was the son of Vardhamāna and Tantumatī of Moudgalyagotra. On the age of Murāri, there is some uncertainty. Ratnākara in his Haravijaya has a verse, where there is a punning reference to Murāri as a playwright,[1] and Ratnākara was in the Court of King Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D..[2] In the course of Rāma's ærial car on his way back to Ayodhya, Murāri describes among other cities Māhiṣmatī, the capital of the Kalacuri dynasty and of the Cediterritory, and by the middle of the 8th century A.D. Kalacuri kings had left Māhiṣmatī and became settled in two lines at the capitals Tripurī and Ratnapura. On these considerations Murāri may be assigned to the end of the eighth century A.D. and to the beginning of the 9th century A.D.[3]

666. His **Anargharaghava** in 7 acts is an elaborate play on the story of Rāmāyaṇa and for his merit and eloquence he has been called Bāla Vālmīki and from the beauty of a particular verse he is known as Indru Murāri. His diction is chaste and learned and though sometimes not very perspecuous displays an impressive scholarship. To a mind saturated with the conventional similitudes, his similes,

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1. अङ्कोत्थनाटक इवोत्तमनायकस्य
नाशं कविर्व्यधत यस्य मुरारिरित्थम् । xxxvii. 167.

2. इयं च कलचुरिनरेन्द्रसाधारणाग्रमहिषी माहिष्मती नाम चेदिमण्डलमुण्डमाला नगरी । इह हि—

आश्लेषचुम्बनरतोत्सवकौतुकादिक्रीडादुरोदरपणप्रतिभूरनङ्गः ।
भोगस्तु यद्यपि जये च पराजये च यूनोर्मनस्तदपि वाञ्छति जेतुमेव ॥

It is not unlikely that Murāri is ridiculing Kalacuri king Anangaharṣa Māyurāja who was the author of Udāttarāghava and is known by tradition, to have been enjoying the company of actors (and women). So it is said in Kuttinimata. (see para 663 *supra*) If Anangaharṣa had lived just before the author of Kuttinimata, Murāri may have been his contemporary.

See *EI*, VIII App. I. 16, 17.

3. If the allusions to Murāri (our author) by Ratnākara and by Murāri to Mālati-Madhava or Anangaharṣa cannot be accepted, it is certain he lived in the 11th century, because he is quoted by Mankha, Śāradātanaya and Kavīndravacana-samuccaya and not mentioned by Bhoja or Abhinavagupta.

On Murāri generally, see Aufrecht, *ZDMG*. XXVII. 74; XXXVI. 377-8; *CC*. I. 462; II. 106; Peterson. *Subh*, 91; PR. IV. xcvii; Bhandarkar, *BR* (1897) xx, xl; Durgaprasad's Int. to Anargharāghava; Thomas, *Kav*. 71; Schuyler, 71-2; Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 375.

often original, strike as peculiar, but they are quite natural all the same.[1] Many of his verses show lyrical harmony, but his style must generally be characterised as magnificient. He is one of those poets whom European critics have been unable to appreciate, but the fault is on the side of the critics only, for none will agree with Wilson's thought that Hindu pandits have shown Murāri an unjust preference, for "the Hindus of these days are little able to estimate purity of conception, delicacy of feeling or brilliancy of fancy." But these are the very qualities with which Anargharāghava is replete. The play has been considered a standard for poetic criticism and grammatical learning. In his Siddhānta-Kaumudi, Nagojibhatta cites Murāri's expressions as authority.[2]

There are commentaries on the play by Pūrṇasarasvaṭi,[3] Harihara,[4] Mānavikrama[5] Rucipaṭiḍaṭṭa,[5] Ḍharmānanda,[7] Kṛṣṇa, son of Varaḍa,[8] Lakṣmiḍhara *alias* Rāmānandāśrama,[9] Viṣṇupandiṭa,[10] Viṣṇubhatta, son of Mukṭināṭha,[11] Lakṣmaṇasūṛi,[12] Jinaharṣagani,[13] (Śrīniḍhi, Puruṣoṭṭama, Ṭripurāri),[14] Naracanḍra,[15] (Abhirāma, by Bhāvanāṭhamiśra),[16] by Ḍhaneśvara, son Uḍaya and one annonymous.

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1. So it is said मुरारेस्तृतीयः पन्थाः ।

मुरारिपदचिन्ताचेत्तदा माघे मतिं कुरु ।
मुरारिपदचिन्ताचे............ ॥
मुरारिपदचिन्तायां भवभूतेस्तु का कथा ।
भवभूतिं परित्यज्य मुरारिमुररीकुरु ॥

2. Here is a verse in praise of Murāri—

भवभूतिमनादृत्य निर्वाणमतिना मया ।
मुरारिपदचिन्तायामिदमाधीयते मनः ॥ *Śārngaḍharapaḍḍhaṭi.*

3. *TC*, III. 3380.
4. *Tanj.* VIII. 3315.
5. *TC*, II. 2580.
6. Ed, Bombay. Of Khaukula family. Written at the instance of King Bhirava *alias* Harinārāyana, son of Narasimhaḍeva, probably of Orissa who ruled also 1236 A.D.
7. Son of Rāmabala of Bharatpur. *DC*, XXI. 8355.
8. *DC*, XXI. 8357. *Tanj*. VIII. 3322. *SR*, II. 67, 209. *TC*, II. 1450.
9. *DC*, XXI. 8359. *Tanj*. VIII. 3319.
10. *DC*, XXI. 8360.
11. *Ibid*. 8381.
12. Ed. Madras.
13. *PR*, IV 25.
14. *CC*, I. 15.
15. *Ibid*. *SKC*, 77.
16. Mentioned in Int. to Bombay Edn.

Lakṣmīdhara was son of Yagneśvara and brother of Cerukuri Kondubhatta. After he became sanyāsi, he was named Rāmānanda-swāmi. Kondubhatta's son Yagneśvara wrote Alankārarāghava, Alankārasūryodaya and commented on his son Venkateśvara's Citrabandha-ramāyāṇa composed in Saka 1557 (1635 A.D.).[1]

667. **Mahanataka**[2] traditionally known as the work of Hanūman himself was for long lost, until fragments of it were washed ashore from the sea on inscribed slabs and restored during the reign of king Bhoja of Dhar. It is said that Vālmīki became alarmed that with the rival work of Hanūman his own poem would go to the shade and with the leave of Hanūman, cast off Mahānātaka into the sea.[3] Bhojacaritra records an anecdote of some verses attributed to Hanūmān being discovered by a merchant engraved on rocks on the seashore and Bhoja deciphered on the spot a verse which is found in the present drama. In the form in which we have it, it is a voluminous work, more a poem than a play and often we discover verses of other authors freely imported into it. The sentiments are lofty and ideas fanciful.

A poet Hanūmān has written Khandapraśasti, a series of stotras on Visnu's incarnation on which there are commentaries by Gāngadāsa, Raghunātha, Jayasomagaṇi and Guṇavijayagaṇi.

Śāradātanaya who wrote Bhāvaprakāśa in 12-13 century A.D. instances (at p. 245) Mahānātaka as a drama of Samagrā (full) type :

सर्ववृत्तिविनिष्पन्नं सर्वलक्षणसंयुतम् ।
समग्रं तत्प्रतिनिर्धिः महानाटकमुच्यते ॥

We may therefore assign the composition of this play latest to the days of king Bhoja in the 10th century A.D.[4]

The work as it is, is found in two recensions[5] wholly different from each other, in contents and extent. Of these the one by DAMODARA seems to be the earlier.[6] It was probably made up during

1. See para 341 *supra*.
2. *Bhar.* pp. 200, 212, 232, 237. See article by R. Ramamurti in *Udyānapatrikā*.
3. Mitra V.
4 Śāradātanaya's approval of this play indicates that the recension he had with him was considered to be an original drama worthy of citation by a rhetorician. It is therefore possible that verses of other authors found in the present editions might have been later interpolations.
5. Schuyler, *Bibl.* 35-7.
6. Ed. Bombay. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 363-73.

the reign of Bhoja himself and is quoted by name in his Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.[1] Ḍāmoḍara was the compiler or restorer.[2] His work is in 14 acts dealing with the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa in it. With two verses of benediction the play opens and continues and there is not the prelude or the mention of the Sūtraḍhārā.[3]

There are commentaries on it by Mohanaḍaṣa[4] and by R. Siromani.[5]

The second recension is the work of MADHUSUDANA's.[6] It has only 9 acts and is short in narrative.

There are commentaries on it by (Canḍraśekhara, Nārāyaṇa)[7] and Mohanaḍāsa.[8]

Mahānātaka-Suḍhāniḍhi is in the nature of an anthology of the story of Rāmāyaṇa, composed by king Immedi Ḍevaraya V of Vijianagar.[9]

668. Hastimalla, son of Govinḍa of Śrivaṭsagoṭra, became a Jain. Ayyapārya says in his Jinenḍrakalyāṇacampū composed in Sam. 1375 that Hasṭimalla was so named because he fought with an elephant. For this act of prowess he was eulogised by the Pandya King[10] in a hundred verses in open assembly. His father was a remote disciple of Guṇabhaḍra, the disciple of Jinasena who lived about Saka 705.

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1. See *JRAS*, (1897), 287 ff.

2. रचितमनिलपुत्रेणाथ वाल्मिकिनाऽब्धौ
निहितममृतबुद्ध्या प्राङ्महानाटकं तत् ।
सुमतिनृपतिभोजेनोद्धृतं तत्क्रमेण
ग्रथितमवतु विश्वं मिश्रदामोदरेण ॥

Dāmoḍara, author of the play Kamsavaḍha (*CC*, I. 77) and author Vāṇibhuṣaṇa (a work on prosody, *SKC*, 55) and Dāmoḍara son of Viśvanāṭha, author of Bhagavatprasāḍacariṭa (*SKC*, 371) are different. Schuyler (Bitt) makes the author of Vāṇibhuṣaṇa identical with the author of Mahānāṭaka.

3. Tr. into English by K. K. Bahadur (Calcutta)
4. Ed. Bombay,
5. Calcutta.
6. Ed. Calcutta. *DC*, XXI 8449
7. *CC*, I. 438, II. 100, 216.
8. Ed. Bombay.
9. *Tanj*. VIII. 3704; *TC*, I. 879: II. 2115. See *SII*, I. 110.
10. See para 259 *supra*. For discussion on the date of Sunḍarapāndya Jāṭavarman see *IA*, XXII. 219. On Pāndya rules see *IA*, XLII. 163, 221, XLIV, 165, 189, 245. K. V. Subramania Ayyar, *Earliest manuscripts of the Pandya country and their inscriptions.*

Hastimalla probably lived in the 9th century A.D. Besides the poem Ādipurāṇa, Puṇucarita and Udayanarājakāvya, Hastimalla wrote several dramas of which the known are Arjunaraja,[1] Bharatarāja,[2] Meghesvara,[3] Maithilīpariṇaya,[4] Subhadrāharaṇa,[5] Anjanāpavananjaya[6] and Vikrānta-kaurava.[7]

669. **Ksemisvara** was the grand nephew of Vijayaprakoṣṭha and votary of Śiva. He was a poet of the Court of King Mahīpāladeva who ruled at Kanouj (9–10th century A.D). His CAṆḌAKAUSIKA, a play in 5 acts, describes the story of Hariścandra and his truthful stand against Viśvāmitra's persecutions. "The play presents a vivid picture of the workings of a curse uttered by an angry priest Kausika against an upright king who had innocently offended him. The king forfeits his realm, and loses his wife and child, the latter by death and his consort by being sold into slavery. Though tried to the utmost the job-like patience of the righteous monarch never fails and in the end he has his wife, his son and his kingdom restored to him by divine intervention so that all ends in happiness."[8] Kṣemīśvara was probably the author of the play Naiṣadhānanda on the story of Nala.[9]

670. **Ksemendra**[10] wrote some dramas two of which are quoted in his Aucityavicāracarcā Of these Lalītaratnamālā has been noticed[11] and Citrabhārata[12] is another..

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1. *Op.* II. 316; *CC*, I 30.
2. *Op.* II. 325.
3. *Op.* II. 326.
4. Printed Bombay. There is a play Maithilīnātaka by a Jain author mentioned in *Rice* 304.
5. *Mys.* 287. There is a Śrigaḍita of this name by Mādhavabhatta (Printed, Bombay). There are plays named Subhadrāpariṇaya by Raghunāthācārya (*Op.* 726, 2125) and a Cāyānātaka by Rāmadeva (*CC*, I. 728) and a play Subhadrāvijaya (*Op.* 8079).
6. *Mys. OML*, 272.
7. Ed. by Mohanlal, Bombay, with an introduction. *TC*, II. 1688.
8. Ed. Bombay, Mysore, Calcutta (with a commentary by Tarkālankāra and again with a commentary by Vidyāsagara.) On Kṣemīśvara and the play, see M. Schuyler, *Bibl.* 12, 66.

Other plays dealing with the story of Hariścandra are Hariścandrayaśaścandrac-andrikā of unknown authorship (*CCI*, 761) and Rāmacandra's Satya-Hariścandra.

9. *PR*, III. 21, 340.
10. See para 69 *supra*.
11. See para 69 *supra*.
12. It is also quoted in Kavikanthābharaṇa p.. 130,

यथा मम चित्रभारते नाटके—

नदीवृन्दोद्दामप्रसरसलिलापूरिततनुः
स्फुरत्स्फीतज्वालाप्रविडवडवाग्निक्षतजलः ।
न दर्पं नो दैन्यं स्पृशति बहुसत्त्वः पतिरपा-
मवस्थानां भेदाद्भवति विकृतिर्नेव महताम् ॥

Kanakajānakī was also his play and is quoted in his Kavikanthābharaṇa (p. 131).

रसगतो यथा मम कनकजानक्याम्—

अत्रार्यैः खरदूषणत्रिशिरसां नादानुबन्धोद्यमे
मन्थाने भुवनं त्वया चकितया योद्धा निरुद्धः क्षणम् ।
सस्नेहास्सरसास्सहासरभसास्सभ्रूभ्रमास्सस्पृहाः
सोत्साहास्त्वयि तद्दले च निदधे दोलायमाना दृशः ॥

671. Vigraharajadeva (IV) or Vīsaladeva, (Cahamana of Sakambhari or Sambhar was son and successor of Arnorāja.[1] He successfully waged war against Musalman invaders.[2] His play HARAKELI represents the story of the fight between Arjuna and Śiva (that is, Kirāṭārjunīya) and the gift of the mystical weapon, Pāśupaṭa. The play is inscribed on stone at Ajmere above date Samvat 1210 (1153 A.D.)[3] There is a verse of Vigraharājadeva quoted in Subhāṣiṭāvalī. In honour of this king, SOMADEVA[4] composed the plays Laliṭavigraharāja, also inscribed there in stone. It treats of the love of the king to Desaladevī, daughter of king Vasanṭapāla at Indrapura, There is a reference to the battle with Hammira, but the battle does not take place.

672. Ramacandra[5] was the famous one-syed pupil of Hemacandra and lived in 12th century. "Two legends are connected with regard to this circumstance. According to them, Ramacandra was

1. This is according to Pṛthvirājavijaya, but according to Siwalikh pillar inscription, Dehli, (*IA*, XIX. 215) his father was Avelladeva.

2. See *IA*. XIX. 218.

3. For extracts and accounts by Kielhorn, see *IA*, XIX. 215; XX. 201-212 (at Ajmeer dated Sam. 1210—22nd Nov, 1153 A D); *Trubner's Record*, II. 65-66; *Got. Nach*. XIII. 552-570; *VOJ*, VII. 191.

4. Someśvara, author of Kaṭhāsariṭsāgara, was a different poet. So also Someśvaradeva, author of Rāmāyaṇanāṭaka (*CC*, I. 524).

5. Rāmacandra, author of Ainḍavānanḍa, a play in 8 acts on the story of Yāyāṭi (*Tanj*. VIII. 3354) was the son of Śrīharṣa and patronised by a Canda king of Bengal, Rāmācanḍra, author of Vāsanṭikā (*CC*, I. 556, III, 120) was a different author.

unruly and when taken before the sage Jayamna he made him have a single eye to the furthering of the Jain faith. On this Ramacandra lost one of his bodily eyes.[1] According to the other legend the loss was the punishment for criticism passed by Ramacandra in spite of the warning of his teacher on a poem of Sripala's." He is reported to be the author of a hundred works,[2] of which only a few are now available. Of these some are dramas,[3] Nalavilāsa,[4] Raghuvilāsa, Rāghavābhyudaya, Yādavābbyudaya, Nirbhayabhīma, Vanamālikā, Mallikāmakaranda, Saṭyahariścandra,[5] and Kaumudīmiṭrānanda.[6]

Rāmacandra along with Guṇacandra wrote a treatise on dramas, NATYADARPANA. It is valuable in literary history for its quotations from various works of great merit, now lost to us.[7]

Of the several plays mentioned or quoted from are :—(1) Viśakhadeva's Ḍevīcandraguptam (2) Amāṭya Śankuka's Ciṭroṭpalāvalambiṭaka-prakaraṇam (3) Puṣpaduṣiṭakam (4) Sri Sūkṭivāsakumāra's Anangasenā-Harinandinī-prakarana (5) Kṛṭyārāvaṇam (6) Chaliṭarāmam (7) Ṭāpasavaṭsarājam (8) Bālikāvanciṭakam (9) Pāndavānandam (10) Anangavaṭīnāṭikā (11) Kṣīraswamin's Abhinavārāghavam (12) Udāṭṭarāghavam (13) Bhīmaparākramam (14) Ḍharmapālam (15) Bhatlaśrī Bhavanuṭacūda's Kośalikānāṭikā, (16) Māyāpuṣpakam (17) Indulekhā-nāṭikā (18) Bhejjala's Rādhāvipralambham (19) Ṭarangadaṭṭam (20) Bhīmata's Manoramūvaṭsarājam (21) Ḍaridracārudaṭṭam (22) Pārṭhavijayam (23) Vilakṣa-Ḍuryodhanam (24) Bhāṣa's Svapnavāsavadaṭṭam (the quotation made is not found in Ganapati Sastri's edition) (25) Prayogābhyudayam (26) Mallikāmakarandam and Vanamālā (27) Saṭyahariścandra (28) Rohiṇī-mṛgānkam (29) Kaumudīmiṭrānandam (30) Bhimādeva's Svapnadaśananam and Praṭimāniruddham.

673. **Devacandra** was a pupil of Hemacandra In the Court of King Kumārapāla, he wrote the play Candralekhāvijayaprakaraṇa, in 5 acts, enacted at the spring festival of Ajiṭanāṭha. At the end of it is a praśasti mentioning Kumārapala's victory over Arṇorāja.[8]

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1. *PR*, IV. 16, V. 144; Buhler's *Hemacandra*, 19, 46.
2. *PR*, IV. vi.
3. *CC*, III. 60, 101, 107, 102, I. 293.
4. Anarghanalacarita is a play on Nala's story by Sudarśanācārya of Pancanada (Tiruvadi, Tanjore District).
5. Printed, Bombay. Ed. by Mario Vallauri at Florence with an Italian translation.
6. Printed, Bhownagar.
7. Ed. *GOS* with an elaborate introduction.
8. *Jes. Cat.* 64.

674. Jayadeva[1] was the son of Mahādeva and Sumitrā of Kaundinya gotra and pupil of Harimiśra. He was probably a native of Vidarbha in Northern India. For the excellence of his poetic composition, he was called Pīyūṣa. Though a Śaivite in religion, he was an ardent devotee of Rāma. Among his works are Sītāvihāra,[2] Prasannarāghava and Candrāloka.[3] In the prologue to his play Prasannarāghava, Jayadeva eulogises Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Mayūra and Cora.[4] Verses from this drama are quoted in Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvali (composed on 1247 A.D.).[5] Seeing that Bhoja does not mention this work, it may be safe to assign its composition to the 12th century A.D. The tradition current in Bengal on the identity of this Jayadeva with the logician of that name who bore the title Pakṣadhara may be true.[6]

"In the Prologue, it is said that the manager had a brother named Gunarama, that he objected to being called 'prince of players' owing to the fact that his elder brother was living, that the title should be conferred on the latter and that he wrote a drama called Haracaparopana which was acted at the court of a king called Ratijanaka and obtained a great fame as an actor. A contemptible player stealthily assumed the title of Gunarama and misappropriated the fame to himself. Having heard this, the real Gunarama went to the south and secured the alliance of a singer named Sukantha and began to fight against his enemy at the courts of the kings of Southern India.

While we can clearly see in the above statements, an allusion to the story of Ravana carrying off Sita, the wife of Rama, and the latter allying himself with the monkey leader Sugriva and fighting with Ravana to recover his wife, we cannot help thinking of the probability of a reference to Appayyadiksita's modification of the Candraloka and commenting upon the work. Jayadeva might have considered this to be a plagiarism and resorted perhaps to the court of a king of

1. See Peterson, *Subh.* 37. Aufrecht *ZDMG*, XXVII. 207 identifies this Jayadeva, with the author of Gītagovinda. This is a mistake apparent from the names of their respective parents.
2. See Peterson, *l.c.* 39.
3. *DC*, VIII. No. 3998. *CC*, I. 723.
4. I. 22. Cora does not mean Bilhaṇa as has been commonly supposed.
5. See S.M. Paranjpe, Int. to Edn. Poona.
6. Jayadeva is described as a logician in the prologue to this drama. His Āloka is the earliest commentary on Tatvacintamaṇi of Gangeśa. Gangeśa lived about 1120 A.D. for Gangeśa mentions Udayana, Nyāyalīlāvatīkāra (Vallabha) and Śrī Harṣa. These dates make the identity probable.

Southern India where Appayyadikṣita was "living to expose the plagiarism before the king and the people assembled."[1]

675. **Prasanna-Raghava** is a drama in seven acts, embracing the story of Rāmāyaṇa. The author has introduced several alterations in the original story to give to his work an extraordinary dramatic effect. The first act is very amusing where the demons Bāṇa and Rāvaṇa are brought together as Sītā's suitors and ridiculed. The last act introduces a pair of Viḍyāḍharas, who describe the battle and the purification and restoration of Sīṭā. The return in the ærial car and the coronation of Rāma conclude the story.[2]

There are commentaries on it by Lakṣmīḍhara,[3] by Venkatārya,[4] by Raghunanḍana,[5] by Lakṣmaṇa,[6] by Narasimha or Rājarāya.[7]

676. **Prahladana** was the son of Yaśoḍhavala and brother of Ḍhārāḍhavala, of the Paramāra dynasty of Mt. Abu whose capital was at Canḍrāvaṭī. When Yuvarāja under his brother he distinguished himself as a man of arms as well as letters. He assisted Vasṭupāla in repelling the attack of armies from Delhi an independently too put to work the forces of Kumārapāla and Pṛṭhviraj.[8] He predeceased his brother and could not ascend the throne.[9] He was working as Yuvarāja in Sam. 1220 and was living till Sam. 1265. He built the city of Palanpur, the capital of the state of that name in Gujarat.[10] As a poet famed for felicity and lucidity of expression Prahlāḍana is praised in Kīrṭikaumuḍī[11] and is quoted in Sūkṭimukṭāvali.[12]

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1. *SR*, II. 68.
2. Ed. Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Banares, etc. For an account of the drama, see *SR*, II. 68; S. N. Paranjape and N. S. Panse, Int. to Edn. (Poona); S. R. Khopakar, Int. to Edn. (Bombay). Translated into English by Ganganath Jha, Benares.
3. Same as the commentator on Gīṭagovinḍa and Anargha-Rāghava.
4. Ed. Bombay.
5. *CC*, II. 81, 211; *IOC*, VII. 4158.
6. *TC*, III. 3220. He wrote a commentary on the Gīṭagovinḍa, where he gives his patron's genealogy.
7. *TC*, III. 3394. He was son of Suramāṭya of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra. The work was composed at Raṭnapuri probably in the circars in the year Hevilambi.
8. See Suraṭhoṭsava XV. 32 and Mt. Abu Lunigavasati Prasasti, 38.
9. See Upaḍeṣaṭaranginī; Prasasti of the Aṭimukṭacariṭa of Purṇabhaḍra, composed in Sam. 1282; Somasaubhāgya 13-15 and Hīrasaubhāgya (I. 69-128).
10. He is consequently known as Yuvarāja Prahlāḍana.
11. These verses are collected and printed in the GOS. (No. 4) appendix.
12. I. 14-15.

His PARTHAPARAKRAMA, a Vyāyoga[1] of one Act, describes the exploits of Arjuna in rescuing the cattle of the Virāta from the hands of the Kaurava Army—the story of the Gograhaṇa in the Virāta Parvan of the Mahābhārata, and was enacted on the occasion of the festival of the investiture of Acaleśwara, the literary God of the Parmāras at Mt. Abu. with the sacred thread.[2]

677. The same story has also been dramatised in the Ḍhananjaya-vijaya, likewise a Vyāyoga by Kancanācārya, son of Nārāyaṇa of the race of Kappimuni. Owing to his skill in composing plays, he was patronised by king Jayaḍeva of Kanoj[3] whom he mentions in the prologue and who flourished in the 12th century A.D. The mode of narration is however indirect and the spectacle of the battle is described in a dialogue between Indra and his attendants. The drama was enacted before an assembly of the learned, presided over by a great Gaḍāḍharamiśra.

The model of Prahlāḍana's play was adopted by Vyāsa Mokṣāḍiṭya in his drama, Bhīmaparākrama.[4] He was the son of Bhīma and pupil of Harihara and composed his work in Sam. 1385 (1328 A.D.)

678. Madana was the preceptor of King Arjunavarman[5] of Paramāra dynasty. His Pārijātamanjarī, a nātikā of extreme beauty, of which only two acts are now available in fragments, was inscribed on stone at Ḍhārā in 1213 A.D.[6] It describes the loves of Arjunavarman and a damsel Pārijāṭamanjarī, long kept secret from his queen Sarvakalā. The heroine was the daughter of a Calukya king of Gujrat whom Arjunavarman defeated, who having given up her life in the struggle was born as a cluster of Pārijāṭa flowers, which became afterwards transformed into a beautiful woman Pārijāṭamanjarī.

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1. Schuyler (*Bibl.* 97) confuses this Yuvarāja Prahlādana with Yuvarāja alias Rāmavarman of Cranganur, the author of Rasasaḍanabhāna.

2. Edited with an elaborate preface by C. D. Dalal, *GOS*. No. 4.

3. Printed Bombay. There is a commentary by Rāmakṛṣna (*CC*. III. 58). For a short account, see Wilson's *Theatre*, II. 374. It is quoted in the Rasārṇavasuḍhākara of the 14th century A.D.. See *SR*, I. 6, 10. There is Dhananjayavijaya of Yaśoḍhana (*CC*, I. 266).

4. *Cat. S. Mss. of Br. Museum*. It is called by Schuyler (*Bib*. 71) as Bhīma-vikrama.

5. Arjunavarman was the son of Subhatavarman and grandson of Vindhyavarman. His grants are dated Samvat 1267, 1270, 1272 (See *JAOS*, VII. 25, 32; *JBAS*, V. 378). See also for a discussion of these grants by Kielhorn, *IA*. XIX. 341; Colebrooke's *Mis. Es*. II. 297–314 and *Transactions* of *Royal Asiatic Society*, I. 230–239. Arjunavarman wrote a commentary on Amaruka. Jalhaṇa in Sukṭimukṭāvali quotes a verse of his. See Peterson, *Subh*. 5.

6. Ed. by Hultsch, Leipzig. See *IA*, XXXV. 236.

679. Ramabhadra or Rāma, the Jaina monk and poet, was the desciple of Jayaprabhasūri who was the desciple of Vāḍiḍevasūri according to Prabhāvakacariṭra. Vāḍiḍeva died in *Sam.* 1226 (1272 A.D.) His play Prabuḍḍha-Rauhiṇeyam[1] was enacted at the festival of Śrīyugāḍiḍeva in a temple constructed by Chahamana chiefs Yaśovīra ane Ajayapāla, sons of Pārśvacandra, whose munificence is recorded in inscriptions bearing dates *Sam.* 1242, 1268.[2] The poet therefore flourished about the last quarter of the 13th century A.D.

680. Ravivarma Sangrāmaḍhīra of Jayatunganādu was born in A.D. 1266-7. He was the son of King Jayasimha Vīrakerala and Umāḍevi and belonged to the Yāḍava family. "After defeating his adversaries, he married a Pandya prncess and when 33 years of age took possession of Kerala (which he ruled as he did his town of Kolamba). He defeated a certain Vīrapāndya, made the Pāndyas and the Colas subject to the Keralas and at the age of 46 (about 1312-3) was crowned on the banks of the Vegavaṭī (at Kānci). He made munificient ḍonations to temples and upheld religion. He was a poet himself and patronised learning. He was an expert in the science of music. He was called Ḍakṣiṇa-Bhoja.[3] Samuḍrabanḍha, the commentator on Alankārasarvasva, was a poet of his court.[4] His PRADYUMNABHYUDAYA is a drama[5] in five acts describing the destruction of Vajranābha, king of Vajrapura, and the marriage of Praḍumna with the princess Prabhāvaṭī. The interdrama Rambhābhisaraṇam is interesting and shows a nice device for the first aspect of the lovers at a theatre.

681. Rudradeva *alias* Praṭapa-Ruḍraḍeva was the king of Ekacila (Warrangal) and ruled over an extensive country in 1268-1319 A.D.[6] He was a great patron of poets and a poet himself of a high order. His name has been commemorated in the most popular work on Rhetoric, Praṭaparuḍra-Yaśobhūṣana of Viḍyānātha (Agasṭya). Agasṭya's nephew Visvanāṭha was in his court. Of his writings, only

1. Printed at Bhownagar, with an introduction.
2. *Ibid.* Introduction. See inscription at Jalordurga, printed in Prachina-Jainalekha-sangrahā.
3. *Tr. Arch. Series*, II. 53 IV. 89 and inscriptions, in *EI*, IV. 145-52, VIII. 8
4. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum.
5. *Ibid.* It is not known whether the manuscript in *CC*, I. 862 is the same work. Praḍyumnavijaya of Śankaraḍikṣiṭa and Praḍyumnānanḍa of Venkaṭāḍhvarī have the same theme.
6. On Kakatiya History; see K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar "Historical sketches of ancient Deccan." Andhra Patrika Annual Number (1922-23); Tailor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts (Madras) 82; "Veerabhadrarow's" History of the Andhras.

two[1] have survived to us, a nāṭikā, Uṣārāgodaya,[2] relating the loves of Uṣā and Aniruddha and Yāyāṭicarita,[3] a drama in 7 acts describing the loves of Yāyāṭi and Śarmiṣṭhā as her servant with a thousand other female attendants. "Devayani married the king Yayati. At the time of her marriage Sukra obtained the king's promise that he would never take Sarmiṣtha to his bed; but after some interval the king met her, fell in love and espoused her privately. The intrigue continued secret, until Yayati had two sons by Devayani and three by Sarmishtha, when it was discovered by the former, and excited her resentment as well as that of her father. The violation of the king's promise was punished by premature decay, as denounced upon him by Sukra, with permission, however, to transfer his infirmities to any one who would accept them. Yayati appealed to his sons of whom the youngest alone, Puru, consented to assume the burden. After a sufficient period Yayati took his decrepitude back again, and left the sovereignty of the world to Puru in reward of his filial piety. All the sons of Yayati were the founders of the distinguished races. Yadu gave birth to the Yadavas, Turvasu to the Yavanas, Druhya was the ancestor of the Bhojas, and Anu of the Mlechchhas. The Pauravas were the descendants of Puru, in whose line the Kaurava and Pandava families were comprised."[4]

682. The same story has been handled by other poets. VALLI-SAHAYA of Vadhūlagotra lived at Viriñcīpuram near Vellore. He wrote a biography of Śankara styled Ācāryādigvijaya.[5] His Yayāṭi-Taruṇānanda is a drama in five acts was enacted at the vernal festival of God Margasahāya at Viriñcīpuram.[6] His Rocanānanda is a fragment of a drama probably in five acts, describing the loves of Aniruddha and Rocanā.[7]

Yayāṭi-Devayānīcarita is an anonymous play, having the same plot but with no division into acts.[8] Śarmiṣṭhā-Yayāṭi and Yayāṭivijaya are mentioned in Sāhityadarpaṇa. There is a play Śarmiṣṭhā-Yayāṭi

1. This is a commentary on the Prabodhacandrodaya by Rudradeva (*CBod*, 281).
2. *CC*. I. 71. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*. II. 388; Mitra's *Notices*, III. 192.
3. Probably the same as Śarmiṣṭhayāyāṭi mentioned in Sāhityadarpaṇa. Mitra's Notices, III. 192.
4. Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 388.
5. *DC*, XXI. 8307.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8477.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8489.
8. *DC*, XXI. 8479.

composed by Bhāgavata Kṛṣṇa Kavi.[1] Śarmiṣṭhāvijaya of Nārāyaṇa Śāstrin will be noticed elsewhere.

683. **Manika,**[2] son of Rājavardhana, was the pupil of Nateśvara, an expert in dramaturgy. His BHAIRAVANANDA is a secular drama, the hero being Bhairava and the heroine Madanavatī, a celestial damsel cursed by a Ṛṣi to become human. The drama was enacted at the marriage of Jayadharma Malla Ḍeva, the son of Jayasthiti Malla and Rajalla Ḍevī. "He came apparently from Mithila, a place of learning, and so he had cultivated a fine literary taste for the display of which his new position as king of Nepal afforded him ample opportunities. The birth ceremony of his son, the same Dharma Malla, was celebrated by the performance of a four act Ramayana. Ḍharma Gupta, son of Rāmadasa, wrote a four act Rāmāyaṇa, probably Rāmānkanātaka in 1310 A.D., and was probably a king of Simraon as the epithet used is Surakikulakamalākaravikāsanaikabhāskara, i.e., he helped in the establishment of the Surki dynasty of Jaunpore. The troubles in the then eastern (Shurq) dominion of Delhi commenced at the end of the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah of Delhi, 1368, and Yutha Simha appears to be one of those Hindu Rajas who helped Malik Sharwar, a Khauja, to establish himself as Malik-us-shurb. Yutha Simha seems to have been a comtemporary and a relative of Jayasthiti who, by marrying Rajalla Devi, made himself master of Nepal."[3]

684. **Jayarana Malla Deva** was the husband of Nathalla Devi, the rightful heir to the throne of Nepal and the son of Vijaya Malla. His PANDAVAVIJAYA, also called Sabhāparvanātaka, represents the events of that part of Mahābhārata.[4]

685. **Jyotirisvara,** surnamed Kaviśekharācārya, was the son of Ḍhīreśwara and great-grandfather of Vidyāpati. He was the lord of the village of Pallijanma. He was a friend of king Harisimha of Simroan who ruled about 1324 A.D. and at the conclusion of his war with a Muhamadan Sultan wrote a prahasana, Ḍhūrtasamāgama,[5] which

1. *CC*, I. 638. The identification may not be correct. Kṛṣṇa Kavi may be identical with Śesakṛṣṇa, who flourished during the reign of Emperor Akbar.
2. About this king and his literary tastes, see Appendix by Bendall, p. 11-14.
3. Bendal's, *Cam. Cat*. 87.
4. Bendal's Preface, 19, 215.
5. Ed. by C. Cappaller (Jena). Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II, 408. For other editions and translations in France and Italy, see Schuyler, *Bibl*, 43-44. Maheśvara's Dhurtavidambana is a similary play.

was staged at the victory festivals. "Viswanaguru, Jangama or mendicant of a particular class, quarrels with his disciples for the possession of Anangasena, a courtezan. They refer the case to Asajjati-Misra, a Brahmin, who lives by solving knotty points of law, and he decrees that until it can be decided to which the damsel belongs, she shall remain under the protection of himself as umpire."

In his Pancasāyaka,[1] a work on erotics in five parts, of exquisite lyrical beauty, he purports to epitomise all that is said in the standard works on Kāmaśāstra.

Munditaprahasana, a farce in 3 acts,[2] is probably his work.

686. Bhaskara's[3] Unmatta-Rāghava[4] was composed to entertain an assembly of learned men met together to pay homage to Vidyāraṇya. If this latter were identical with the famous scholar of Vijianagar, then the work must be assigned to the middle of the 14th century. This piece of a single act describes the maddened soliloquies of Rāma on the sudden disappearance of Sīṭā in the recesses of a shady garden, where, on account of the curse of Ḍurvāsas, blossom-collection was prohibited on pain of the trespasser being turned to a deer. Agastya understands the mistake and restores Sīṭā to Rāma, freed from the

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1. Ed. Lahore. *PR*, II. 110; *TC*, III. 4035.
2. The author's name is given as Śivajyctiriśvara, most probably identical with this poet. *PR*, II. 122.
3. He is different from Bhāskara of Kerala who wrote Śṛngārāṭilakabhāṇa. He was a poet of the Court of Vikramaḍeva, *TC*, III. 3881. Printed *Jl. Sam. Sah. Par.* Calcutta, XVII.
4. Printed Bombay. This work is different from one of that name quoted by Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśasana (page 97).

अप्रियदर्शनश्रवणावेगो यथा उन्मत्तराघवे—

चित्रमायः—(ससम्भ्रमम्) भगवन् कुलपते रामभद्र, परित्रायतां, परित्रायताम् (इत्याकुलतां नाटयति) इत्यादि ।

पुनः चित्रमायः—

मृगरूपं परित्यज्य विधाय विकटं वपुः ।
नीयते रक्षसा तेन लक्ष्मणो युधि संक्षयम् ॥

रामः—

वत्सस्याभयवारिधेः प्रतिभयं मन्ये कथं राक्षसाः
त्रस्तश्चैष मुनिर्विरौति मनसश्चास्त्येव मे सम्भ्रमः ।
मा हासीर्जनकात्मजामिति मुहुस्स्नेहाद्गुरुर्याचते
न स्थातुं न च गन्तुमाकुलमतेर्मूढस्य मे निश्चयः ॥

effects of the unconscious curse. The story is a close imitation of the fourth act of Vikramorvaśī.

687. **Gangadhara,**[1] was the son of Agastya's[2] sister. He is said to have composed a play visualising the story of the Mahābhāraṭa.[3] He was probably also the author and the two plays Canḍravilāsa,[4] Raghavābhyuḍaya.[5] The former has an imaginary story on the union of Canḍra and Kumuḍinī. Gangāḍhara had two sons Narasimha and Viśvanāṭha.

688. **Narasimha** dramatised the story of Kāḍambarī in his Kāḍambarīkalyāṇa[6] in eight acts, as related by Bāṇa in his famous romance. The poetry is very imaginative and excels in the description of nature and pathos. An Anṭarnāṭīkā is introduced in the 5th act to bring Kāḍambarī in the presence of Canḍrāpīḍa.

689. **Visvanatha** lived at Warrangal under the patronage of Pratāpa Ruḍra Ḍeva (1294-1325 A.D.) Left as an orphan while yet a child, he was educated by his maternal uncle Agasṭya. Called upon to entertain an assembly of Pandits at the Warrangal durbar, he wrote

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1. Gangāḍhara, father of Lakṣmaṇasuri (*DC*, XXI.8263) and Gangāḍhara, son of Daṭṭāṭreya of Uḍaya family were different persons. The latter wrote the Maḍrakanyā-pariṇayacampu celebrating the marriage of Kṛṣṇa with Lakṣmī, daughter of Bṛhaṭsena, King of Madras (*DC*, XXI. 8265). So also was Gangāḍhara, the author of Gangāḍāra-praṭāpavilāsa, a play in 5 acts, on the life of King Gangāḍhara Bhuvallabha Praṭāpa-ḍeva of Campakapura (Champanir) in Guzerat. It takes us to the Court of King Sultan Muhammad of Ahmadabad (1443-1451 A.D.). *IO*, VII. 1508-14; analysed in *ibid*.. 4194).

2. See para 126 *supra*.

3. So says Gangāḍevī:

स्तुमस्तमपरं व्यासं गङ्गाधरमहाकविम् ।
नाटकच्छद्मना दृष्टां यश्चक्रे भारतीं कथाम् ॥

Maṭhurāvijaya, I. 15.

4. *CC*, II. 36.

5. *CC*, II. 36. There are other dramas of this name by Bhagavanṭarāya (*CC*, II. 117), by Rāmacanḍra (*CC*, III. 107) and by Venkateśvara (*CC*, I. 500).

6. *TC*, III. 3489. This work is quoted in the Sāhiṭyachiṭāmaṇi by Vemabhupāla (about 1400 A.D.) See also M. Ramakrishnakavi, *Andhara Patrika*, *Annual Number* (1918), 101. The 1st verse of this play bears a close resemblance to the first verse in Kanakalekhā of Vāmanabhatta Bāṇa and this leads S. Kuppusami Sastri to suspect whether the real name of Vāmanabhatta is Narasimha. See his report of tour (1919). Narasimhamiśra, the author of the play Śivanārāyaṇabhanjamahoḍaya, (*CC*, III. 134) is a different author.

his Saugandhikāharaṇa.[1] Occupying but a short interval, the dramatic piece has only one continued scene, forming a long vehement altercation between Bhīma and Hanūmān. The plot is based on the story of Mahābhāraṭa, wherein Ḍraupaḍī, enamoured of the beauty of the flower brought by a Ganḍharva, requests Bhīma to fetch some more and when the incognito brothers were about to come to blows, Kubera intercedes and squares up the feud by explanation and by direct presentation of a cluster of flowers to Yuḍhisthira. The speeches are throughout very vigorous and insinuating. Gangaḍevī, author of Maṭhurāvijaya, was his pupil.[2]

690. Jivarama Yāgnika describes in Murārivijaya of 5 acts the early life of Kṛṣṇa as related in 10th section of Śrī Bhāgavaṭa. It was probably composed in Samvat 1541 (1485 A.D.)[3] There is another play of the same name and theme by Viśvarūpa Kṛṣṇabhatta, son of Nṛsimha.[4]

691. Ramanandaraya was a follower of Caiṭanya. By order of King Praṭaparuḍra of Orissa (1480 A.D.) he wrote Jagannāṭhavallabhanāṭaka in 5 acts, in which the main theme is the curbing of the spirit of Rāḍhā.[5] Govinḍavallabha is probably his work. It is a play in 5 acts describing the youthful sports of Kṛṣna, "designed like the Parsian plays of Europe, to place the early life of the deity as an attractive spectacle."[6]

692. Sesa Narasimha lived near the Godāvarī and later in his life settled at Benares about the 1st half of the 18th century[7] under the

1. Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay.
There is a Saugandhikāharaṇa (pariṇaya) vyāyoga mentioned in Sāhiṭyadarpaṇa (CC, I. 727), Viśvanāṭhabhatta, son of Mahāḍeva, author of Śṛngāravāpikā (CC, I. 661; II. 158; Analysed *IO*, VII. 4196) and Viśvanāṭha, son of Ṭrimalaḍeva, author of Mṛgānkalekhānātikā (CC, I. 465; Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* II. 391; Printed Sarasvati Bhavana Series) are different authors.

2. She says

चिरं स विजयी भूयाद्विश्वनाथः कवीश्वरः ।
यस्य प्रसादात् सार्वज्ञ्यं समिन्धे मादृशेष्वपि ॥ *Maṭhurāvijaya*, I 16.

3. *CSC* (1903), 148.
4. *PR*, III. 21, 342
5. Ed. Murshidabad. *Mitra*, IV. 1565; *CC*, I. 196.
6. Ibid. 1672. *CC*, I. 169.
7. See S. P. V. Ranganathaswami '*On the Seshas of Benares*' (*IA*, XLI. 245). Śeṣa Govinḍa who commented on Giṭagovinḍa, Śeṣa Kamalākara and Śeṣa Rāṭnākara who commented on Amaruśaṭaka, and wrote Vinaṭānanḍavyāyoga and Gopālalīlār-

patronage of king Govinḍacanḍra of Tandava. At his instance he wrote Govinḍārṇava, a work on Ḍharmaśāsṭra. He was a great grammarian and originated the famous Benares School of Grammar, to which Bhattoji and Nagoji[1] belonged.

Narasimha had two sons, Cinṭāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa. Cinṭāmaṇi wrote the play Rukminiharaṇa[2] the Rasamanjarī-Parimala.[3] Kṛṣṇa had two sons Vīreśvara and Nārāyaṇa.[4] Of these Vīreśvara was the tutor to Panḍiṭarāja, Bhattoji and Annambhatta.[5]

KRSHNA's patron was Govarḍhanaḍhāri, son of Todar, "the ornament of the race of Tandava and disciple of Girdharinath." Todarmal was the famous finance minister of Emperor Akbar who died in 1586 A.D.[6] Girdharinath was the grandson of Vallabha who founded the Gokulasṭha goswamins early in the 16th century A.D.[7] His works are many. Kamsavaḍha, enacted at the festival of Viśveśvara at Benares in seven acts, embraces the story of the destruction of Kamsa as related in the 10th Skanda of the Bhāgavaṭa and ends with the coronation of Ugrasena, father of Kamsa in the sovereignty of Maṭhurā.[8] He wrote the plays Murārivijaya,[9] Mukṭācariṭa,[10] Saṭyabhāmāpariṇaya,

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..yabhāṇa (*CC*, I. 103, 676) and Śeṣa Rāmacanḍra who commented on Naiṣaḍha belong to the Śeṣa family. (See *IA*, XLII. 252).

1. See Belvalkar, *l. c.* 46–50. Nageśa wrote commentary on Aḍhyāṭma Rāmāyaṇa ascribed to his person his 1714 A.D.
2. *CC*, I. 527.
3. For his other works, see *CC*, I. 77.
4. He was author of Sukṭiraṭnākara, a rare commentary on Mahābhāṣya.
5. See Dec. College Mss. No. 183, (1882-3),
6. It is not known whether Kṛṣṇakaviśekhara, who wrote Kuvalayāvaṭīnāṭikā before 1648 A.D. was identical with this author (*CC*, III, 25 ; *IO*, VII. 4194).
7. In Sam. 1687 (1631 A.D.) Kṛṣṇa's pupil Jayanṭa wrote an abridgment Ṭaṭṭvacanḍra of Kṛṣṇa's Prakriyākaumuḍī which was composed for the benefit of Prince Kalyāṇa, son of a petty chief of Patrabunja in the duab between Ganges and Jumna. Prakriyāprakāśa gives the genealogy of the kings of Anṭarveḍi with capital Patrabhunja for five generations ending with Kalyāṇa. See Belvalkar's *Sys. Sk. Gr.* 45.
8. Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* II, 400. There is an anonymous commentary on it, *CC*, I. 77 ; II. 15 ; III. 17. There is another play of this name by a poet Dāmoḍara, *CC*, I. 77. The first play of this name is mentioned by Paṭanjali, see para 554 *supra*.
9. *CC*, I. 462 ; II. 106 ; *PR*, III. 21 ; App. 337.
10. *PR*, IV. xxi.

the campūs Pārijātaharaṇa,[1] Uṣāpariṇaya and Satyabhāmāvilāsa,[2] Kriyāgopanarāmāyaṇa.[3]

693. Gokulanatha was the son of Umādevī and Pītāmbara, a brahmin of Phanadaha family of Mithila of Śrīvatsagotra. He flourished in the court of king Fatteh Saha of Śrīnagara in the 16th century A.D. At the king's instance he composed Ekāvali, a work on metrics and there he says

वृत्तसागररत्नानां सारमुद्धृत्य निर्मिता ।
एकावली फतेसाह तव कण्ठे लुठत्यसौ ॥

His only daughter Kādambarī was drowned, when yet a child, in the Ganges and in her memory he composed the poem Kundakādambarī. There he wrote

आराम्वात्र प्रकृतिकृपणा बाधिभिर्बाध्यमानैः
विक्रोशारः करुणवचनं पुत्रि कादम्बरीति ।
कोऽयं लोकः क इव विषयः किं पुरं को निवासः
यस्मिन्नस्मद्विमुखहृदया त्वं निलीय स्थितासि ॥

At a ripe age of 90, he passed away at Kāśī. Besides a gloss of Kāvyaprakāśa and the poem Śivastuti,[4] he wrote the plays MUDITAMADALASA in 7 acts on the marriage of Madālasā, daughter of Viśvāvasu and Kuvalayāśva,[5] and Amṛtodaya, an allegorical play illustrating the ills of Samsāra.[6]

694. Laksmanamanickyadeva was ruler of Noakhāli during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.)[7] He was a poet and patron of letters. He is said to have written several dramas, but only two are now available, Kuvalayāśvacarita on the loves of Kuvalayāśva and Madālasa, and Vikhyātavijaya[8] in six acts depicting the battle between Nakula and Kauravas.

1. Ed. Bombay. This was written at the instance of king Narottama, brother of king Tāndavapura near Kāśi.
2. *Opp*. II. 2888.
3. See para 346 *supra*.
4. Printed, Bombay.
5. *DC*, XXI. 8444, 8446 (where there is an anonymous commentary).
6. Printed, Bombay.
7. *CC*, III. 25. Other dramas on the subject are by Vamśamaṇi and Kṛṣṇadatta (*CC*, I. 113 ; *CC*, III. 33). On Vamśamaṇi, see para 299 *supra*.
8. *CC*, III. 120 ; *HSR*. (1904).

Mahesvara Paṇḍita, flourished in the Court of Bahadur Shah of Guzarat (1526-1537 A.D.). In his play Svarṇamuktāvivāda, he describes a dispute between gold and pearl and king Balabhadradeva of Śrīnagarī acts as referee.[1]

695. **Balakavi** lived in Mullandrum in N. Arcot District. He was son of Kālahasti of Bhāradvājagotra. He must have been related to Dindimas.[2] In the prologue to Nalacaritanāṭaka, Nīlakantha has praised him. He was a contemporary of Uddaṇḍa.[3] He was in the court of King Rāmavarman of Cochin, who abdicated in 1537 A.D. in favour of his brother Godāvarman (1537-1561 A.D). This story of the abdication and pilgrimage to Benares is described in his Rāmavarmavilāsa, and in the play Ratnaketūdaya he traces the fortunes of that king till the abdication.[4]

Godāvarman appears to have ruled along with Ravivarman. After them came Vīrakeralavarman (1561-1565 A.D.) In his court flourished the poet Nilakantha. He was probably the same as Nīlakantha of Sangamagrāma (Kūdalur) in Nāreri near Pattāmbi in Malabar and of a well-known Nambudri brahmin family.[5] In his Kamalinīkalahamsa, a play in facts, he describes the marriage of Kamalini with Kalahamsa.[6]

696. **Vilinatha** was son of Kanakasabhāpati and grandson of Yagnanārāyaṇa of Kauśikagotra. He lived in Visnupuram in Tanjore District and in the court of King Acyuta (1577-1614 A.D.) was enacted his play Madanamanjarīmahotsava.[7] It describes the destruction of king Candravarman of Pātalīputra by Rudra in mortal form to help his devotee king Parākrama Bhāskara of Pāncāla. The following is typical of his style and orthodoxy:

(प्राचीमालोक्य) आं: कथमुदयन्नेव भगवानखिलानामपि द्विजानामाचारमुपदिशतीव कर्मणैव कर्मसाक्षी । तथा हि—

1. *IO*, 1623.
2. See para 134 supra.
3. See para 169 supra.
4. *JOR*, V. 141.
5. Nilakantha of Muktisthala who commended on Vāsudeva's Śaurikathā (*DC*, XXI. 8464) is different.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8390. For his commentary on Mahāvīracarita, see *DC*, XXI. 8497.
7. *Tanj*. VIII. 8447. Printed *Sah*. XXVI. Madras. The manuscript breaks off in 5th Act.

स्नातः प्रातः पयोधौ द्रुतविधुततमाः स्वीकृताच्छाम्बरोऽयं
धूलीपालीतुषाधिष्ठितदलसमिधो दीप्तिधाराधमन्या ।
उत्क्षिप्य क्षिप्रमञ्जाकुरशुचिसदने कर्णिकाहव्यवाहं
कुर्वन्सर्वङ्कषामं कुसुमरसघृतैर्दीप्यते येन देवः ॥

(विमृश्य) ईदृशानामपि तेजसां विलसितमीश्वरानुग्रहनिय-
न्त्रितमिति विचिन्त्य ममाऽऽनन्दमन्थरमिदमन्तःकरणम् ।

697. **Bhudeva Sukla** was the son of Śukadeva and pupil of Śrīkanthadīkṣita. He lived at Jambūsaras in Kashmir about the beginning of the 17th century A.D.[1] In Dharmavijaya, a play in 5 acts, he demonstrated the merits of a life regulated by spiritual ordinances and meant it as a corrective of the several lapses from religion rampant during the time of Emperor Aurangazeb and his successors.[2] His Rasavilāsa is a work on poetics.[3]

698. **Sathakopa** was a famous Pontiff of the Ahobila Mutt of Southern India. He was seventh in apostelic descent from the founder of the Mutt of a like name and was the immediate successor of (Saṣṭha) Parānkuśa, who was a contemporary of Aliya Rāmarāja of Vijianagar. He himself lived in the days of Śrī Rangarāja of Vijianagar. He was the son of Śrinivāsācārya of Bhāradwajagotra of Elankādu (Balavāna) village. His original name was Tirumala and bore the title Kaviṭārkikākanthīrava. His VASANTIKAPARINAYA is a drama in five acts of splendid poetry, describing the marriage of Ahobila Narasimha with Vāsantikā, a wood nymph. He was capable of dictating poetry to 100 persons at a time and was praised by a poet Vāhinīpaṭi.[4]

699. **Kumara Tatacarya** (Śaṭakrāṭu) was son of Venkatācārya and grandson of Śrinivāsa of Sathamarṣanagoṭra. He was a descendant of Śrīśailapūrṇa the preceptor of Rāmānuja. Śrīśailapūrṇa's line branched off over various parts of the Madras Presidency. Lakṣmīkumāra Ṭāṭācārya[5] represents the line that stayed in Kānci and there are other lines at Kumbakonam and the Circars etc. This poet belongs to the family that settled itself at Tirupati and its progenitor is

1. Printed Bombay and Benares. See Mitra's *Notices*, I. 37. There is a commentary on it by his desciple Bhavānīśankara (10. VIII. 4183).

2. See Int. to Edn. *Sarasvati Bhavan Series*.

3. *CC*, I. 496, II. 116, III. 106. For his other works, see *CC*, I. 414.

4. *Sources of Vizinagar History*. He was adored by Mukundadeva, a Gajapati prince of the 16th century. *DC*, XXI. 8500%.

5. See para 212 supra.

called Ṭolappācārya. Kumāra was the High Priest of Raghunātha Naik and Vijayarāghava Naik of Tanjore who ruled from 1614 A.D.[1] His Parijāṭanāṭaka in five acts is based on the story of Pārijāṭaharaṇa.[2]

700. **Jagannatha,** son of Pīṭāmbara, was a Brahmin of Miṭhila and contemporary of Gokulanāṭha. To delight the feudatory chiefs who were assembled at the court of Fateh Shah, he composed the play Aṭaṇḍracanḍrikā, early in 17th century A.D.[3]

701. **Mathuradasa** was pupil of Kṛṣṇaḍāsa. He was a Kāyasṭha of the city of Suvarṇaśekhara on the banks of the Jumna. His Vṛṣabhānuja is a nāṭikā describing the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rāḍha, daughter of Vṛṣabhānu.[4]

702. **Madhusudana,** son of Nārāyaṇa of Śāndilyagoṭra and desciple of Kṛṣṇasarasvaṭī, wrote play Kṛṣṇakuṭūhala,[5] and is different from the famous Maḍhusūḍana Sarasvaṭī.[6]

703. [MADHUSUDANA (SARASVATI) whose original name was Kamalanayana was a Gauda Kanojia brahmin of Kāśyapagoṭra. He was the son of Puranḍara. Yāḍavānanḍa was his brother. It is said that Yāḍava's son Māḍhava, contemporary of Praṭāpāḍiṭya (16-17 century A.D.), bore the title of Avilambasarasvaṭi,[7] for extempore poetry. With his two sons, Puranḍara once went to the Court of Māḍhava Pāśa in Barisal District,[8] and exhibited the extraordinary faculties of Maḍhusūḍana. The chief was delighted but refused to grant a site on which Puranḍara wanted to build a hut. Maḍhusūḍana was much grieved and took his father's leave to renounce the world.

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1. The statement in para 146 and the footnote (3) there that Kumāra Ṭāṭācarya was a resident of Kancī is an error, due to the confusion between his name and that of Lakṣmikumāra Ṭāṭācārya. Kumāra Ṭāṭācārya *alias* Aparyāptamṛṭa who commented on Campubhāraṭa (*TC*, III. 3532) was the great-great-grandon of Lakṣmikumāra of Kānci. See also *DC*, XXI. 8204.
2. *TC*, II. 2374; *SVH*. 254.
3. *PR*, II. 22.
4. Ed. Bombay. See Mitra's *Notices* (1875).
5. *CC*, I. 119, There are poems Kṛṣṇakrīdiṭa by Keśavārka (*Oxf*. 349), Kṛṣṇa-kauṭrihala, anonymous (*CC*, I 119) and Kṛṣṇakuṭuhala by Rāmacanḍra Bhatta (*Pandit*, VI. 108).
6. See P. C. Divanji's Int. to Siddantabindu (*GOS*, Baroda p. xi); Abhayankara's Int. to Siddhantabindu (*Govt. Or. Series*, Class A No. 2, p. 27).
7. See under Ciranjiva *post*.
8. The kingdom was called Candraḍvipa and kings Canḍra kings (See *EI*, XII. No. 12).

He went to Benares and was initiated into Brahmavidyā by Viśveśvara Sarasvatī. There he composed his famous Aḍvaiṭasiḍḍhi. Ṭulasīḍāsa, the poet to whom we owe the Hindi masterpiece Rāmacariṭamānasa, was his friend, whom he praised thus :

आनन्दकानने काश्यां तुलसीजङ्गमस्तरुः ।
कवितामञ्जरी यस्य रामभ्रमरचुम्बिता ॥

In Kotalipara near Faridpur in Eastern Bengal there is still a village known as Puranḍaravāṭikā and a shrine attached to it of Śrī Ḍakṣiṇāmūrṭi and Kālikā said to have been built by Puranḍara. In Bhavabhūmivārtā or history of Kotalipara, composed by Raghavenḍra Kaviśekhara says Maḍhusūḍana was brother of Puranḍara and not the son. Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) invited Maḍhusūḍana to his Court and after pleasant disputations held with the learned men of that court he was well honoured there. Maḍhusūḍana[1] must therefore be referred to the 16-17th century A.D. Besides several works[2] on Bhakṭi cult and Aḍvaiṭa philosophy he wrote commentaries on Veḍasṭuṭi, Mahimnaṣṭoṭra,[3] probably Bhāgavaṭa,[4] and Harilīlā,[5] anḍ a poem Ānanḍamanḍākini[6] on Kṛṣṇa.]

704. Ramanuja was the son of Śaranammacārya and grandson of Rāmānuja of Vāḍhūlagoṭra and lived at Trivellore, Chingleput District. They trace descent from Ḍāśaraṭhi or Mudaliyandan. Saranammacārya was the fourth in descent from Rangarāja who was honoured by Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijianagar (1509–1529 A.D.). Rāmānuja wrote the Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇa[7] on the marriage of god Ranganātha

1. See Iśvarachandra's int. to Harilīlāviveka, where he takes the information, from Vaiḍikavāḍavimarśa, a family chronicle of the Western Vaidika brahmins of Kāśyapagotra. Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy*, 420, Prahlad C. Divanji's *Madhusudana Sarasvati, his life and works*, *Annals*, VIII, 149, IX. 313, and Int. to Siḍḍhanṭabinḍu (*GOS*), Kshetresacandra Chattopadhyaya, *Ibid*, VIII. 495; S. N. Tadpatrikar, *A work on Arthasastra, by Madhusudana*, *Ibid*. VIII. 33; Cintaharan Chakravarti ; *Ibid*. IX. 304.

2. *CC*, I. 427.

3. Printed, Bombay and Calcutta.

4. Printed, Bombay. His commentary on the 1st verse (printed, Brindavan) is classical. There is another interpresation of this verse in 100 meanings by Vamśiḍhara (Printed, Bombay).

5. Calcutta Oriental Series, Calcutta. Harililā is ananukramāṇi by Bopaḍeva for Bhāgavaṭa. R. Krishnaswami Sastri, *Madhusudanasarasvai* (*Annals*, XI. 192; *JOR*, II. 9). K. T. Telang, *Note on the date of Madhusudana*, (*JBRAS*, XXX. 368).

6. Printed Bombay. See Gopinath Kaviraj on his date, *Saras. Bhav. Series*, VII. 177.

7. *DC*, XXI. 8504.

with Vāsulakṣmī, well known as Goddess Urayur Nachiyar and was enacted at the vernal festival of Vīrarāghava at Trivellore. His other works are Vīraraghavakanakavallīvivāha, Vedapādarāmāyaṇa,[1] Rāmāyaṇacampū, Vārdhikanyāpariṇaya. He must have lived early in the 17th century A.D.

Rāmānuja's brother was Bhāvanārāyaṇa.[2] His son Rāmānuja wrote the Rāmānujacampū on the life of Rāmānuja.[3] Rāmānuja's paternal uncle was Varadaguru. His pupil was Kumāra Venkatārya of Ātreyagotra and his son Varadārya wrote bhāṇa Anangabrahmavidyāvilāsa intended to be enacted at the festival at Triplicane.[4]

705. Ramabhadra's Diksita's Janakiparinaya is very popular. It is framed as a comedy of errors. "Two sets of characters are brought to action, the one genuine and the other disguised, so that a confusion arises among themselves when they are made to meet each other. Vidyujjihva, Ravana and Sarana appear respectively as Kausika, Rama and Lakshmana and so do Tataka and Sita. The marriage of Rama and Sita comes up not at Mithila but at the hermitage of Visvamitra. Most noteworthy is an inter-drama, enacted at Ravana's Durbar. The sub-plot begins with Rama's search for Sita and closes with Vali's warfare. The last act brings up the culmination of the mischief of the Rakshasas. Surpanakha shows herself to Bharata in the disguise of a Tapasi and leads him to a misapprehension of Rama's death. Just when Bharata was prepared to mount the funeral pile, Rama's arrival is announced and all ends happily with the coronation of Rama." The drama must be considered a masterpiece of Rāmabhadra. The style is learned and amusing. The poetry is not intricate and the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa is run over with rapidity without omitting reference to any important detail.[5]

706. Venkatesvara[6] was the son of Ḍharmarāja of Naiḍhru-

1. Printed, Arsha Press, Vizagapatam.
2. *DC*, XXI. 8275.
3. *DC*, XXI. 8275.
4. *DC*, XXI. 8345.
5. Ed. Madras and Bombay. For a critical account, see *Sah*. XXII. On the author, see para 160 *supra*.
6. In *CC*, I. 696, Sabhāpativilāsa is wrongly given as the work of Dharmārāja. This mistake is copied in Schuyler, 34. There is a drama called Nilāpariṇaya (*CC*, I. 302, Levi. *App*., 16) by Dṛghavat. It is not known whether Venkateśa, author of the drama Rāghavābhyudaya (*CC*, I. 500) and Bhānuprabandha Prahasana, (*Tanj*. VIII. 3625, VI. 2805), and Venkateśa, author of Venkateśaprahasana (*DC*, XXI. 8525) are different.

vakāśyapagoṭra of Manālur and lived in the Court of Kings Shahaji and Serfojee of Tanjore (1684-1710, 1711-1728 A.D.). Besides Bhosalavamśāvali, a history of that royal dynasty,[1] he wrote the dramas[2] Rāghavānanḍa, Nīlāpariṇaya and Sabhāpaṭivilāsa and a prahasana Unmaṭṭakavikalasa.[3]

707. Sankara (Ḍīkṣiṭa) was son of Bālakṛṣṇa and grandson of Dhunḍirāja, probably the same as Vyāsayajvan, who lived about 1713 A.D.[4] He wrote the play Pradyummavijaya for performance at the coronation of Sabhāsunḍara, Raja of Pannah, the grandson of the celebrated Chitrasal of Bundlekand.[5]

Ḍhundhirāja's pupil Viśvanāṭha wrote the naṭikā Śṛngāravāṭikā on the loves of Canḍrakeli, king of Avanṭi and Kānṭimaṭī, daughter of king of Campāvaṭī.[6]

708. Jagannatha was the son of minister Bālakṛṣṇa and Lakṣmī and pupil of Kameśvara. He was in the Court of King Serfojee of Tanjore (1711-1728 A.D.). His Raṭimanmaṭha[7] is a drama on Raṭi and Manmaṭha, and Vasumaṭīparinaya[8] is another drama on the marriage of Vasumaṭī.

Rāmacanḍraśekhara performed Paunḍarīkayāga and was proficient in grammar. At the behest of King Tulaja of Tanjore (1765-1787) he wrote the play Kalānanḍaka on the story of the separation of Kalāvati and Nanḍaka and their reunion. Nanḍaka is said to be a prince born of a royal pair as a gift of Rāmabhaḍra, the deity of Bhaḍrācala.[9]

709. Krsnadatta was the son of Saḍārāma and Ānanḍadevi. He was the brahmin of the village of Tramatiya in the Vajjada district in Miṭhila, and lived about the middle of the 18th century.[10] His Puranjanacariṭa, a drama in five acts, relates the story of Puranjana

1. See para 163 *supra*. *Tanj*. VII. 3287.
2. *Tanj*. VIII. 3496, 3518, 3415.
3. *Tanj*. VIII. 3616. Otherwise called Lambodaraprahasana (Printed Madras).
4. See para 163 *supra*. Śankaramiśra, who wrote the play Gauridigambara (*CC*, III. 37) is different.
5. *CC*, I. 352. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 402.
6. *IO*, 274.
7. *Tanj*. VIII. 3490.
8. *CC*, I. 557.
9. *Tanj*, VIII. 3361.
10. *PR*, IV. xxi; Schuyler, *Bibl*, 63 gives first part of the 17th century A.D.

of Bhāgavata Purāṇa,[1] his Kuvalayāsvīya,[2] a drama in seven acts, relates the loves of a vedic student and a maiden Māḍalasā, and Sāndrakuṭūhala[3] is an entertaining farce. In his Rāḍhārahasyakāvya he relates the amours of Rāḍhā and Kṛṣṇa, in 22 long cantos, and it is accompanied by his own commentary. He wrote a commentary on Gītagovinda and a poem Gītagaṇapati in imitation of it.[4] Caṇḍīcaritacandrika is also attributed to him.[5]

710. Visvanatha, son of Trimaladevā, originally lived on the banks of the Godāvarī and subsequently migrated to Benares where he composed the nāṭikā Mṛgānkalekhā which was enacted at the festival of Viśveṣvara about the end of 18th century.[6] In four acts it describes the marriage of Mṛgānkalekhā and Karpūratilaka. "Mrigankalekha is the daughter of the king of Kamarupa, or Assam, she has been beheld by Karpuratilaka, king of Kalinga whilst hunting, and the parties are mutually enamoured. The obstacle to their union is the love of Sankhapala, a demon, to oppose whose supernatural agency the minister of the king of Kalinga, who alone is aware of the circumstance, invites to the palace a benevolent magician, Siddhayogini, and Mrigankalekha is also lodged in the palace as the friend of the queen Vilasavati. Notwithstanding these precautions, she is carried off by Sankhapala to the temple of Kali, when the Raja wandering disconsolate beyond his garden bounds comes to the spot, rescues her and kills Sankhapala. He is then united to Mrigankalekha, in the presence of her father and brother, and with the consent of his queen, killing also, before the conclusion of the rite, the brother of Sankhapala, who comes to revenge him in the form of a wild elephant, but is encountered and slain by the king."[7]

Though imitating Ratnāvalī in plot, the poet has an enchanting style and fancy :

कावेरीजलसङ्गशीतलशिलापृष्ठे लुठन्तः क्रमा-
दान्ध्रीपीनपयोधरोच्चशिखरप्रोद्धारसञ्चूर्णितः ।

1. *CC*, I. 339. It was composed in Śāka 1701 :
शाकाब्दे धरणीनियन्मुनिधरासंमासमाने शुभे माघे मासि ...
2. *CC*, I. 113.
3. *PR*, III. App. 359, 362; *CC*, I. 707. In the prologue he mentions king Dharmavarman as dead.
4. See para 298 *supra*.
5. *CC*, 120.
6. *CSC*, (1903), 152. Printed, Sarasvati Bhavan Series, Benares.
7. Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 391.

चोलीलोचनलालिताः कुचतटेलाटीभिरालिङ्गिता-
दूता एव मनोभवस्य भुवने चञ्चन्ति चैत्रानिलाः ॥

711. Kisnanatha Sārvabhauma, Bhaṭṭācārya, was son of Ḍurgāḍāsa Cakravarṭi. His ANANDATILAKA, in 5 kusumas, is really a collection of poetry, descriptive and narrative interspersed with dialogues and quasi-stage directions. He probably lived in Guzarat in the 18th century.[1]

712. Devaraja was son of Śeṣāḍri and belonged to a brahmin family that migrated from Pattamadai in Tinnevelly District and settled at Āśrama, a village near Sucīnḍram in Travancore which was gifted to twelve brahmins in 940 M. E. He was a poet of the Court of King Mārṭāndavarman (1729-1758 A.D.) of Travancore. In his play BALAMARTANDAVIJAYAM[2] in 5 acts, he describes the victorious marches of his patron, acquisition of wealth and the renovation of the shrine of Śrī Padmanābha at Trivandrum. In the prologue he mentions his name by means of a conundrum:

परस्परादेशतया प्रयुक्तहल्वर्णकत्वाद्धृतवेदरूपम् ।
स्वकीयनामाद्यपदं वहन्तं बाले कविं वेत्सि हि राजचूडम् ॥

and the series of royal presents with which he was honoured:

[illegible] भूषणभूषितेयमितरा माणिक्यहारोज्ज्वला
कौशेयाम्बरधारणीयमपरा चामीकराढ्या परा ।
एषा पेटचतुष्टयी मणिमयी सम्मानिता ते मया
धीमन् मामकपद्मनाभचरिताख्यातुः प्रबन्धात्मना ॥

713. Ramavarma Vanci Yuvaraja known as Aśvinī Mahārāja was the then Yuvarāja of Tavancore and lived in 1757-1789 A.D. He wrote the plays Rukmiṇīpariṇaya[3] and Śṛṅgārasuḍhākara[4] and campūs Kārṭavīryavijaya[5] and Sanṭānagopāla[6] and Vancīśasṭava.

1. *IO*, 243. He wrote also Rāmāyaṇasāra. For his other works see *CC*, I. 121. There is one Ānanḍaṭilakabhāṇa (*Opp*. 1824). Kṛṣṇanāṭha Pancānana who commented on Sakunṭalā (*Opp*. 8382) is different.
2. Printed *TSS*, Trivandrum. His commentary on Bhāravi is printed partly in *Jl. Sam. Sah. Pt*, Calcutta.
3. Printed, Bombay.
4. *Trav*, 79. There is Śṛṅgārasunḍarabhāṇa by Īśvaraśarma (l. c.)
5. Printed, Bombay. *Trav*. 80
6. *Trav*. 81.

714. **Godavarman Yuvaraja**, or Yuvarāja merely, was a prince of Cranganore and lived in 1800–1851 A.D. Besides the poem Rāmacarita, he wrote the bhāṇa Rasasadana, and poems Srīpādasaptaka, Muraripustotra, and Sudhānandalaharī.[1]

715. Ramavarman (Yuvarāja) known as Kavisārvabhauma Kochunni Tampurān[2] was a younger member of the royal family of Cranganoor and lived in 1858–1926. He had five brothers versed in all the sciences. He was the recipient of a *killut* from the Prince of Wales on the eve of his visit to India. His poem Tripuradahana shows exquisite poetry. His Anangavijaya and Vitarājavijaya[3] are bhāṇas replete with pleasant sentiments. Among his other works are Vallyudbhava, Viprasandeśa, Devadeveśvarasataka, Uttararāmacarita and Bānayuddhacampū. He completed Rāmacarita which was left unfinished (up to Āranyakānda) by Rāmavarman (Godavarman ?) He wrote a summary of Devīsaptaśati of Mārkandeyapurāṇa.[4]

Closely related to him was another Rāmāvarman, known as Mahākavi Kunjikuttan Tampurān of Cranganore (1865–1913). He wrote vyāyogas, Kirātārjunīya and Jarāsandhavadha.[5]

716. Another Ramavarman was the nephew of Ravivarman, Raja of Kollam and Keralavarman. His Candrikākalāpīdam is a drama in five acts describing the marriage of Candrikā and Kandarpaśekhara. The drama was to be enacted at the Caitra festival of Nīlakantha in Cellur in Malabar.[6]

In Subālāvajratunda, a drama in 5 acts, Rāmakavi, a royal prince of Malabar, describes the story of the killing of a serpant called Raktāngada by a rat named Vajratunda for having carried off his beloved Subālā, as his prey.[7]

1. Printed, Kāvyamāla, Bombay. See introduction there for other works. See para 177 *supra*. Rāmavarma M.A. a young member of that family, born 1904 February, has written Kaumudī, a poem in 9 sargas, (an adaptation of Goldsmith's *Hermit*) and Devīpādādikeśastotram in about 500 ślokas. He informs me that this author's name was Godavarman and not Rāmavarman.

2. See para 180 *supra*.

3. Printed, Trichur.

4. *DC*, XX. 7845. See para 177 *supra*.

5. Printed, *Sah.* Madras.

Ravivarmakulaśekhara, son of Umāyamma Rāṇi, wrote a poem Rāmāyaṇasangraha (*Trav.* 91).

Mānavikrama Kavirājakumāra wrote poems Viśākhavijayollāsa, Mandanopasambhāra, Raṇasingarājacarita and lived about 1900 A.D. *Trav.* 191, 188.

6. *TC*, III. 3959.

7. *DC*, XXI. 8554.

717. **Venkatasubramanya** was the son of Venkateśvaramakhin and was the fifth in descent from Śrīkanthādhvarin, son of Appayadīkṣiṭa. In honor of his patron king Rāmavarman of Travancore (1758 to 1798), he composed a drama Vasulakṣhmīkalyāṇām, describing his marriage with Vasulakṣmī, a Sindhu princess, to secure a political alliance.[1]

718. **Varada Acarya** was son of Ghatikāśaṭa Sudarsāna. He lived at Kancī and was a contemporary of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣiṭa[2] in the latter half of the 18th century. He was fifth in descent from Nadādūr Ammāl (Varada) who was grandson of Sudarśana, nephew of Rāmānuja. To vie with Rāmabhadra's Śṛngāraṭilaka called Ayyā Bhāṇa, Varada wrote Vaṣanṭaṭilaka[3] called Ammāl Bhāna,, wherein there are descriptions of magic shows, snake charmers and the like. His Vedānṭavilāsa or Yatirājavijaya, a play in 6 acts, describes the life of Rāmānuja.[4]

719. **Perusuri** was the son of Venkata of Kauśikagoṭra. His Vasumangalanāṭaka with an anonymous commentary on it is in five Acts and describes the marriage of Uparicaravasu and Girikā, daughter of Marut Kolāhala, and was to be staged at the festival of Mīnākṣī in Madura. The prologue refers to his other works, Rāmacandravijaya, Bharaṭābhyudaya, Venkatabhāna and Cakorasandeśa. He lived in 18th century A.D.[5]

720. ARTHAPANCAKANATAKA in five acts of unknown authorship describes how Manmaṭha was reborn as the son of Saurirāja, the deity that is worshipped at Kṛṣṇapuram (Tirukkannapuram), Tanjore District, how as an infant he was cast into the sea by Śambarāsura, how the servants of Śambara found the infant in the belly of a fish and how Rāti, the daughter of Śambara, enamoured of him, had him tended well, and in the end he married her after killing Śambara.[6]

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1. *Trav.* 78. For a description, see *Trav. Arch. Series*, V 22-25 wherein the geneology of the author is also given. Vāsalakṣmīkalyāṇa of Rāmānuja is a different work (*DC*, VIII. 8501).
2. See para 160 supra.
3. Printed Madras. Keith, *SD*, 263.
4. *DC*, XXI, 8580. Printed Madras.
5. *DC*, XXI. 8497.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8877. It is called Arṭhapancaka because it embodies five things:

चिन्ता योगस्समारम्भो व्यापारो हेतुदर्शनम् ।
अभीष्टलाभ इत्यर्थपञ्चकं नाटकीकृतम् ॥

721. Sundararaja Acarya, son of Varadarāja of Āṭreyagoṭra, was a native of Elathur Agraharam in Travancore. He was born in the year Plava in Kollam year 1016 (1841 A.D.) and lived on for 63 years. He had the control of Mārūṭimanṭra with which he was able at will to command the presence of the energies of Hanumān in predicaments of distress. Venkatalakṣmī was his wife. He was proficient in all Śāsṭras and was a born poet. He was patronised by the rulers of Travancore and Ettiyapuram and was a friend of the royal poet Keralavarman of Travancore. His writings are many. Among Campūs are Goḍāpariṇaya, Kamsavaḍha, Rāmabhaḍravijaya and Śrīnivāsaḍikṣiṭenḍracariṭa. Among poems are Nīṭirāmāyaṇa, Rāmabhaḍrasṭuṭi and Kṛṣṇāryāsṭuṭi. Among dramas are Paḍminīpariṇaya, Vaiḍarbhīvāsuḍeva, Snuṣāvijaya, Hanumaḍvijaya and Rasikaranjana. He wrote commentaries on Keralavarman's Kamsavaḍhacampū, Swāmiḍīkṣiṭa's Vallīpariṇaya and Goḍāpariṇaya.[1] His brother's grandson Varaḍarāja wrote his biography in a campū.

722. Vaidyanatha Vacaspati Bhattacarya lived at Nuddea about the middle of the 19th century A.D. He wrote his Caiṭrayagna in five acts at the instance of Īśvaracanḍra, Rajah of Nuddea. It depicts the legend of Ḍakṣa's sacrifice in all its details, the assemblage and reception of the Gods and the ceremonial of the sacrifice.[2]

723. Viraraghava was the son of Iśvara and Kāmākṣī and of Kaundinyagoṭra. He lived in Sahajimahārājapuram (Tiruvasinallur) and was patronised by a King called Sivendra, Sivaji of Tanjore (1835-1865 A.D.)[3] His Rāmārājyabhiṣeka is a drama in seven Acts describing the story of the Rāmāyana, and Vallīpariṇaya[4] is a drama in five acts describing the marriage of Vallī and Subrahmaṇya.[5] Pārvaṭisṭoṭra is a lyric in praise of Pārvaṭi.[6]

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1. These books have been printed in different manuscripts in Travancore, Ettiyapuram and Madras. I am indebted for this information to Mr. A. Parthasarathy Iyengar, Vyākhānasa Pancānana, Akalamannadu, Kistna District.

2. CC, I. 187. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* II. 412-415. Vaiḍyanāṭha, author of Kṛṣṇalīlānāṭikā (*CC*, I. 123, ; II. 24, 195), Vaiḍyanāṭha, author of Miṭhyācāraprahasana (*CC*, I. 455) and Vaiḍyanāṭha, author of Saṭsangavijayanāṭaka (*CC*, I. 690) are different persons and are themselves probably not identical.

3. See Subrahmanya Iyer's *History of Maharatta Kings of Tanjore*, 33.

4. *DC*, XXI. 8484.

5. Ibiḍ. 8492.

6. *DC*, No. 9608.

724. Sundaravīrarāghava was the son of Kastūriranganātha and grandson of Vīrarāghava of Vādhūlagotra. He lived at Bālakingṛhapura (Siruvallūr) in the South Arcot District. In Bhojarājāṅka he describes the domestic conspiracy at the Court of King Munja against the life of Bhoja.[1] His RAMBHARAVANIYA[2] is a drama describing the rape of Rambhā by Rāvaṇa and the consequent curse by Nalakūbara, her lover, that Rāvaṇa's head should split into thousands, if he should outrage any woman. It was intended to be staged at Śrīrangam at the Caitra festival. His play Abhinavarāghava[3] describes the story of Rāmāyaṇa.

His father wrote Raghuvīravijaya,[4] a samavākāra in 3 acts describing the marriage of Rāma and Sītā. At the end the following dates are given for Rama's birth, marriage, banishment and coronation:

जातो वर्षे विलम्बिन्यजजुषि मिहिरे जाग्रतीन्दौ नवम्यां
सौम्येऽब्दे मासि मीने जनकनृपसुतां पूर्णिमायामुदूह्य ।
दुन्दुभ्यब्दे च चैत्रे विपिनमधिगतो मासि मीने युवाब्दे
हत्वा शत्रून् स धातौ खलु मधुसमये राघवो राज्यमाप ॥

725. Vallisahayakavi of Vādhūlagotra was the pupil of Nārāyaṇa and lived at Virincipuram in North Arcot Dt. in the middle of the 19th century. Vedapurīṣādhwarin, the author of Mārgasahāyacaritra, belonged to the same family. His Yayātitaruṇānandam[5] is a drama in five acts on the loves of Śarmiṣṭhā and Yayāti who regained his youth by exchanging his old age with his son Puru.[6] His Rocanānandam is probably five acts describes the marriage of Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and Rocanā, daughter of Rukmavarman.[7] His Ācāryādigvijaya is a campū on the life of Śankara.

726. Padmanabha was the son of Kāmaśāstrin of Bhāradvājagotra, a Telugu brahmin of Kotipalli, Godavari District. On the occasion of the festival of Someśvara at Kotipalli he composed his Ṭripuravijayavyāyoga,[8] celebrating the conquest of Ṭripura by Śiva.

1. *TC*, II. 2413. See para 515 *supra*.
2. *TC*, II. 2386
3. *TC*, III. 3383.
4. *TC*, II. 2444.
5. *DC*, XXI. 8477. Another Drama Yayāti-Devayānicaritram seems to have been composed with some songs for staging. *DC*, XXI. 8479.
6. *Ibid*. 8489.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8037.
8. *TC*, III. 3370.

He visited Benares and on that occasion wrote his Līlādarpaṇabhāṇa, a piece of erotic narration.[1] He lived in the 19th century.

727. **Narayana Sastrin** lived at Nadukāveri in Tanjore District. His brother Śrīnivāsa was a great authority in the Darśanas and edited the Journal called Brahmavidyā. Nārāyaṇa was a born poet. He bore the title of Bhatta Śrī and Bālasarasvatī. He was an impressive lecturer and gave the benefit of his lectures on the Gītā to many an assembly in Madras He passed away in the year Sādhāraṇa (1911 A.D.) at the age of 51. His learning was versatile and in the field of poetry his authorship was prolix and he can well rival in volume and quality any other writer of the world. He wrote 92 dramas with themes embracing almost all Indian mythology as well as imagination. Of these ten are in print.[2] His Mythilīyam in 10 acts relates the story of Rāmāyaṇa, Śarmiṣṭhavijayam in four acts treats of the marriage of Yayāti and Śarmiṣṭhā, and Kalividhūnanam in 10 acts describes the story of Nala. Two other plays are Jaitrajaivatṛkam in 7 acts and Sūramayūram in 7 acts.

He wrote Sundaravijaya, a long poem in 24 cantos, Gaurīvilāsa-campū, Cintāmaṇi an Ākhyāyikā in 3 parts and Ācāryacaritra, a prose narrative in 2 parts on the life of Śankara. In rhetoric, he wrote Nāṭakadīpikā in 12 parts, Vimarśa in 6 parts and Kāvyamimāmsā in 2 Adhyayas.[3]

The following are his other dramas:

मैथिलीयम् (10), शर्मिष्ठाविजयम् (4), प्राज्ञसामन्तम् (5), सामन्तसौविदल्लम् (7), सुदतीसमितिञ्जयम् (7), मुष्टपाथेयम् (5), मुग्धबोधनम् (9), भामाभिषङ्गम् (7), चितिनिग्रहम् (7), त्रिबदरम् (5), चित्रदीपम् (10) त्रिपुरविजयम् (12) शरभविजयम् (1), भट्टभासीयम् (9), बिल्हणीयम् (5), बालचन्द्रिका (9), (10), गूढकौशिकम् (7), मदालसा (7), मन्दारिकाविलासम्, महिलाविलासम् (7), रत्नमाला (7), भीमरथी (5), मुग्धमन्थरम् (6), प्रसन्नपार्थम् (5), वरगुणोदयम् (7), तरङ्गिणी (3), स्वैरचारः (3), राजीविनी (6), कान्तिमती (5), हारहैमवतम् (7), मुक्तमन्दारम् (10), कलिविजयम् (7), कृतकयौवतम्, (10), मुक्ताप्रवाळम् (7), मधुमाधवीयम् (10), शशिशारदीयम्,

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1. *Ibid.* III. 3177.
2. Printed Madras and Chidambaram.
3. The manuscripts of his works are said to be with his son at Alampallam village near Kollengode. My attempts to get at them have been of no avail and my letter to the Curator, Oriental Manuscript Library giving the information seems to have been of no effect too in getting them preserved. Some of these plays are with Nangavaram Rajappa Iyer of Trichinopoly.

(6), धूतध्वजम् (5), भग्नाशोकम् (7), रक्तसारसम् (8), मञ्जुळमन्दिरम् (6), अयश्रणकम् (7), दृष्टरोहितम्, अवकीर्णकौशिकम् (10), काममञ्जरी (6), कनकाङ्गी (7), भट्टराजीयम् (5), काञ्चनमाला (7), माकन्दमकरन्दम् (10), मणिमेखला (1), शोभावती (2), अमृतमथनम् (8), महिषासुरवधम् (1), मृकण्डुमोदम् (9), सुभद्राहरणम् (6), मुक्तकेशी (1), प्रौढपरन्तपम् (7), मन्दारमाला (6), मूढकौशिकम् (5), मारुतिमैरावणम् (7), मैथिलीविजयम् (8), पुष्करराघवम् (6), लवणलक्ष्मणम् (7), सीताहरणम् (5), क्रूरसापत्न्यम् (6), स्तब्धपाण्डवम् (5), क्लान्तकौन्तेयम् (7), क्लिष्टकीचकम् (5), प्लुष्टखाण्डवम् (5), धृष्टधौरेयम् (5), शिशुविनिमयम् (3), निरुद्धानिरुद्धम् (5), व्यत्यस्तवक्त्रम् (7), श्येनदूतम् (5), शिवदूतम् (6), विश्ववीरव्रतम् (8), विद्धवेधनम् (5), विजययादवम् (7), वीरवैश्वानरम् (8), विष्टब्धचापलम् (5), विद्राणमाधवम् (6), द्रुतवीरम् (5), मुक्तावळी (4), मनोरमा (5), मधुविधूननम् (3), वद्धवाडवम् (5), बहुळबालिशम् (3), बालप्राघुणिकम्, (6) ब्रह्मविद्या (10), मुक्तमन्दरम् (5).

728. **Ramacandra** was son of Lakṣmaṇa and Subbamā of Korāda family and Kaundinyagotra. He was Pandit in Noble College, Masulipatam. He lived at Idipalle near Masulipatam late in 19th century. Among his works are Kumaroḍayacampū, Ḍevīvijaya, a long poem and a bhāṇa Śṛngārasuḍhārṇava.[1]

729. **Parthasarathi** (Rompivarla, Bhattar) is the son Koḍandarāmācārya. For proficiency in grammar he bore the title Vaiyākaraṇa-Pancānana. He was patronised by the Zamindar of Nuzvid Venkatadri Apparao who like Bhoja was himself a poet and patron of poets in the 19th century. Besides Ārṭisṭava and Svāpapraṭyaya, a didactic poem, he wrote Maḍanānanḍabhāṇa.[2]

730. **Eecambadi Srinivasacarya** was the son of Veḍāntacārya of Kaundinyāgoṭra of Ṭiruvahinḍrapuram in South Arcot District. He lived in 1848-1914 A.D. His exposition of Kāliḍāsa's works, particularly of Sākunṭalā, was unique. He was professor of Sanskrit in the Government College, Kumbakonam. Himself a poet, he had a high standard of poetic excellence. He wrote a bhāṇa Śṛngāraṭaranginī and a play Uṣāpariṇaya and a poem Hamsavilāsa in 6 cantos which is allegorical.[3] Among his prose pieces[4] are Śrī Kṛṣṇalīlāyiṭa (partly published on Sahṛḍaya) and Sārngakopākhyāna.

1. Printed, Masulipatam.
2. Printed Nuzvid. See Chapter on *Alankara* post on this Zamindar and Index.
3. Printed, Madras.
4. The manuscripts are with Mr. T. R. Sundararaghavachariar, M. A. L. T. Thiruvendipuram and Mr. T. E. Satagopachariar, Advocate, Cuddalore.

His proficiency in music was manifested in the poem of songs, Amṛtamaṭhana[1] on the style of Gītagovinda and on the same he has left an incomplete poem. He wrote commentaries on Nāgānanda and Mṛtchakaṭikā.

Among poets of Ṭiruvahindrapuram there were others equally great. Aṣṭāvadhānam Anantācarya, whose *extempore* composition of Samasyas and enigmas was a wonder. In some of his verses he artistically wove the names of rāgas, e.g.

चिकुराळी तु वराळी वदनं तव भाति शङ्कराभरणम् ।

Ḍeśikabhakta Kavi Venkatācārya talked in verses to his last breath and some of them are now remembered locally.[2]

731. **Sonthi Bhadradri Ramasaststrin** (1856-1915) was a Velanāti Vaidiki Brahmin of Pithapur in Godāvari District. He was the son of Gangāramayya of Gauṭamagoṭra. A great Samskrit scholar and poet, he adorned the Courts of the Zamindars of Urlam and Lakkavaram. Besides Śrī Rāmavijayakāvya, and Sambarāsuravijaya-campū, he wrote a play MUKTAVALI.

732. **Padmanabhacarya** was an advocate at Coimbatore and passed away about fifteen years ago. He wrote the plays Ḍhruvaṭapas and Govarḍhanavilāsa.[3] They are divided into scenes and do not follow the rule about Ankas (acts).

733. **Sankara Lala** was the son of Maheśvara of Bhāraḍvāja-goṭra. His mother was Monghibai. He belonged to the family of Prashmora Nagar Brahmins of Kathiawar. He was born in 1844. He was proficient in Ávaḍhāna. He was made Principal of Sanskrit College at Morvi at the age of 21. He then wrote Rāvajirājakīrṭivilāsa, a poem on the royal fnmily of Morvi State. He wrote the Kaṭhas, Anasūyābhyuḍaya, Bhagavaṭībhāgyoḍāya, Canḍraprabhācariṭa, Maheśa-prāṇapriyā, a long poem Bālacariṭa and minor poems Pāncalīcariṭra, Arunḍhaṭivijaya, Prasannalopāmuḍra, Keśavakṛpāleśalaharī, Bhogavāti-bhāgyoḍaya, Kailāsayaṭrā, Bhrānṭibhayabhanjana, Meghaprārṭhanā and several sṭoṭras and praśasṭis. Among his dramas are Sāviṭrīcariṭa,

1. For instance

उदिताम्बुजसदनात् उदिता शशिवदना ।

2. I am indebted for this information to Mr. Chetlur T. R. Sundararaghava-chariar, M. A., L. T.

3. Printed at Coimbatore with English translation.

Ḍhruvābhyuḍuya, Bhaḍrāyurvijaya, Gopālacinṭāmaṇi, Kṛṣṇacandrābhyuḍaya, Vāmanavijaya and Parvaṭīpariṇaya. He was made Mahāmahopāḍhyāya in 1914 and passed away in 1916. In his memory, his admirers have founded Śankarāśrama, where sanyāsins are invited to deliver discourses on religion.[1]

734. **Narayana Sastri** of Raḍhāmangalam was the son of Vaiḍyanātha. He was Professor in tha Sanskrit College, Trivadi near Tanjore and died in 1932. He says he wrote more than 108 works, of which 24 were dramas. Among them are Maheśvarollāsa, Uḍārarāghava and Mukunḍamanoraṭha, the last of which is on the sports of Kṛṣṇa.[2] The rest are not known.

735. **Srinivasacarya** son of Kṛṣṇamācārya, was born in 1863 near Tiruvadi, Tanjore District. He was Sanskrit Pandit in the Board School of Rājamadam. He wrote two plays, Ḍhruva and Kṣīrābḍhiśayanam which were staged in the school there. He passed away in 1932.[3]

736. **Srisaila Tatacarya** son of Venkatavarada, of Śathamarṣaṇagoṭra lived at Conjeevaram in 1862-1925. Besides a small play Yugalāngulīya, he wrote Veḍānṭaḍesikacariṭa on the model of Sankalpasūryoḍaya on the merits of Visiṣṭāḍvaiṭa philosophy.[4]

737. **Peri Kasinatha Sastry** (1857-1918) was the son of Venkata Sastry of Gauṭamagoṭra. Ānanḍa Gajapaṭī (1851-1897) Maharajah of Vizianagaram was his paron. He was a professor of Grammar and Rhetoric in the Maharajah's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram. Besides minor poems, Gangāsṭava, Goḍāvarīsṭava and

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1. Many of these works have been published and further particulars can be had from the poet's grandson Bhatt Shukdeo Khelsankar (S. K. Bhatt) Kathiavar.

2. Printed in *Samskrita Kamadhenu*. Some verses on a maiden's ball play are fine:

अंसस्रंसितकेशपाशमसकृत्संस्पष्टकांचीगुणम्
मुक्ताहारविघूर्णनाविगळितश्यामांशुकैकस्तनम् ।
उत्क्षेपभ्रमणावपातनगळत्स्वेदांबुगण्डस्थलम्
तन्वंग्या ललितप्रकारबहुळं तत्कन्दुकक्रीडितम् ॥
कुचकम्पिभिरुच्चलद्दुकूलैः मुहुरुद्वर्त्तनविक्षिपत्कटाक्षैः ।
कबरीकृतकङ्कणानुबन्धैः कुरुते कन्दुकविभ्रमैर्विनोदम् ॥

3. The manuscripts are with his son R. S. Krishnamachariar, Rajamadam.

4. Rangasāmi Tātācārya wrote a poem Deśikābhyuḍaya on the life of Veḍānṭaḍesika. See para 122 supra.

Ḍurgāsouṇḍāryaśaṭaka he wrote the plays Pāñcālikārakṣaṇam and Yāminīpurṇaṭilakā.

To the same place Vizianagaram belonged JAYANTI VENKANNA (1864-1924). He was a vakil but devoted his time to Sanskrit learning. Besides poems of melodious verse Abhinava-Rāmāyaṇa. a summary of Rāmāyaṇa in 700 slokas (printed in Telugu script), Mukundānandalahari (in imitation of Śivānandalaharī of Śankarācārya) and Lakṣmīpaṭiśaṭakam, he wrote Prahlāḍacampū on the story of Nṛisimhāvaṭāra.

738. **Mulasankara Maneklal Yagnik** of Gauṭamagoṭra was born on 31st January 1886 at Nādiad in the Vadnagra Nagar Brahmin community from which came some of the celebrities of the Gujarati literature and the ablest Dewans of Native States of Gujarat and Kathiawar. He studied in the Baroda College and graduated in the year 1907. After some service in the Indian Specie Bank, he became Principal of Rājakīya Sanskrit Mahāviḍyālaya of Baroda. He was initiated into the cult of Śrīviḍyā by His Holiness Abhinava Sacciḍānanḍa Bhāraṭī, Śankarācārya of Śivaganga Pīth in 1916. His proficiency in music is apparent from the Geya Padas of his Sanskrit dramas. His Vijayalaharī is a minor poem. In the field of historical research, he prepared genealogical tables of Solar and Lunar dynasties with a map of Jambūḍvipa and wrote a lucid prose summary of Viṣṇupurāṇa. His dramas are three, all with a historical grounding referable to standard works on medieval Indian history. CHATRAPATI-SAMRAJYA in 10 acts describes the reign of Sivāji; PRATAPAVIJAYA in 9 acts depicts the life of Śrī Mahārāna Praṭāpa Sinha of Mewar; and SAMYOGITA-SVAYAVARA exhibits the amorous intrigues of Pṛthvīrāja Chauhan, the last Kṣaṭriya Emperor of India. For melody of diction, for grace of expression, for choice of scenes, Mūlaśankara's poetry is much appreciated. The introduction of songs that can be set to lyre and sung on the stage makes the plays very realistic.[1]

739. **Pancanana** Ṭarkavāgīśa (Mahāmahopāḍhyāya) of Bhatpura (24 Parganas) was born in Bengali year 1273 and was son of Nanḍalāta Viḍyāraṭha of Gautamagoṭra. He is one of the greatest living erudite scholars of Bengal and he lives in Benares City. Besides a poem PARTHASVAMEDHA published in the Viḍyoḍaya journal (now defunct) he wrote the play Amaramangala on the life of Rāna Amarasimha, son of Rāna Praṭāpa, in Śaka 1835. Among his illustrious ancestors was Alla Bhatta of Kānyakubja.

1. All his works have been printed in Baroda.

740. Cantrakanta Tarkalankara (Mahāmahopāḍhyāya) was son of Rāḍhākānṭa and was professor of Philosophy and Rhetotric in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta in 1883-1887. Besides Saṭīpariṇaya and Canḍravamśa, poems in limitation of Kumārasambhava and Raghuvamśa and Alankārasūṭra on rhetoric he wrote the play Kaumuḍīsuḍhākara.[1]

741. Haridasa, Siḍḍhānṭa-Vāgīśa[2] was the son of Viḍhumukhī and Gangāḍhara Viḍyālankāra of Kāśyapagoṭra. He was born on 7th Kartick 1798 Śaka (1876 A.D.) at Unashia near Kotwalipara in Faridpur District, East Bengal, a place described traditionally as "Second Kāśī where Brahmins worship a hundred thousand idols of Śiva." Gangāḍhara's father, Kāśicanḍra Vācaspaṭi was an eminent scholar and was ninth in descent from Yāḍavānanḍa Nayācārya.[3] Among his ancestors was the famous Maḍhusūḍana Sarasvaṭī.[4]

Hariḍasa was renowned from boyhood for his piety and before he was 13, he had acquired high proficiency in Sanskrit literature. At 14, he composed a play Kamsavaḍha and a campū Kamsavaḍha, at 16, the poem Śankarasambhava in 5 cantos, at 18, the play Jānakīvikrama, and at 20 a poem Viyogavaibhava.

He was a pupil of Jīvānanḍa Viḍyāsāgara. Later, he wrote the plays Virājasarojinī, and Vangīyapraṭāpa, a poem Rukmiṇīharaṇa and a romance Saralā. He also composed commentaries with historical introductions on Naiṣaḍha, Māgha, Kāḍambarī, Ḍaśakumāracariṭa and Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa and on the poems and plays of Kāliḍāsa and Bhavabhūṭi.[5]

He was professor of Sanskrit in the Tol of Zamindar of Nakipur His present undertaking, an edition of Mahābhārata with a Bengali translation, has been highly appreciated and Āḍiparvan and part of Vanaparvan have been published. It is hoped that the learned scholar will live long to complete the edition.

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1. This information was kindly forwarded to me by Saṭish Kumara, Managing Director, Bareilley Corporation Ltd.
2. He bears titles Kāvyatīrṭha, Vyākaraṇaṭīrṭha, Smṛṭiṭīrṭha, Sānkhyaraṭna, Purāṇaśāsṭra, Śabḍacārya and Mahopaḍeśak.
3. The earlier history of the family has been furnished to me by Jogescanḍra Bhaṭṭācārya, manager, *Karmasachiv* to whom I am indebted for varied information on modern Bengali authors.
4. See para 704 *supra*.
5. Most of these have either been printed at Calcutta or are in course of publication.

742. **Deviprasada Sukla**, Kavicakravarṭi, of Benares is a scholar of renown. He wrote a poem Lakṣmīnārayaṇa and a play Nalacariṭa.[1]

743. **Kalipada Tarkacarya** is the editor of Samskritasahitya Parishat Patrikā, Calcutta. Besides commetaries on many poems and plays he wrote the plays Syamanṭakoḍḍhāra and Nalaḍamayanṭīya and an account of Kāvya literature called Kāvyacinṭā.[2]

744. **K. S. Ramaswami Sastri** is the son of K. Sundarama Iyer and Campakā Lakśmī lives at Kumbakonam. Rāmaswāmi recenty retired as District Judge. His appreciation of Sanskrit poetry is at once critical and æsthetic. His Raṭivijaya is a small play in five acts, suggest-ed by Kāliḍāsa's story of Raṭi in Kumārasambhava. and aims "at pre-senting the rebirth of love under a new inspiration and with true loyalty to Ḍharma and to God and at giving a new interpretation to an ancient and beautiful story and its underlying *motif* i.e. the Lord's sentiment in the Giṭa: धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु काम्योऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ।

745. **V. Krishnan Tampi, B.A.**, Principal, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum, has written some short plays for amateur dramatic enter-tainment with scenic directions, Laliṭā, Praṭikriyā, Vanajyotsnā and Ḍharmasyasukṣmāgatiḥ.[3]

746. **Makalinga Sastri (M.A., B.L.)** is an advocate of the High Court of Madras. He is the son of Yagnaswāmin, great-grandson of Ṭyāgaraja (better known as Rāju Sastrigal),[4] and 12th in descent from Appaya Ḍīkṣiṭa. He was born in July 1897. Love of Sanskrit has rightly been his heritage and young as he is, his writings are many and of merit. There are his minor poems such as Vanalaṭā, Naḍīpūra, Vyājokṭiraṭnāvali, Arthāntaranyāsapancāśaṭ, Bhāraṭīviṣāḍa, Bhramara-sanḍeśa, Ḍurjanahṛḍaya, Laghupāndavacariṭa, Laghurāmacariṭa, and Ḍrāvidāryāsubhāṣiṭasapṭaṭi. Besides short stories like Kalipraḍur-bhāva, he has an abridgment in prose of Bhāsa's dramas, Bhāsakaṭhā-sāra, which has been widely appreciated by the Universities.[5] There are his plays Uḍgāṭriḍaśānana, and Praṭirājasūya. The latter dramati-

1. Published in Suprabhāta.
2. Published in *Jl, Sam. Sah. Pt.*
3. Printed, Trivandrum.
4. Raju Sastrial was a famous authority on Dharma Sastras and in the field of philosophy was an unrivalled professor.
5. Some are printed in Udyānapaṭrikā, Trivadi. Other minor poems have been collected under the title Kinkiṇimālā. The manuscripts are with the author.

ses the anecdotes of Vanaparvan of Mahābhārata.[1] In Kaundinyaprahasana the hero is a complacent glutton and his inevitable raids on the kitchen become impossible to thwart. It is said that appetite is "presented here as the root cause of fiction between the two classes of men—the owner and the trespassers" and appetite stands for all the incomitable animal cravings in man.

747. R. Shama Sastrin, B.A., Ph.D., has translated the play of German poet Lesing, Amelia Galatti in 11 scenes.[2]

SECTION 5.

Allegorical plays

748. Personification of inanimate beings and personal qualities or senses, shortly called, allegory, is as old as the vedic literature. The comparative superiority of the various organs and senses was often illustrated by dialogues and action. Such, for instance, are the controversies between *vāk* (speech) and *manas* (mind) and the *prāṇa* (life) and the five indriyas (senses).

अहंभद्रकारं वाक्च मनश्चार्तियेतां, अहं देवेभ्यो हव्यं वहामीति वागब्रवीत्, अहं देवेभ्य इति मनः ॥ तौ प्रजापतिं प्रश्नमैताम् । सोऽब्रवीत् प्रजापतिर्दूतीरेव त्वं मनसोऽसि, यद्धि मनसा ध्यायति तद्वाचा वदति तत्स्मटः तुभ्यं । न वाचा जुहुवन्नित्यब्रवीत् । तस्मान्मनसा प्रजापतये जुह्वति ॥ *Kṛṣṇayajus*, II. v. xi. 4.

The following story is in Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat, Adhyaya, VI.

ते हेमे प्राणा अहंश्रेयसे विवदमाना ब्रह्म जग्मुः, तद्धोचुः, को नो वसिष्ठ इति । तद्धोवाच यस्मिन्व उत्क्रान्त इदं शरीरं पापीयो मन्यते स वो वसिष्ठ इति ॥ 7.

वाग्घोच्चक्राम, सा संवत्सरं प्रोष्यगत्योवाच, कथमशकत मदृते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुः यथाकलाः, अवदन्तो वाचा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, विद्यांसो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेश ह वाक् ॥ 8.

चक्षुर्होच्चक्राम, तत्संवत्सरं प्रोष्यागत्योवाच, कथमशकत मदृते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुर्यथान्धाः, अपश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा शृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, विद्वांसो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेशह चक्षुः ॥ 9.

श्रोत्रं होच्चक्राम, तत्संवत्सरं प्रोष्यागत्योवाच, कथमशकतमदृते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुर्यथाबधिरा, अशृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, विद्वांसो मनसा, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेश ह श्रोत्रम् ॥ 10.

1. Printed, Madras.
2. Printed *Jl. of Mys. Sanskrit College*, VII. 116.

मनो होच्चक्राम, तत्संवत्सरं प्रोष्यागत्योवाच, कथमशकत मदृते जीवितुमिति । ते होचुर्यथा-मुग्धाः, अविद्वांसो मनसा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, प्रजायमाना रेतसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविवेश ह मनः ॥ 11.

रेतो होच्चक्राम, तत्संवत्सरं प्रोष्यागत्योवाच, कथमशकत मदृते जीवितुमिति तेहोचु र्यथा-क्लीबाः, अप्रजायमाना रेतसा, प्राणन्तः प्राणेन, वदन्तो वाचा, पश्यन्तश्चक्षुषा, शृण्वन्तश्श्रोत्रेण, विद्वांसो मनसैवमजीविष्मेति । प्रविदेश ह रेतः 12.

अथ ह प्राण उत्क्रमिष्यन् यथा महासुहयः सैन्धवः पड्वीशशङ्कून् संवृहेदेवं हैवेमान् प्राणान् संववर्ह, तेहोचुर्माभगव उत्क्रमीः, नैव शक्ष्यामस्त्वदृते जीवितुमिति । तस्योमेवलिं कुरुतेति तथेति ॥ 13.

सा ह वागुवाच, यद्वा अहं वसिष्ठास्मि, त्वं तद्वसिष्ठोसीति । यद्वा अहं प्रतिष्ठास्मि त्वं तत्प्रतिष्ठोसीति चक्षुः । यद्वा अहं संपदस्मि त्वं तत्संपदसीति श्रोत्रं । यद्वा अहमायतनमस्मि त्वं तदायतनमसीति मनः । यद्वा अहं प्रजातिरस्मि त्वं तत्प्रजा रसीति रेतः * * * 14.

749. In the fables like Pancaṭanṭra, animals are humanised and their dialogues impart ethical precepts. In Aṣvaghoṣa's Sāripuṭraprakaraṇa, Buḍḍhi, Kīrṭi, Ḍhṛṭi are personified and at the end of their dialogues, Buḍḍha appears. This is adopted by Kavikarṇapūra in his Caiṭanyacanḍroḍaya, in which Caiṭanya takes the place of Buḍḍha.[1] Later literature has abundantly made use of this dramatic artifice to represent with vividness, tenets of particular schools of philosophy and other questions of religious controversy.

750. Krsnamisra[2] was an ascetic of the Hamsa order. He was a follower of Śankara and missionary for the propagation of Aḍvaiṭa doctrines. It is said that among his several disciples there was one who was averse to the study of philosophy. To put him in the way, the ascetic composed the play Prabodhacanḍroḍaya on the plan of Puranjanopākhyāna of Sri Bhāgavaṭa.[3] With the apparent exterior of erotic ideas, it dramatises the supreme truth of Aḍvaiṭa Veḍānṭa and ridicules the tenets of other schools of philosophy. The characters are personifications of abstractions. "The Evil king Error appears on the scene, as ruler of Benares surrounded by his faithful adherents, the Faults and Vices, while Religion and the noble king Reason, accom-

1. Ed, *Bibl. Ind.* Calcutta.

2. Kṛṣṇamiśra, author of the Vīravijaya Ihamṛiga (*CC*, I. 595) is probably different.

3. III. 25–28.

panied by all virtues have been banished. There is however a prophesy hat Reason will some day be reverted into Revelation; the fruit of the inion will be True knowledge, which will destroy the reign of Error. The struggle for this union and consummation, followed by the final ruimph of the good party, forms the plot of the piece."[1]

751. The prologue to the play mentions the victories of king Kīrtivarman,[2] and his genefal Gopāla over the armies of Karṇadeva,[3] as he occasion of immediate rejoicing and the enactment of the drama, ecently composed, as an item in the programme of festivities. Kīrti-

1. Ed. Bombay. Tran. into Germ. by Goldstucker, Koingsburg (gives end of 2th century); by Herzel, Zurich; into English by Taylor, Bombay. On this drama, ee Schuyler, *Bibl.* 12, Macdonell *SL.* 366-7; Weber, *IL.* 207; S. Levi, *TI*, 229-35. I.-Brockhaus, Int. to Edn. (Leipsig); M. Williams, *IW*, 508; *Jl. Tel. Ac.* III. 408-22; Keith, *SD.* 251. (This contains a very full and critical account of the play and its me). *SR.* II, 67. For quotations in the anthologies, see Peterson, *Subh.* On the Bibliography of Kṛṣṇamiṣra, see *JAOS*, XXV. 189.

VENKATESH VAMAN SOVANI, discovers a long metre at the end of Act IV, a passage orming a magnificent hymn of Ādikeśava at Benares:

अमरचय (चमू) चक्रचूडामणिश्रेणिनीराजितोपान्तपादद्वयाम्भोजराजन्नखद्योतखद्योत-
केर्मीरितस्वर्णपीठ स्फुरदद्वैतविश्रान्तिसंतानसंतसवन्दारुसंसारनिद्रापहारैकदक्ष क्षमामण्डलोद्धार-
भारसंघट्टदंष्ट्राग्रकोटिस्फुरच्छैलचक्रक्रमाक्रान्तलोकत्रय ।

प्रबलभुंजबलो ्ध (द्धू) तगोवर्धनच्छत्रनिवा (वाँ) रिताखण्डलोद्योजिताकाण्डचण्डाम्बु-
हातिवर्षत्रसद्गोकुलत्राणविस्मापिताशेषविश्वप्रभो ।

विबुधरिपुवधूवर्गसीमन्तसिन्दूरसन्ध्यामयूखच्छटोन्मार्जनोद्दामधामाधिप त्रस्तदैत्येन्द्रवक्ष-
तटीपाटनाकुण्ठभास्वन्नखश्रेणिपाणिद्वयस्वस्ताविसा (स्ता) रिरक्तार्णवामम्लोकत्रय ।

त्रिभुवनरिपुकैटभोद्दण्डकण्ठास्थिकूटस्फुटोन्मार्जितोद्दामदोर्दण्ड खण्डेन्दुचूडप्रिय प्रौढदो-
ण्डविश्रान्तमन्थाचलक्षुब्धदुग्धाम्बुधिप्रोत्थितश्रीभुज(जा)वल्ली (ल्लि) संश्लेषसंक्रान्तपीनस्तनाभोग-
त्रावलीलाञ्छितोरस्थल स्थूलमुक्ताफलोदारहारप्रभामण्डल(प्र)स्फुरत्कण्ठ वैकुण्ठ भक्तस्य
लोकस्य संसारमोहच्छिदं देहि बोधोदयं देव तुभ्यं नमः ।

2. According to the Mahoba inscription, the king Kīrtivarman here referred to was Chandella king who with his general Gopāla defeated Karṇa, king of Cedi. There is, owever, some difference between the accounts given in the inscription and the play. Kīrtivarman is mentioned as the friend of Gopāla in the drama, whereas in the inscription, the latter is said to have been the general of Kīrtivarman.

3. Karṇadeva, son of Gangayadeva, was the king of Cedi (1040-70 A.D.) who oined Bhima, king of Gujarat in crushing Bhoja, the king of Mālwa, about 1060 A.D. Smith, *EH*, 392; Bendall, *History of Nepal* (*JASB*, (1903), 18); S. Levi, *le Nepal*, II. 202 note. R. D. Banerji, *Palas of Bengal*, (*JASB*, *Memoirs*. 1918). Duff (*Chronology*) gives the date about 1090 A.D.

varman ruled between 1049 and 1100 and his victory over the Karṇadeva was about 1065 A.D.[1]

The geneologies[2] of the Kamakoti Pīṭha record that Mankha and Kṛṣṇamiṣra were contemporaries of Candraśekhara Sarasvaṭī the 47th occupier of that seat (1097-1165 A.D.)

752. There are commentaries on the play by Ruḍraḍeva,[3] Gaṇeṣa,[4] Subrahmanyasuḍhī,[5] Rāmaḍāsa,[6] Saḍāṭmamuṇi,[7] Ghanasyāma,[8] Maheśvara Nyāyālankāra,[9] R. V. Dikshit,[10] Āḍhyanāṭha,[11] and Govinḍāmṛta.[12]

753. Venkatanāṭha's Sankalpasūryoḍaya is an answer to Kṛṣṇamiṣra and in culcates Viśistāḍvaita philosophy.[13] Venkatanāṭha is Veḍantaḍeśika.

[Gopalacarya was the son of Rangācārya of Vaḍhūlāgoṭra and lived at Mannārgudi and Pudukotta in 1881-1907. Rangācārya's father

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1. Hulszch (*EI*, I. 220) shows that the play was composed between 1050 and 1116 A.D. and refers to coincidence between the passage relating to Kirṭivarman and a passage in Mahoba inscription. See Grierson, *JRAS*, (1908), 1136.

2. मह्नश्रीजयदेवकृष्णसुहलप्रेष्ठैर्महिष्ठैर्वृतः
विद्वद्भिः परितः क्षितिं विरचयन् यात्रां विजैत्रां कृती ।
विद्यालोककुमारपालनृपतेस्संसत्समुत्तंसितं
हेमाचार्यमपि व्यपाकृतगिरावागष्टकव्याकृतम् ॥

Puṇyaślokamañjari, 20

See also N. K. Venkatesa, *Sankaracharya and his Kamakoti Peetha* (Kumbakonam), 28.

3. *Cal. Bod.* 281. Ed. Bombay with Candrikā.

4. *CC*, III, 75.

5. *DC*, XXI. 8429. *Tanj.* VIII. 3436. He was son of Venkateśa and Venkalāmbā of Ponduri family.

6. *Trav.* 77. He was son of Vināyaka. Ed. Madras, Leipzig and Poona. A manuscript is dated 1545 A.D.

7. *CC*, II. 78, 211. His original name was Gaḍāḍhara. The Ms. is dated Śaka 1436 (1571 A.D.)

8. *Tanj.* VIII. 3432.

9. Ed. Calcutta, Leipzig.

10. Ed Poona.

11. Ed. Shibpur.

12. *TC*. III. 3818. Printed *ISS*, Trivandrum. He was apparently an ascetic and disciple of Prakāśatirtha.

13. See para 120 *supra*. There are commentaries on it by Ahobila, by Kauśika Śriśaila Ṭāṭārya (Ed. Conjeevaram), by Nārāyaṇa, and by Rāmānujā (*CC*, II. 169, 232).

was Gopālācārya, the well known scholar of eminence of Mannargudi under whom Mahāmahopāḍhyāya Raju Śasṭrigal studied. While yet very young, Gopālācārya was master of all the śasṭras and for his special proficiency in poetry and poetics he was honoured by then Maharaja of Pudukottah. In 700 verses in Arya metre called Arya Sapṭaśaṭi apparently named after Govarḍhana's work he wrote a biography of Veḍānṭadeśika, replete with devotion and poetic beauty. Parts of the book were published in Pudukotta Sanskrit Journal and will, I am told, be completely edited by his younger brother R. Srinivasachariar, State Vakil of Pudukotta, who has himself composed a short poem on the Lord. His elder brother is R. Krishnamachariar, the present Assistant Administrator of Pudukottai.

On Veḍānṭaḍeśika, there are also the poems Ḍesīkasṭoṭraraṭnamanjūṣā and Srīsūktiraṭnakara and Cetlur Śrīnivāsācārya's Abḍamālikā.]

754. The attempt of Kṛṣṇamiśra to establish the truth of particular tenets of religion by allegorical representation has been fruitful in the production of similar plays covering also the range of theology and ceremonial.

755. Gokulanatha was a poet of the court of Fatteh Sāha of Śrīnagara, and contemporary of king Rāghavasimha of Miṭhila who ruled in 1615 A.D. His Amriṭoḍaya[1] treats the story of the Jīvāṭman from creation to annihilation. His Maḍālasā is a play on the marriage of Madālasā.[2] His Rasamahārṇava is a treatise on rhetoric and Śivaśaṭaka a lyric in praise of Śiva.[3]

756. Yasappala was the son of Ḍhanaḍāḍeva and Rukmiṇī of the Moḍha family and himself minister of king Ajayaḍeva. His MOHAPARAJAYA[4] is an allegorical play in 5 acts celebrating the support given by king Kumārapala to the Jain religion. The play was first enacted at Tharapadṛa, probably the capital of Marwar. Yasafpāla was one of the eminent men who heard the first reading of Muniraṭna's Amāmasvāmicariṭa at the temple of Sānṭināṭha at Patan in Sam. 1252 (1306 A. D.)[5]

1. Ed. Bombay. See S. K. De, *SP*, 291. See para *supra*.
2. *CC*, II. 97. There are Maḍālasāpariṇaya (anonymous) and Maḍālasā by Rāmabhatta, *CC*, I. 426.
3. Ed. Kavyamala, Bombay.
4. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda.
5. *PR*, IV. xcix. III. App. 89, 208. Keith, *SD*, 253.

757. **Samaraja** Ḍīkshita, son of Narahari Bindu Purandara, lived at Maṭhura in the latter half of the 17th century. Ānandarāya Chief of Bundelkhand was his patron. His Ṭripurasundarīstotra is in praise of Pārvaṭī[1] and Kāvyenduprakāsā is a work on poetics.[2] Besides a farce Ḍhūrṭanarṭaka he wrote Śrīḍāmacariṭa,[3] a play in five acts in 1681 A. D. describing the elevation of Śrīḍāman or Suḍāman, companion son of Kṛṣṇa, to sudden affluence. "The opening of the piece is in the style of our ancient moralities, and in the first Act Poverty and Folly are said to assail Sridaman, who is abnoxious to Laxmi for his attachment to Saraswati or, in other words, who prefers learning to house and lands; for Fortune, it is said, will not even glance upon the pious and wise but flies from them in proportion as they are devoted to philosophy and virtue. On the other hand, Krishna or Vishnu employs the same agents to recover those whom fortune has corrupted. Folly, entering into their hearts, prepares the way for Poverty, and when reduced to distress, their minds are weaned from wordly affections and they are fitted to heaven. These allegorical personages effect their purpose with Sridaman, by demanding the rites of hospitality, and being accordingly admitted into his dwelling."

His son Kāmarāja wrote the poem Śṛngārakalikā,[4] his grandson and great-grandson, Vrajarāja and Jivarāja composed commentaries on Rasamanjarī and Rasaṭarangiṇi.[5]

758. In Ḍharmavijaya,[6] BHUDEVA ŚUKLA deminstrates, in five acts, the advantages of a life regulated by spiritual ordinances and lived in 16th century A.D. He also wrote Rasavilāsa.[7]

759. **Bhuminatha** called Nallā Ḍīkṣiṭa was son of Bālacandra of Kauśikagoṭra.[8] He was pupil of Rāmabhadra Ḍīkṣiṭa and wrote Ḍharmavijayacampū on the life of king Shahaji of Tanjore (1684–1710

1. Ed. Bombay.
2. *BR* (1887-91), No. 601.
3. *CC*, II. 63; III. 142, with a commentary also. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 404–6. See also S. K. De, *SP*, 320.
4. Ed. Bombay.
5. See under Bhānudaṭṭa, Chapter on Alankara *post*.
6. *IO*, VII. 1598. Printed, Bombay and *Sar. Bhav. Series*, Benares. See Mitra's *Notices*, I. 37. There is a commentary by his desciple Bhavaniśankara (*IO*, VII. 4183).
7. Printed, *Sar. Bhav. Series*, Benares.
8. See para 162 *supra*.

A.D.)[1] Besides the play Subhadrāpariṇaya[2] and Śṛṅgārasarvasvabhāṇa[3] he wrote the allegorical plays Ciṭṭavṛṭṭikalyāṇa[4] and Jīvanmukṭikalyāṇa.[5]

760. **Jagannatha Sighrakavi** was a poet of Kathiawar and lived in the 17th century during the days of Nānā Fatnāvis. His Saubhāgyamahoḍayanāṭaka represents all alankāras as courtiers in the Durbar of Maharajah Vakhatsinji of Bhownagar recounting their functions.[6]

761. **Anandarayamakhin** describes the marriage of Jīvāṭman or the individual soul and Viḍyā or spiritual wisdom. The real author of this play VIDYAPARINAYA was VEDAKAVI and by him it was attributed to his patron Ananḍarao Peshwa, minister of Sārabhoji I and Tukkoji, kings of Tanjore in the 18th century. Ānanḍarāya[7] is referred to by Vancīśvara in his Mahiṣaśaṭaka.[8] Veḍakavi also wrote Jīvānanḍanāṭaka, a play of similar import.

762. **Jatadevas** of Viśvāmiṭragoṭra performed Soma sacrifice and became an ascetic. He lived in Malabar about 1800 A.D. His Pūrṇapuruṣārṭhacaaḍrodaya,[9] represents the union of king Ḍaśāsva or Āṭman possessing ten horses (representing ten senses of man) and Ānanḍapakvavallī. The various systems of thought are introduced as demons and are vanquished, and Suśraḍḍhā, and Subhakṭi bring about the union.

763. **Mallari Aradhya** was the son of Sarabhaṇārāḍhya of Chaganta family probably of the Kṛṣṇa District. His Śivalingasūryoḍaya in five acts is intended to establish the supremacy of Vīra-Śaiva religion. He composed it for the delectation of Basaveśvara of Kandukūri family, probably a local chief of Kalyāṇapura of the 18th century A.D.[10]

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1. *Tanj.* VII. 3269?
2. Probably *CC*, I. 726.
3. *Tanj.* VIII. 3609. Printed Bombay.
4. *CC*, I. 186.
5. *CC*, I. 207.
6. *Mod. Rev.* XVI.
7. *Trav.* 79. See para 165 *supra.*
8. See para 163 *supra.* A similar satirical poem is Kākāśaṭaka, censuring one Kakaji, a courtier of King Ekoji of Tanjore (*Tanj.* VII. 2988).
9. *DC*, XXI. 8417.
10. *TC*, III. 3125.

764. Nṛsiṃha's Anumitipariṇaya explains the Nyāya doctrine of inference. Anumiti, the daughter of Parāmarśa, marries Nyāyarasika. Nṛsimha was son of Venkaṭakṛṣṇa of Bhāradvājagotra and lived in Triplicane in the beginning of the 18th century A.D.[1]

Ghatta Śesacarya, son of Rāmanuja of Vādhūlagotra, belonged to Kavitārkika family and lived about the beginning of the 19th century A.D. at Manchalagadda, Madras Presidency.[2] His Prapannasapindīkaraṇanirāsa established that for Prapannas there cannot be Sapindīkaraṇa.

Krsnananda Vācaspati has lessons on grammar in the form of a dramatic entertainment in his Nāṭyapariśiṣṭa or Antar-Vyākaraṇa-Nāṭyapariśiṣṭa.[3] Rameścandra's Saralacitsukhīsarā is a similar work.[4] Narasimha's Śivanārāyaṇamahodaya is a philosophical play in honor of a prince of Keonjhor.[5]

765. **Madabhusi Venkatacarya** was son of Anantācārya of Naidhruvakāśyapagotra. His play Suddhasatva inculcates Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrines.[6] He lived in Samarlakota about 1860 A.D.

766. **Rani Mahagni Cinna Narasimha Kavi,** popularly known as Rani Cayanulu was born in 1862 in the village of Yenugumahal of Godavary District. After spending sometime with Ānanda Gajapaty Raj, Maharaja of Vizianagaram, he became an ascetic. He was a mathematical prodigy and died very recently at Bezwada. His drama Citsūryaloka is allegorical[7] and his two works Kālamānopapatti and Tithimanjarī indicate his astronomical scholarship.

767. Harihara's Bhartṛharinirveda,[8] Ghanaśyāma's Pracandarāhūdaya, Nārāyaṇaśāstrin's Brahmavidyā have been noticed. Besides these

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1. *DC*, XXI- 8362.
2. *Ibid.* 8424.
3. Printed Calcutta.
4. Printed, *Jl. Sam. Sah.* XVIII.
5. *CC*, III. 134.
6. The manuscript is with P. V. Subramanya Sastri, Sanskrit Pandit, Razole, Godaveri District.
7. Mr. P. L. Narasimham, Advocate, Vizagapatam, tells me that this play is different from the one of the same name (printed, Vizianagram) by Mudumbai Narasimhacārya and that he had seen another old play of the same name elsewhere.
8. See para 263 *supra*. Ed. Bombay. Analysed by Gopinatha in his edn. of Satakas, Bombay. Translated into English by L. H. Gray, *JAOS*, XXV. 1. It is doubtful whether he is identical with Harihara, the author of Prabhāvatipariṇaya-nātaka (in *Mitra* VII. No. 2395, Levi. II. 77, 88 ; *CC*. I. 354, 762). Schyuler (*Bibl*)

plays there are the following allegorical plays:—Jnānasūryodaya of Vādicandra,[1] Saṭsangavijaya of Vaidyanātha,[2] Śaṇmaṭanāṭaka of Jayanta-bhatta,[3] Mukṭipariṇaya of Sundaradeva,[4] Bhakṭivaibhava of Jīvadeva,[5] Vivekacandrodaya of Śiva,[6] Vivekavijaya of Rāmānuja,[7] Śānṭirasa of Vaikunṭhapuri,[8] Vedānṭavilāsa of Varadācārya,[9] Miṭhyājnānakhandana of Ravidāsa,[10] Śivabhakṭānanda,[11] Gairvāṇavijaya of Bālakavi,[12] Svānu-bhūṭyabhidhā of Ananṭarāma,[13] Jīvanmukṭikalyāṇa of Mallā Somayājin[14] and probably Śukleśvara's Pramāṇādarśa.[15]

768. **Ramadeva** or Vāmadeva is known better by the pet name Ciranjīva. He was son of Raghavendra Bhattācārya, who was a renouned Śaṭāvadhāni[16] and grandson of Kāśīnāṭha, the great palmist

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treats them as identical. Bharṭṛhari's fourth Paddhaṭi Śanṭipaddhaṭi is found mentioned in *Int. to Cat. C.P.*

1. Printed Bombay. *CC*, I. 210. Composed in 1580 (?)
2. *CC*, I. 690. Probably Miṭhyācāraprahasana (*CC*, I. 455) and Kṛṣṇalīlanātika (*CC*, I. 123; II. 217) are his works.
3. *PR*, V. 437.
4. *Tanj*. VIII. 3465. He probably wrote Vinodarangaprahasana (*CC*, I, 577).
5. He wrote on the Court of Pratapasimha Gajapāṭi of Orissa about 1500 A.D. He also wrote Bhakṭibhāgavaṭa. This is Kṛṣṇabhakṭirasāyana (play) noted in Kavindrācārya's List (*GOS*), Baroda, No. 1967.
6. *Gough*, 106.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8521.
8. *CC*, II. 152. See on the author's other works *CC*, I. 591, where he is called also Viṣṇupuri. He verses are quoted in Padyāvali.
9. *CC*, I. 29.
10. Printed, Calcutta. *IO*, VII. 4200.
11. *CC*, I. 650.
12. Printed, Palghat.
13. *CC*, I. 752.
14. *Rice*, 256.
15. *CC*, I. 658.
16. Rāghavendra was a great poet and his Śataśloki is marvellous. Ciranjīva quotes verses of other poets in praise of Rāghavendra, *e.g.*

अयं हरिहरस्सिद्धेरविलम्बसरस्वती ।
साक्षाच्छतावधानस्त्वमवतीर्णा सरस्वती ॥
पुंरूपादरणी साक्षादवतीर्णा सरस्वती !
जितश्शतावधानतो विष्णुनापि न जिष्णुना ॥

This feat is described by Ciranjīva thus in Vidvanmodaṭarangiṇī (I. 10–12) thus:

एकैकमेकैककविप्रयुक्तं श्लोकास्थितं वर्णमपन्यवस्थम् ।
आकर्ण्य तत्सङ्ख्यमथप्रयुक्ते स्वयंकृतं श्लोकशतं च वर्णम् ॥

of Bengal. Rādhāpur was his place. He was patronised by Yaśavantsimha who was the Naib Diwan of Decca about 1731 A.D. He wrote Vṛttaratnāvali. a work on prosody with illustrations in his praise,[1] and the poems Śṛngāratatinī,[2] Kalpalatā and Śivastotra and Madhavacampū[3] and Kāvyavilāsa on poetics.[4]

His Vidvanmodatarangiṇī is a unique composition.[5] It is a humourous quasi-dramatic work, whene he brings together the followers of various religions and irreligious creeds and in the course of their dialogues, pools together the essence of various philosophical doctrines.

769. [SATAVADHANI VEMURI SRI RAMASASTRIN was born in 1870 in Juvvigunta Agraharam in Kandukur Ṭaluk of Nellore District. He is a 'Velanati' vaidiki of Haritagotra. In his early days he studied Veda, Śrauta, and Jyotṣa at the feet of his father, and afterwards studied Sāhitya aud Vyākarana. Satāvadhānam was his favourite hobby and from the age of 24 he travelled from Cape Camorin to the Himālayas exhibiting his scholarship at different chief centres: In Poona, he was highly appreciated by Dr. Bhandarkar under whose auspices he performed wonderful feats of memory, and in Baroda he was highly rewarded by the Gækwar for a similar performance. In 1903 he went to Kashmir and dedicated to him a Samskrit work called "Graiveyaka Bandha" and in 1911 was presented at the Delhi Durbar for his work called "Dhelli Prabha" or "Durbar Khaneda." Through his chief pursuit is Samskrit, he is now able to speak in 14 languages fluently, and can write poetry in Telugu, Samskrit and Hindu. His Samskrit works are "Avadhāna Vidhānam," a work describing the process of Avadhāna, Gurukalpam and Nūtanodyānam. He is still living at Bezwada.

रीत्यानया श्लोकशतं कवीनां शतस्य निर्वक्त्यवधारयित्वा ।
समस्यया पूर्तिमतीमथैनं स्वयं कृतश्लोकशतीं तथैव ॥

Rāghavendra's teacher was Jagadīsā Tarkālankāra whose gloss on Kāvyaprakāsā was copied by one of his pupils in 1677 A.D. See Gopināth Kavirāj's *History of Nyāya-Vaiśesika literature* (Sar. *Bhawan Series*, V. 143.)

1. *CC*, I. 597 ; *PR*, V. 455.
2. *Oudh* (1877), 22.
3. Printed, Calcutta.
4. Edited by Batuknath Sarma with introduction, *Sarasvati Bhavan Series*.
5. Printed, Calcutta and Madras.

VINJAMURI VIRARAGHAVACARYA, (1855-1920) was a Vaiṣṇavite of Kauśikagoṭra, and was his coworker. He belonged to Dontavaram in Tanuku Taluk of West Godavary District. He lived at Bezwada and was for many years the Samskrit Pandit in High School there. He was a versatile Samskrit scholar and poet and wrote the following works in Samskrit: Rāmānujaslokaṭrayī, Manśasandesa, Hanumaṭsandeśa, Pānaka-Narasimhastoṭra, Raghuvīragadyavyākhyā, Caṭuślokīvyākhyā.

Abhinava Panditarāya Mādabhūṣi Venkatācārya (? -1897) of blessed memory was the forerunner of the performance of Avadhānas of the modern day. Though he was a genius in Samskrit, no Samskrit work is now available.

Ḍivākarla Ṭirupaṭi Śāsṭrin and Chellapilla Venkata Śāsṭrin are famous as Ṭirupaṭi Venkata kavis thoughout the Āndhradeśa, as performers of Śaṭāvadhānam. Their Samskrit work is Kalisahasram.

Devulapalli Subbarāya Śāsṭrin (1853- ?) and Thammanna Sastry (1862- ?) were famous śaṭāvadhānis and were known as Devulapalli brother poets. They were poets of the court of the Maharajah of Pithapuram and both were versatile scholars in Samskrit Among them, Subbarāya Śastrin wrote a work called Rāvuvamsāmukṭavali.][1]

SECTION 6.

Chayanataka

770. Chayanataka, literally shadow-play was considered by Wilson to denote 'the shade or outline of a drama' "intended to introduce a spectacle of the drama and processions." As a dramatic genre it is not recognised by Sanskrit writers on dramaturgy. But Nīlakantha, in commenting on रूपोपजीवनं in Mahābhāraṭa (XII, ccxcv, 5) wrote

रूपोपजीवनं जालमण्डपिकेति दाक्षिणात्येपु प्रसिद्धम्, यत्र सूक्ष्मवस्त्रं व्यवधाय चर्ममयैराकारैः राजामात्यादीनां चर्या प्रदर्श्यते ।

"Rupopajivanam is called Jalamandapika among the southerners where, having set up a thin cloth, the action of kings, ministers etc., is shown by leathern figures."[2] This is the picture-show known in South India from time immemorial. The pictures made of leather or

1. See "Hymavatiparinayam" or *Lives of Modern Telugu poets* published by Raja Bhujanga Rao of Ellore.

2. Wilson, *Theatre*, II ii, 90; Levi, *TI*, 241.

card-board are manipulated by persons behind the screen, so as to move and shake the images falling on the screen as in magic lantern shows, and the dialogue is repeated by the persons from behind the screen quite dramatically. It approaches a Talkie of modern days.

Vāṭsyāyana mentions Ākhyānaka-pata "which is evidently a roll of canvas containing the representation of a short story in several scenes like the *Yamapata* which was spread by a spy of Cāṇakya before the people in Candanadāsa's house and was exhibited by them with songs:

तहिं जनपडं पसारिअ पटतह्वि गीदायिं गाइदुम् । —*Mudrārakṣasa*, Act I.

771. Subhata is highly praised by Somaḍeva and Namisāḍhu. His Ḍūṭāngada[1] was enacted in the reign of King Ṭribhuvanapālaḍeva of Anhilvid about 1242 A.D. during a festival held in commemoration of the restoration of a Śiva's temple at Somanāth by King Kumārapālaḍeva (1147–1172 A.D.). It describes the embassy of Angaḍa to the Court of Rāvaṇa and on failure of the negotiations, the beginning of the war.

There are at least two recentions of Ḍūṭāngaḍa;[2] the shorter that has been printed in Bombay and the larger that is preserved in the India Office Library.[3]

772. Vyasa Ramadeva wrote three such plays Rāmābhyuḍaya, Pāndavābhyuḍaya and Subhaḍrāpariṇaya about 1402-1415 A.D.[4]

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1. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre* (II. 390). Translated into English by L. Gray, *JAOS*, XXXII. 58 (where there is full discussion of Chāyā-nātaka); See also Bendall, *JRAS*, (1898), 229; M. Duff, *Choronology*, 189; Schuyler, *Bibl*. 85. There is a similar drama by Bhubhatta, (*CC*, I. 4.) Here is a fine verse:

भो भो रावण रावणाः कति बहूनेतान् वयं शुश्रुमः
प्रागेकं किल कार्तवीर्यनृपतेर्दोर्दण्डपिण्डीकृतम् ।
एकं नर्तनदापिताभ्रकवळं दैत्येन्द्रदासीजनैः
एकं वक्तुमपित्रपामह इति त्वंऽस्तेषु कोन्योऽथवा ॥

2. Pischell says there are as many Dūṭāngaḍas as there are manuscripts. For a summary of them, See *CC*, I. 257, II. 55; III. 55.

3. *IO*, VII. No. 4189. On the Eggeling says not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but "narrative verses are thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage directions) and a narrative poem."

4. *DC*, XXI. 8485, *CC*. I. 728; II. 129, III. 161; Levi, *App*. 77; *IO*, VII. 4187 where manuscript was copied in 1471 (?) Bendall, *JRAS*, (1898) 231; *Cat*. 106–8. Analysed by Levi, *TI*, 342 and Eggeling (*Cat*. No. 4187).

under the patronage of Kalacuri kings of Raypur. Viṭṭhalā's Chāyānāṭaka is based on the history of the Adilshāhi dynasty of Bijapur (1489–1660 A.D.).[1] Sāvitrīcarita of Śankaralāla is called a Chāyānāṭaka.[2] Haridūta deals with the story of Kṛṣṇa's mission to Ḍuryoḍhaṇa before the war.[3]

773. **Traivikramam** is a short dialogue between Sūtraḍhāra and Naṭī describing the Vāmana incarnation, as depicted in a painting which they were apparently looking at. In the technique of dramatic construction it is unique and but for the mention of the words Sūtraḍhāra, nāndi and 'enter' it can only be called a dialogue. The *third* picture is described; this indicates that the actors were seeing a series of pictures probably of the several incarnations and Sūtraḍhāra was describing the purāṇic story connected with each, one after another. This is the third in the series and the last words show that the speakers pass on to the next picture. The plot is shortly this:

"Vāmana appears before Bali, son of Hiranyakasipu at the close of the Asvamedha sacrifice performed gloriously by Bali. Bali as customary towards the end of any sacrifice was ready to grant any gifts and Vamana along with Brihaspati, the minister of the Devas, in a mortal coil, appeared before Bali and asked for a piece of land that can be measured by three strides. Bali was ready to grant the request. Samhlāda, his chief minister, pointed out that Vāmana was only Vishṇu in disguise who killed his father Hiraṇyakaśipu, the conqueror of the three worlds. Bali could not recede from his promise; such a distinguished guest ought to be satisfied; Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth, moves away from the donee to the donor; and he grants Vāmana's request by pouring water into his hands. Suddenly Vāmana grows into a Visvarūpa expanding to the corners of the universe. Rākshasas blinded by the Vishnumāyā fought among themselves talking their brethren for Vishnu. Thus most of them perished and Bali was set as the emperor of Pātāla."

Ṭraivikrama is neither a poem where the poet narrates the story, nor a play where the narrator is absent and a mere conversation of characters is presented to the audience with action as in a play.

1. See *Bik*. 251. *CC*, I. 193. Printed, Bombay.
2. Luders, *SPAW*, (1916), 698.
3. *CC*, I. 757.

M. R. Kavi says "If it is not the drama of Lhāsa it may be ascribed to any of the Pallava kings preferably to Mahendravikrama or Narasimhavishnu" and adds Ṭraivikrama is mentioned for its unique characteristics by the commentator on Śākuntalā. "The commentary is called Charchana, a large fragment of which was brought from Malabar and preserved in G.. O. Mss. Library, Madras. Besides Traivikrama the commentator refers to dramatic irregularities of all the thirteen dramas of Bhāsa and Vīṇāvāsavadatta and Chaṇḍālarāmāyaṇa. The last mentioned work alone is not yet available to us. The commentator of Charchana may be older than 300 years as the style shows and probably a native of Malabar.

774. In Telugu Literature, in a poem known as Krīḍābhirāma, translated from a Vīdhī in Sanskrit, reference is made to this kind of composition. The two characters, Tiṭṭibha nnd Govinḍa pass through the streets of Warangal in its palmy days under Praṭāparuḍra II and describe the various street scenes in a graphic and interesting manner. The painted canvas represents Palnadu heroes (65 in number) who with a naughty boy of the profession acting under the influence of songs sung by a professional lady strongly exhibits the ecstacy and blind zeal displayed by the feudal lords in their internecine quarrel brought about by the passions of the heroine, Āruvellināyanāru."

775. Early writers have distinguished story-telling as by caiṭrika, grānṭhika, śaubhika which may respectively mean narration of a story with the help of a painted scene or by song and action or by dress and deportment. The following passage of Abhinavaguपṭa (Natyaśāstra, Gaekwad Edition page 174) supports it:

तत्रापिनाट्यच्छायात्मकतैव नाट्यस्यैव ह्यमी भागानिष्पन्दाश्चित्रपुत्तिकापुस्तप्रभृतयो ग्रन्थिकादिपरिकल्पितसाक्षात्कारकल्पप्रत्ययसम्पदाः ।

Bhojaḍeva in his Śṛngāraprakāśa distinguishes this kind of composition as Ākhyānaka and defines it thus:

आख्यानकसंज्ञान्तर्लभते यदभिनयन् पठन् गायन् ।
ग्रन्थिक एकः कथयति गोविन्दवदवहिते सदसि ॥

Ṭraivikrama may be called Ākhyānaka.

To appreciate its peculiar characterstics, the piece is printed here:

श्रीः

त्रै वि क्र म म्

(नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः सह प्रियया)

सूत्र—आर्ये, तृतीये खलु चित्रपटे—

दैत्येन्द्रमौलिमणिघृष्टिकिणाङ्कितस्य
पादस्य यस्य गगनोद्गमगर्वितस्य ।
त्रैविक्रमं त्रिभुवनाततमद्भुतं य-
द्भूतैर्विमुक्तमखिलं वटुवामनस्य ॥

नटी—णमो भअवदो वडुवामणस्स अय्य, तदो तदो (नमो भगवते वटुवामनाय । आर्य, ततस्ततः) ।

सूत्र—आर्ये, श्रूयतां दैत्येन्द्रं बलिं वैरोचनं कृताश्वमेधमवभृथस्नातं मुक्ताजालालङ्कृतोत्तमाङ्गं कृष्णाजिनावलम्बितोत्तरीयं पत्नीसहितं वरप्रदानाभिमुखं त्रिदशगणभूतहितार्थमुपाध्यायरूपं बृहस्पतिं पुरस्कृत्य स्वयं वटुवामनो भूत्वा वामदेव्यं सामोद्गाय यज्ञसमृद्धिं प्रशंसन्नुपसृतो भगवान्महाविष्णुः ।

नटी—तदो तदो, (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततस्तं दृष्ट्वैव प्रह्लादितमनसा बलिनाप्यभिहितं वृणीष्व वरमिति ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—तत आज्ञापयन्निव मम गुरोर्यज्ञकरणार्थं त्रीन् विक्रमानिच्छामीत्युक्तं भगवता ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः) ।

सूत्र—तत ऐश्वर्यमदगर्वितेन तेनाप्यविचार्यमाणेन बाढं ददामीत्युक्तं बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्तयः)

सूत्र—ततो लक्षणैर्विमलविशालबुद्धिहृदयेन संह्लादनाम्नामात्येन वारितं न दातव्यमिति ।

अयं स विष्णुर्मनसाप्यजेयः सुरासुराणां सुखशोककर्ता ।
वटुश्च नायं सकलं विजेतुं प्राप्तो यदि स्यात्त्र जलं प्रदेयम् ॥

अपि च—

भित्वा गुरुं तव जघान नृसिंहरूपी वक्षःस्थलं नखमुखैर्निशितैः पुरा यः ।
साक्षाद्धिरण्यकशिपुं सुरदैत्यनाथं प्राप्ताखिलाजितवरप्रवरं विरिञ्चात् ॥

इत्युक्तः संह्लादेन ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततः—

सोऽयं यदि स्यादहिभोगशायी शार्ङ्गासिचक्रोद्गदशङ्खपाणिः ।
युद्धेष्वसह्यो यदि याचते मां दास्यामि सत्यव्रतमास्थितोऽहम् ॥

अपि चैतदप्युक्तं बलिना—

देहीति यो वदति तं प्रविशत्यलक्ष्मीर्नास्तीति यो वदति तं पुनरभ्युपैति ।
तस्माद्ददामि पृतिवीं मधुसूदनाय श्रीरेव मां भजतु तं प्रविशत्वलक्ष्मीः ॥

इत्येवमुक्त्वा विसर्जितः संह्लादो बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततः खरमुरनरकनमुचिप्रभृतिभिर्वार्यमाणः प्रतार्यमाणस्तांस्तान्निर्भर्त्स्यात्मनः सत्यवचनमेवास्थायासुरगणहितकराभ्यां सुरगणाहितकराभ्यां कराभ्यां जाम्बूनदमयं भृङ्गारमादाय इत इतो भगवान्यथेष्टं तोयं गृहाणेत्युक्तं बलिना ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततः सुरगणहितकरे असुरगणनिधनकरे अमलकमलदलसदृशे तस्मिन् करतले प्रसृतमात्रे तोये द्विगुणचतुर्भिर्दोर्भिरलङ्कृत्य त्रैलोक्यप्रमाणं प्रविजृम्भितो भगवान् दिव्यमूर्तिः ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततो विवृतवदनदष्टोष्ठभ्रुकुटीपुटविषमीकृतरक्तनयनाः ससंरम्भमहमहमिकया समुत्थिता दैत्येन्द्रसङ्घाः ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततस्तत्तेजसैव त्वं विष्णुरयं विष्णुरित्यन्योन्यं प्रहृत्य नष्टा दैत्याः, हृष्टा देवाः, आहता देवदुन्दुभयः, अत्युद्धूता वायवः, अतितपतिस्मादित्यः, पतिता वृक्षाः, भ्रान्ता मेघाः, शान्तमिव नभः, स्खलिताः पर्वताः, क्षुभिताः सागराः, प्रलीना वासुकिप्रभृतयो भुजङ्गेश्वराः । किं नु खल्विदं—

प्रलयमिदमुपेतं किं नु माया न विद्मः
प्रभुरवतु हरिर्नो हन्त हा हा हताः स्मः ।
इति विविधनिमित्तैर्मोहमभ्यागतास्ते
भुवनपतिमुपेन्द्रं सर्वलोकाः प्रणेमुः ॥

नटी तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—ततः—

नारायणाय हरये मुरशासनाय त्रैलोक्यजन्मलयपालनकारणाय ।
देवाय दैत्यमथनाय जगद्धिताय विश्वम्भराहितकराय नमोऽच्युताय ॥

इत्युक्त्वा प्रणिपतितानि सर्वभूतानि ।

नटी—तदो तदो (ततस्ततः)

सूत्र—विष्णोर्विजयं विजयमित्युक्त्वा त्रीन् लोकांस्त्रिस्सप्तकृत्वः भेरीं प्रहरन् पर्यटञ्जाम्बवान् ।

दर्पान्धः पादलग्नो नमुचिरपसृतो यात्येव गगनं
संह्लादः पादयोगादुपल इव गिरेर्भूमौ निपतितः ।
निष्ठैषा यस्य भूमिः सगिरिवनपुरा धत्तैव चलिता
धर्मज्ञः सत्यसन्धः सुकृत इव बलिर्धैर्याच्च चलति ॥

अपि च—

स्वर्गं सुरेन्द्र इव दत्तमनेकभोगं
पातालमेत्य सुतलं हरिणा स दैत्यः ।
भक्त्यार्चयन् परमया रमते विभक्तं
किं वा करोति महता न समाश्रयोऽयम् ॥

नटी—रमणिज्जो खु कहाजोओ, अंणं चित्तपडं वण्णेदु अय्यो । (रमणीयः खलु कथायोगः, अन्यं चित्रपटं वर्णयत्वार्यः)

अये बाढं हरिपदकथा सेयमन्तं प्रयाता
भक्तिर्भूयात्तव च मम च श्रीधरस्याङ्घ्रिपद्मे ।
नश्यत्वेवं दुरितमसकृत्पश्यतां नृत्यतां नः
स्वस्थो राजाप्यवतु वसुधां स्वस्ति गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः ॥

(त्रैविक्रमं समाप्तम्)

776. "In Java the Rama cycle may be treated in the dramatic categories of the *wayang purwa*, a shadow play produced by puppets of buffalo leather, the *wayang topeng*, and the *wayang wong*, produced by masked and unmasked men respectively, and the *wayang beber*, in which pictures are unrolled and explained by the *dalang* (juynboll, *Internationales Archiv fur Ethnographie*, xiii, 4-5). In many respects the latter, as the manager of the puppets and the speaker of the dialogue, in which he modulates his voice according to the various characters of the drama 'Serrurier, 95-96, 106-112; Hazeu, 7-9,) corresponds very probably to the Sanskrit sutradhara, although his name seems to signify merely, stroller, strolling player,' and it has been suggested that he was primarily a priest who rendered worship to the ghosts represented by the shadows cast by the puppets on the curtain in the *wayang* (Hazeu, 23-24, 39-57.) At all events, we are justified in seeing in the Javanese *wayang purwa* or shadow play, the analogue of the Sanskrit *chayanataka* and both are without doubt the congenors of the Chinese shadow play, the Turkish *qaragoz* ans the marionettes which, originating in India, have spread throughout Asia and Europe to be enacted at the present day (see, for example, Pischel, *Heimat des Puppenspiels*; Rehm, *Buch der Marionetten*; Jacob, *Erwahnungen des Schatten-theatres in der Welṭ-Literatur* and Geschichte des Schatten-theaters; together with the literature cited in these works."

SECTION 7.

Miscellaneous Plays.

777. On Weddings. Ḍraupaḍīpariṇaya of (i) Peri Kāśināṭha of Vijianagaram[1] and (ii) Kṛṣṇa, son of Nṛisimha[2]; Pāñcālīpariṇaya of Āḍḍanki Bālasūri[3]; Rukmiṇīpariṇaya[4] (i) of Āṭreya Varaḍa[5] and (ii) of Kaviṭārkikasimha;[6] Goḍāpariṇaya (i) of Śrīśaila Śrīnivāsa[7] and (ii) of

1. He died in about 1929. His son Tātaryudu is vice principal, Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram.
2. *DC*, XXI. 846.
3. *TC*, III. 3123.
4. There is Pṛṭhvīrāja's poem Rukmiṇīkṛṣṇavallī, *PR*, V. 135.
5. *Tanj.* VIII. 3502. Printed Bombay. He lived at Venkatagiri in 19th century.
6. *DC*, XXI. 8410, 8189; *CC*, II. 163. He lived at Gupṭakuṭi (Kuttakaudi) in S. Arcot Dist. and was of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra. He was the nephew of Kṛṣṇa abovementioned.
7. *DC*, XXI. 8399.

Keśavanātha;[1] Subhadrāpariṇaya (i) of Nallākavi,[2] (ii) of Raghunāthācārya,[3] Vallīpariṇaya (i) of Bhāskara, son of Śivasūrya of Śrīvatsagotra,[4] and (ii) of Vīrarāghava;[5] Nīlāpariṇaya of Venkateśvara, son of Dharmarāja;[6] Marakaṭavallīpariṇaya of Śrīnivāsa, son of Devarāja;[7] Rukmiṇīharaṇa of Śeṣacintāmaṇi;[8] Lakṣmīkalyāṇa (i) of Sadāśiva Dīkṣita[9] and (ii) of Mānavikrama.[10]

Madālasāpariṇaya,[11] Pārvatīsvayamvara,[12] Sītāvivāha by Śeṣādri of Bhāradvājagotra,[13] Bhaimīpariṇaya[14] (i) by Śaṭhagopācārya[15] and (ii) by Venkaṭācārya,[16] Bhānumatīpariṇaya,[17] Candrakalāpariṇaya by Nṛsimha,[18] Saugandhikāpariṇaya,[19] Indirāpariṇaya by Vīrarāghava, son of Śrīśaila,[20] Indumatīpariṇaya,[21] Jānakīpariṇaya (i) by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa[22] and (ii) by Sītārāma,[23] Kalyāṇīpariṇaya,[24] Kāmākṣīpariṇaya,[25] Kanakavallīpariṇaya,[26] Uṣāpariṇaya by Śrīnivāsa,[27] Lakṣmīsvayamvara by Śrīnivāsa, son of

1. *CC*, I. 159.
2. *TC*, I. 1040. He was son of Bālacandra of Kausikagotra. He wrote Śṛṅgārasarvasvabhāṇa. He says he lived at Kandaramanikya where Uddanda also lived in 15th century.
3. *CC*, I. 728.
4. *DC*, XXI. 3589. See para 137 *supra*.
5. *CC*, III. 118. *HR*. III. ix, II. ix. Written in the time of king Sivaji of Tanjore. See para 163 *supra*.
6. *Tanj*. VIII. 3415. In *CC*, I. 302, there is one by Dṛgbhavaṭ.
7. *Ibid*. 3450.
8. *CC*, I. 527.
9. *Trav*. 78.
10. *Trav*. 191.
11. *CC*, I. 426.
12. *CC*, I. 336.
13. *Tanj*. VIII. 3524. He lived at Conjeevaram and wrote also Rāmavilāsakāvya.
14. See *CC*, I. 416.
15. *CC*, II. 95.
16. *CC*, I. 416.
17. Levi, App, 78.
18. *CC*, III. 38. He is author of Nanjarājayaśobhuṣaṇa. In the prologue Kaśīpati probably the author of Mukundānandabhāṇa, is praised.
19. *CC*, I. 737.
20. *HR*, III. 1749, ix.
21. *CC*, I. 59.
22. *CC*, I. 206.
23. *CC*, I. 206.
24. *CC*, I. 86.
25. *CC*, I. 94.
26. *CC*, I. 78.
27. *CC*, I. 71. There is Uṣāharaṇa of Harṣanātha, Schuyler, *Bibl*. 41.

Rāmānuja,[1] Vakulamālinīpariṇaya by Vīravalli Śrīnivāsa,[2] Vijayendirāpariṇaya by Subrahmaṇya.[3] Pāñcālīpariṇaya by Balasūri of Srīrangam,[4] Mīnākṣīpariṇaya by Aṇṇāśāstrin[5] and Lavalīpariṇaya by Lakṣmipaṭi.[6]

778. On Krsna. Kṛṭārṭhamāḍhava by Rāmamāṇika Kavirāja;[7] Kṛṣṇalīlā by Vaiḍyanāṭha Ṭaṭsaṭ;[8] Kṛṣṇakuṭūhala;[9] Bālikāvanciṭaka;[10] Rāmā-Rāḍhā;[11] Kamsānṭaka by Hariyajvan;[12] Kṛṣṇabhakṭīcanḍrikā by Ananṭadeva;[13] Vaiḍarbhīvāsuḍeva by Sunḍararāja.[14]

Rāmacanḍra and Abhinavagupṭa quote from Hejjala's Rāḍhāvipralambha, *e.g.*

मेघाशङ्किशिखण्डिताण्डवविधावाचार्यकं कल्पयन्
निर्ह्रादो मुरजस्य मूर्छतितरां वेणुस्वनापूरितः ।
वीणायाः कलयन् लयेन गमकानुग्राहिणीं मूर्छनां
कर्षत्येष च कालकुट्टितलयां रम्यश्रुतिं षाडवे ॥

CAYANI CANDRASEKHARA was the son of Vājapeyi Gopīnāṭharājaguru, religious teacher of the King Vīrakesari Rāmacanḍra of Bundekand of the 17the century A.D.[15] His Maṭhurāniruḍḍha is a drama in eight acts with no prakrt in it, on the secret lives of Uṣā towards Aniruḍḍha who was kidnapped by her maiden Ciṭralēkhā on her behalf.

779. On Rama. Raghuvīracariṭa by Cakravarṭi Veḍānṭasūri;[16] Śīṭārāghava of Rāmapāṇivāḍa;[17] Kuśalavavijaya by Venkatakṛṣṇa;[18]

1. *CC*, I. 540, III. 114.
2. *TC*, I. 1047. See para 242 for the author.
3. *CC*, II. 185.
4. *TC*, III. 3123. He says he wrote at the instance of king Rājaśekhara.
5. *Mys.* 279.
6. *Mys.* 282.
7. *CC*, III. 25.
8. *CC*, I. 123; *Ulwar*, 998.
9. *CC*, I. 112.
10. Mentioned in *ND*.
11. Mentioned in *BP*.
12. *Mys.* 686.
13. *Trav.* 180.
14. *Trav.* 181.
15. *CC*, I. 426. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 396.
16. *TC*, II. 229, He lived in Villiambakam, near Chingleput. He was of Srivaṭsagoṭra. His descendant Gopālar son of Venugopāla, wrote Praṭāparāghava (*TC*, III. 3056.)
17. *DC*, XXI. 8553. See para 177 *supra*.
18. *Trav.* 76.

Rāmāyaṇanāṭaka by Someśvaradeva;[1] Muditarāghava by Salakṛṣṇa;[2] Sītānanda by Tāṭācārya;[3] Rāmarājyābhiṣeka of Vīrarāghava;[4] Kṛtyārāvaṇa, Jānakīrāghava, Rāmābhinanda, Vālivadha, Chalitarāma, Nirdoṣadaśaratha, Māricavancitaka, Māyāpuṣpaka;[5] Abhirāmarāghava by Anapoṭanāyaka; Amogharāghava;[6] Abhinavarāghava of Kṣīraswāmin:[7] Prapanna-Vibhīṣaṇa of Lakṣmana Sūri;[8] Abhirāmamaṇi of Sundaramiśra;[9] Harṣāvasāna by Kanhyalal Pancatīrtha;[10] Raghuvīra-carita of Sukumāra;[11] Anjayenavijaya of Bhāṣyakara;[12] Janakajānandana of Nṛsimha;[13] Praudhābhirāma of Venkaṭanātha.[14]

MAHADEVA was son of Kṛṣṇasūri of Kaundinyagotra and lived at Palmaner in the Madras presidency. Nīlakantha was his contemporary and so he belongs to the first half of the 17th century. His Adbhutadarpaṇa narrates the progress of Rāma's war onwards from Hanūman's return from Ceylon.[15] RAMAKRSNA was the son of Tirumala of Vatsagotra and pupil of Ramendrasarasvatī. Probably owing to the surname Bhavabhūti he had, he thought of writing a play Uttaracarita to imitate Uttararāmacarita. It is said that he lived in the 18th century. He describes his family in the Colophon thus:[16]

श्रीमन्महाकुलप्रसूतस्य श्रीवत्सगोत्रस्य सकलविद्वज्जनमुकुटालंकारहीरस्य जगन्नाथभट्टारकपौत्रस्य काव्यनाटकालंकारसर्वज्ञस्य पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञस्य वेंकटाद्रिभट्टारकपुत्रस्य श्रीरामेंद्रसरस्वतीचरणारविंन्दसेवातत्परस्य श्रीमदनगोपालमंत्रचिन्तनापरस्य शब्दशास्त्रविशारदस्य सकलकला-

1. *PR*, III. ap. 396.
2. *CC*, II. 106.
3. *CC*, II. 2375.
4. *Tanj.* VIII. 3713.
5. Mentioned in *SD*, *SK*, *ND*, *BP*, *DR*, or *AB*.
6. Mentioned in *RS*.
7. Mentioned in *ND*. See Chapter on Alankāra post and Index.
8. Printed *Sah.* Vols. XX, XXII and XXIII. He also wrote a dima Ghoṣayātrā. For the author, see para 246 supra.
9. *CC*, I. 26. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*; II. 395. It was composed in 1599 A. D.
10. Printed, *Jl. of Sam, Sah. Par.* Calcutta.
11. *Trav.* 78.
12. *Mys.* 273.
13. *Mys.* 276.
14. *Mys.* 278.
15. Ed. Kavyamāla, Bombay. Mahadeva Sastri, author of Unmattarāghava (play) (*CC*, I. 66) and Mahādeva Kavīśācārya Sarasvatī, author of Dānakelikaumudī Bhāṇikā (*CC*, I. 244) are different.
16. *HR*, I. and *Extr.* 69.

प्रवीणस्य आश्रितजनरक्षणदक्षस्य तिरुमलभट्टारकस्य पुत्रेण भवभूतिना विरचितोत्तरचरितं नाम नाटकं समाप्तिमगमत् ।

ATIRATRA-YAJVAN was a younger brother of Nīlakantha and lived in the middle of the 17th century. He was himself well-versed in the *tantras* and *kratus*, besides being born a poet and commentator, he was a specialist in the Śaiva-Siddhānta. His Kuśa-kumudvatīyam, a drama in five acts, describes the loves of Kuśa, the eldest son of Rāma, and Kumudvatī, the princess of the Nāga race. He is also known to have written a poem called the Prati-Raghuvamśa, obviously on the history of the Solar race, and Tripuravijayacampū.[1]

780. On Bharata. Aśvamedhanātaka by Sumatijitāmitramalla-deva, king of Bhalgoan,[2] Pāndavavijaya by Jayarāmamahādeva,[3] [Draupadīswayamvara, Pāndāvānanda and Vilakṣa-Duryodhana],[4] Bhīmaparākrama by son of Śatānanda Abhinanda,[5] Abhimanyunātaka by Sāligrāma,[6] Ghoṣayātra of Śītalacandra.[7]

781. Puranic. Yayāticarita of Mayyan Rāmārya of Trivandram,[8] Bhaktivijaya of Śrī Dhūrjatīprasada Kāvyatīrtha,[9] Subhadrārjuna by Keśavaśāstrin,[10] Subhadrādhananjaya of Gururāma,[11] Subhadrāharana of Mādhavabhatta,[12] Subhadrāvijaya,[13] Candrikā-Janamejaya by Padmanābha,[14] Manmathābhyudaya by Venkateśa,[15] Prabhāvatīpradyumna

1. *Tanj.* VIII. 3378. See para 154 *supra*.
2. *CC*, III. 8.
3. Called also Sabhāparvanātaka. *HPR*, (1904). Pāndavānanda quoted by Dhanika is different.
4. Mentioned in *ND* and *AB*.
5. *TC*, IV. 4440. See para 59 *supra*. On the battle between Bhīma and Jarāsandha. Abhinavagupta mentions the play.
6. Printed, Calcutta. Here is a fine Nāndi :

गौरीबाहुलताशङ्खवलयांशुमिरञ्जसा ।
कृष्णोऽप्यर्जुनतां नीतः कण्ठो भमिस्यपातु वः ॥

7. Printed, Calcutta.
8. *Mys.* 281.
9. Printed, Calcutta.
10. *Trav.* 182.
11. *JSSP*, Calcutta, XI, on Prahlāda's story.
12. *CC*, I. 728.
13. *CC*, I. 728.
14. *TC*, IV. 5570.
15. *TC*, III. 3203. He was contemporary of a pupil of Nīlakantha (see para 154 *supra*).

by Rāmakṛṣṇa,[1] Hariścandracarita,[2] Uṣāniruddha by a king of Kāśi,[3] Revatībālānka by Puruṣottama,[4] Madanābhyudaya by Venkateśa,[5] Nateśavilāsa by king Śivāji of Tanjore,[6] Gangāvatarana,[7] Mangalanātaka by Jivānanda Jyotirvid,[8] Anarghanalacaritrā by Sudarśana,[9] Hariscandranātaka by Prabhākara Śrīnivasa,[10] Manmathavijaya by Venkatarāghava,[11] Anandacandrodaya by Rangilāla.[12]

782. Miscellaneous Natakas. Kalyāṇapuranjana by Tirumalācarya,[13] Jagadānanda by Harṣadeva, Samayasāra by Banarsidas Śekharanābha,[14] Candravilāsa (i) by Gangādhara,[15] (ii) by Rudraśarma Tripāthin,[16] Lingādurgabhedana by Paramānanda or Dādambhatta,[17] Kusumāvacaya by Madhusūdanasarasvati, Kamalā-Kanthīrava by Nārāyaṇādhvari, son of Lakṣmidhara,[18] Candrarekhāvidyādhara,[19] Nīlādricandrodaya by Vīrarāghavācārya of Puri,[20] Prabhāvata by Raghunātha,[21] Lakṣmidevanārāyaṇīya by Śrīdhara,[22] Gopīcandana,[23] Kalpanākalpaka by Śeṣagiri,[24] Śukābhipatana by Śrīnivāsa,[25] Śrīnivāsadayāvilāsa,[26] Sāhitīsamullāsa by Muddu Venkārya,[27] Siddhāntabherī by Sudarśanārya,[28] Muktācarita by Kṛṣṇakavi.[29]

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1. *CC*, II. 79.
2. Quoted in *SP*.
3. *BR*, 11.
4. *Tanj*. VIII. 3504.
5. *TC*, III, 3203.
6. It describes the story of the deity at Cidambaram.
7. *CC*, III. 30.
8. Printed, Benares. It is in 9 Acts on the greatness of Devi.
9. Printed, Bombay.
10. *Mys*. 287.
11. Printed, Bombay. *Trav* 186.
12. *Ulwar*, 993. Composed at Baroda in 1849.
13. *Mys*. 275. He was of Śathamarṣanagotra of Polepalli family and in the court of Polabhupāla of Gadval in Nizam's dominions in 17th century.
14. *Gough*, 203.
15. *CC*, II. 36.
16. *PR*, III. 209, 334.
17. Levi, *App*. 80, *CC*. I. 544.
18. *Tanj*. VIII. 3357. He lived in Brahmadeśam near Conjeevaram.
19. *Tanj*. VIII. 3394.
20. Printed Conjeevaram. It mentions King Mukundadeva of Orissa in the Prologue.
21. *Mys*, 278.
22. *Trav*. 78.
23. *CC*, I. 163.
24. *Mys*. 275.
25. *Mys*. 284.
26. *Mys*. 285.
27. *Mys*. 286.
28. Mys. 256.
29. *Ulwar*, 1017.

783. **Prakarana.** Sāktivāsakumāra's. Anangasenā-Harinandinī; Amātya Śankaka's Citrotpalāvalambitaka, Tarangadatta, Puṣpadūṣitaka, Prayogābhyudaya, and Padmāvatīpariṇaya,[1] Candrakānta's Kaumudīsudhākara,[2] Gaṇapatiśāstrin's Mādhavīvasantīya.[3]

Devīpariṇaya and Nalavikrama,[4] Udayanacarita and Vidhivilasita,[5] [Vikrānta-Śūdraka, Mayūramārjālikā, Vedikā, Matsyahasita, Bhīmakulyā, Ratīvilāsa, Lakṣmīsvayamvara, Subhadrāharaṇa, Rāsakānka, Mudrāsuveda, Śālinīsamvāda, and Saṭakarṇīharaṇa],[6] [Kāmadatta, Ramānanda, Maheśvarānanda, Kandarpasambhava and Vīrānanda],[7] Vakratundagaṇanāyaka.[8]

In Padmaprābhṛtaka, Sūdraka quotes from a drama Kumudvatī:

कुमुद्वती प्रकरणे शूर्पकसक्तां राजदारिकां धात्री रहस्यमुपालभंत—

उन्मत्ते नैव तावत् स्तनविषमयुरो नोद्गता रोमराजिः
नव्युत्पन्नासि च त्वं व्यपनय युवतीदोहलं दुर्विदग्धे ।
व्युत्पन्नाभिस्सखीभिस्सततमविनयग्रन्थमध्याप्यसे त्वं
केनेदं बालपक्के मनसिजकदनं कर्तुमभ्युत्थितासि ॥

KRSNADASA's Kalāvatī-Kamarūpam describes the marriage of Kalāvati and Kāmarūpa, son of King Kāmaketu of Kāśī, after rescuing her from the hands of a Rākṣasa who carried her away.[9] KAVIVALLABHA's Abhirāmacitralekham is a long drama in 10 acts describing the marriage of Abhirāma and Citralekhā, daughter of Bhujangarāja. It is said to have been enacted at Śrīrangam at Caitra festival.[10]

784. **Natika.** Anangavatī; Indūlekhā; Bhattaśrī Bhavanutacūda's Kauśalikā,[11] Indumatī and Citralekhā,[12] Padmāvatī,[13] Vāsantikā of

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1. Mentioned in *ND* or *AS*.
2. Printed, Calcutta.
3. *Trav.* 180. See para 247 *supra*.
4. Mentioned in *ND*.
5. Mentioned in *BP*.
6. Mentioned in *SP*.
7. Mentioned in *RS*.
8. *CC*, I. 54.
9. *DC*, XXI. 8391. Manuscript breaks off in fifth Act. The author lived in Malabar in the end of 18th century A.D.
10. *TC*, III. 3984. A Kavivallabha is mentioned as having composed Ādityabhattīya (a Dharma Sastra). See *TC*, III. 3683.
11. Mentioned in *ND*.
12. Mentioned in *SP*.
13. Mentioned in *RS*.

Rāmacandra,[1] Candraprabhā,[2] Kuvalayāvatī of Kṛṣṇakaviśekhara,[3] Rāmānka of Dharmagupta,[4] Candrakala (i) of Nārāyaṇa[5] and ii) of Viśvanāthakavirāja,[6] Śṛngāravāpikā of Viśvanāthabhatta.[7]

785. **Vyayoga.** Nṛsimhavijaya,[8] Vijayavikrama by Āryasūrya o Kaundinyagotra,[9] Bhīmaparakrama,[10] or Jarāsandhavyāyoga, Vinatānanda or Pracandagaruda of Govinda, son of Śeṣayagneśvara,[11] Pracandabhairava of Sadāśiva,[12] Jāmadagnyavijaya,[13] Vikrāntarāghavīya by Śrīkṛṣṇa and Vīraraghavīya by Pradhāni Venkatabhūpati.[14]

786. **Prahasana,**[15] Candānuranjana of Ghanaśyāma,[16] Kuhanābhairava of Ayyalunātha of Bommaganti family of the Circars;[17] Mundita;[18] Ānandakośā,[19] Bṛhatsubhadraka,[20] Dhūrtacarita,[21] Dhūrtavidambana by Maheśvara,[22] Dhūrtanartana by Sāmarāja,[23] Hāsyaratnakara.[24]

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1. *IO*, 2343 composed in 16–17th century A.D. There is a peom Vāsantikāpariṇaya of Narasimha (*CC*, I. 566).
2. *CC*, I. 181.
3. *CC*, III. 25.
4. *CC*, I. 268. Written in 1310 A.D.
5. *CC*, I. 179.
6. Quoted in his *SD*.
7. *IO*, VII. 4196.
8. *DC*, XXI 8410. *TC*, I. R. No. 821.
9. *TC*, II. 1751.
10. *TC*, IV. 4440. There is Bhimavikrama of Mokṣāditya, *Cat. of Br. Museum*, 273.
11. *Tanj*. VIII. 3641. *CC*, I. 576, II. 77. He lived at Benares and was a native of Nandipura a village on the Godavari. He also wrote Gopālalīlārṇavabhāṇa (*Tanj*. VIII. 3577). Govinda Kavibhuṣaṇa, author of Samṛddhamādhava (*CC*, III. 36) is different.
12. *Tanj*. VIII. 3639.
13. Printed, Bombay, Calcutta and Mysore. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 374. There is commentary by Rāmakṛṣṇa, *CSC*, 226.
14. *Mys*. 288.
15. O. Capeller, *Zwei Prahasanas*, Gurupujamaumudi, Leipzig.
16. *Tanj*. VIII. 3620. On the author, see para 166 *supra*.
17. *TC*, III. 3251.
18. *CC*, I. 8.
19. Mentioned in *RS*.
20. Mentioned in *RS*.
21. Mentioned in *SD*, 536.
22. *CC*, I. 272
23. *CC*, I. 272. See para 757 *supra*. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 407.
24. Mentioned in *DR*, *Int*. p. 30.

Nāṭavāṭa of Yadunandana, son of Vāsudeva Cayanī,[1] Sāndrakutūhala of Kṛṣṇadatta,[2] Palāṇḍumaṇḍaṇa,[3] Pāṣaṇḍaviḍambana,[4] Payodhimathana,[5] Vinodaraṅgā,[6] Mithyācāra of Vaidyanātha, Kāleyakautūhala by Bhāradvaja,[7] Venkateśaprahasana by Venkateśvara,[8] Kālikaṇṭakuṭuka by Rāmakṛṣṇa,[9] Subhagānanda by Vāsudevanarendra *alias* Śrīvatsāṅka,[10] Kautukasarvasva by Gopīnātha,[11] Hāsyārṇava by Jagadīśa,[12] Kālikeli,[13] Kandarpakeli,[14] Hṛdayavinoda of Kavi Paṇḍita,[15] Bhānuprabandha of Venkateśa,[16] Devadurgati of Rammoy;[17]

Sandilyaparivrājaka;[18] Somavallīyogānanda by Aruṇagirinātha;[19] Mattavilāsa by Mahendravikrama Varman;[20] Kukṣimbharibhaikṣava by Pradhāni Venkata Bhūpati, Kukṣimbhari by Venkaṭācārya and Kuhanābhaikṣava by Tirumalānātha;[21] Lokaranjana by Śrīnivāsācārya.[22]

SANKHADHARA flourished in the Court of king Govindacandra of Kanouj[23] in the 12th century A.D. His Laṭakamelaka describes the marriages of Danṭura and Madanamanjarī and is called also Danṭurāpariṇaya.[24]

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1. Printed, Bombay.
2. *CC*, I. 707.
3. *CC*, I. 330.
4. *CC*, I. 386.
5. Mentioned in *RS*.
6. *CC*, I. 577.
7. Ed. Poona; *CC*, I. 396.
8. *CC*, I. 602. He is called Kālidāsa.
9. *BR*, (1897) 1.
10. *CC*, I. 727, *Tanj*. VIII. 3634. He was another name Govindaśrīvatsāṅa and appears to have been a chief in Kashmir.
11. *CC*, I. 131, III. 28. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 410 and by Cappeller in Gurupujakaumudi, Leipzig, 59-62.
12. Ed. by Capeller, Jena; Ed. Oxford; Ed. Calcutta with Bengali translation. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 408-9; *IC*, VII. 4191-3 with an English translation.
13. Mentioned in *RS*.
14. Mentioned in *SD*. 534-5.
15. *CC*, II. 237.
16. *CC*, I. 405.
17. Printed, Calcutta.
18. *Mys. Sup*. 13.
19. *Tanj*. VIII. 4637; *Mys*. 28. See para 185 *supra*.
20. See para 48 *supra*. Keith, *SD*, 182; *Mys. Sup*. 12. T. N. Ramachandran *The Royal Artist, Mahendravarman*, *JOR*, VII 219, 303.
21. *Mys*. 275.
22. *Mys*. 268, 182.
23. See *IA*, XIX 249 for grants dated Sam. 1161 and 1188.
24. Printed, Bombay.

HARIJIVANAMISRA was the son of Lātamiśra, and was patronised by a King named Rāmasimha. He lived in the 17th century A.D.[1] A manuscript of his Vijayaparājitanātaka is dated Sam. 1730. He wrote also prahasanas, Prasangikā, Sahṛdayanandana, Vibudhamohana and Adbhutaranga.

KAVIṬARKIKA was the son of Vāṇīnātha. He was Court Chaplain of King Māṇikyadeva of Bhuluya, one of the 12 independent chiefs who ruled in Bengal at the time of Moghul invasion in 16th century A.D. His Kautukaratnākara is a pleasant prahasana ridiculing an imbecile king who relies on some knaves to recover his abducted queen.[2]

787. **Bhana.**[3] Śṛngārarātnākara by Sundaratātācārya,[4] Anangalatikā,[5] Anangasarvasva of Lakṣmīnarasimha,[6] Pancabāṇavijaya of Rangācārya,[7] Pancabāṇavilāsa,[8] Pancāyudhaprapanca of Trivikrama,[9] Madanagopālavilāsa of Rāma,[10] Rasikāmṛta of Śankaranārāyaṇa,[11] Rasollāsa of Śrīnivāsavedāntācārya,[12] Sṛngaraśṛngātaka of Ranganātha.[13]

Rasikaranjana of Śrīnivāsa, son of Nṛsimha of Prativādibhayankara family,[14] Mukundānanda[15] of Kāsīpati, son of Ramāpati of Kaundinya-gotra, a nameless bhāṇa,[16] Sarasakavikulānanda of Rāmacandra of

1. *CC.* I. 570.
2. *IO*, VII. 1618, 4197; *CC*, I. 131, II. 25. Analysed by Cappeller in *Gurupujākaumudi*, Leipzig, 62–3.
3. See Analyse *d'un monologue dramatique indien*, Paris.
4. *Gough*, 188.
5. *Levi*, App. 73.
6. *Tanj*. VII. 3574.
7. *CC*, I. 315. Printed Madras.
8. *CC*, I. 315.
9. *CC*, I, 317, II. 261. It was composed in Śaka 1727.
10. *CC*, I. 425, II. 97.
11. *HR*, II. viii. He began to write poetry in his 11th year.
12. *Tanj*. VIII. 3589; *TC*, I. 1013. He lived at Bhutapuri (Śriperumbadur) near Conjeevaram.
13. *CC*, II. 158.
14. He was Principal of Free Sanskrit College, Coimbatore. He died about 1900.
15. Printed, Bombay and Madras. Enacted at the festival at Bhadragiri, Bhadrācalam near Nutanapuram, probably in the Circars.
16. *TC*, III. 3435 probably written at Trichur, Cochin State.

Vellāla family,[1] Manmathamodana by Kadayokudi Subrahmaṇyaśāstri,[2] Vasantabhūṣaṇa by Varadārya of Bhāradvājagotra.[3]

Sāradātilaka[4] (i) of Śankara[5] and (ii) of Śeṣagiri,[6] Śṛngāramanjarī (i) anonymous[7] and (ii) of Avadhāna Sarasvatī of Kāncī,[8] Madanabhūṣaṇa of Appākavi,[9] Śṛngārāṣṭabaka of Nṛsimha of Haritagotra,[10] Rasaratnākara of Jayanta,[11] Śṛngārajīvana of Varada of Kouśikagotra,[12] Śṛngāratarangiṇī of Rāmabhadra,[13] Śṛngāracandrikā of Śrīnivāsa of Śrīvatsagotra,[14] Śṛngārasundara of Īśvaraśarma of Bimbali,[15] Śṛngāratarangiṇī of Venkatācārya of Surapuram,[16] Śṛngaravāpika of Viśvanātha,[17] Anangamangala by Sundara,[18] Śṛngaradīpaka by Venkaṭādhvarin[19] Harivilāsa by Haridāsa.[20]

Anangajīvana,[21] Anangavijaya (*a*) of Śivarāmakṛṣṇa of Gautamagotra,[22] (*b*) of Jagannātha[23] Kandarpavijaya of Ghanaguru, of Kauśikagotra,[24] Candrarekhāvilāsa,[25] Mahiṣamangala by a Nambūdri brahmin of Puruvana in Malabar.[26]

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1. *TC*, II. 1430. Enacted at Bhadrachelam in Godavari District.
2. *Sah.* VII.
3. *TC*, I. 1019. See Levi, *App.* 80. He was desciple of Varadadeśika who was himself disciple of Śrutaprakāśikācārya.
4. *CC*, I. 643. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre*, II. 384.
5. *CC*, I. 642, *Mys.* 284. Analysed by Wilson, *Theatre.* II. 384.
6. *Mys.* 284. He was teacher of Maharaja Kṛṣṇaraja Odayar of Mysore. It is full of *śabdālankara.*
7. *TC*, V. 6306. The author wrote a poem Rāmacandrodaya.
8. *Tanj.* VIII. 3599.
9. *Tanj.* VIII. 3582. See para 162 supra. *JOR*, III. 71.
10. *Tanj.* VIII. 3607.
11. *TC*, V. 6209. He lived at Śriperumbadur near Chinglepat.
12. *CC*, I. 661.
13. *CC*, I. 660.
14. *CC*, II. 157 ; *TC*, III. 2989.
15. *Trav.* 79.
16. *CC*, I. 660.
17. Analysed in *IO*, VII, 4196 ; *CC*, I. 661, II. 158. He was son of Mahādeva.
18. *CC*, I. 12.
19. *CC*, I. 661.
20. *CC*, II. 183.
21. *DC*, XXI. 8342 ; *Tanj.* VIII. 3566. He was the paternal uncle of Venkaṭadhvari, the author of Viśvaguṇādarśa.
22. *DC*, XXI. 8347. Enacted at Vamalur and composed at the instance of King Narasamahipāla, son of Cikkadevaraya and his son Kṛṣṇayuvarāja of that place.
23. *Tanj.* VIII. 3575 probably of Vizianagar. See para 124 *supra.*
24. *DC*, XXI. 8381. Enacted at Srirangam. See para 163 *supra.*
25. *DC*, XXI. 8401. Enacted at Kolahalarājadhāni.
26. *DC*, XXI. 8455. Composed at the instance of King Rājarājavarma of Cochin.

[Kāmakalāvilasa by Pradhāni Venkatabhūpati, Taruṇābhūṣaṇa by Śaṭhakopa, Madanagopāla by Svayambhūnātha, Madanasāmrājya by Bhujanga, Rasodara by Surapuram Aṇṇayārya, Śrīranganāthabhāṇa by Śrīnivāsa, Śṛngāravilāsa by Sāmbaśiva, Sārasvatollāsa by Venkatarāma, Kaiṭavakalācāndra and Śṛngāravilasiṭa by Nārāyaṇa.][1]

Anangamangala by Sundara Kavi,[2] Anangasarvasva by Lakṣmīnṛsimha,[3] Gopālalīlārṇava by Govinda,[4] Kāmavilāsa by Venkappa,[5] Kusumabāṇavilāsa,[6] Rasavilāsa by Cokkanātha,[7] Rasikajanaraśollāsa by Venkata,[8] Rasikajanamānasollāsa,[9] Śṛngaramanjari and Śṛngārarāja by Gopālaroya.[10]

Śāradānandana of Śrīnivāsācārya, son of Varadācārya of Kauśikagoṭra,[11] Śṛngarādīpaka by Vinjumūri Raghavācārya,[12] Śṛngārapāvana of Vaidyanātha son of Kṛṣṇakavi of Śrīvaṭsāgoṭra,[13] Śṛngārarasodaya of Rāmakavi, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Kāśyapagoṭra,[14] Śṛngāraṭilaka of Avināśiswāmi, son of Rāma of Aṭreyagoṭra,[15] Śṛngārasarvasva (*a*) of Swāmi Śastri, son of Anantanārāyaṇa of Hārīṭagoṭtra,[16] (*b*) of Kauśika Nallabudha,[17] (*c*) of Vedāntācārya of Bhāradvājagoṭra,[18] Harivilāsa by Haridāsa.[19]

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1. *Mys*. 225–287, 637-7 ; *Sup*. 12.
2. *CC*, I. 12.
3. *CC*, I. 12.
4. *CC*, I. 163. He also wrote Vinaṭānandavyāyoga (*CC*, I. 576).
5. *CC*, I. 93.
6. *CC*, I. 113.
7. *CC*, II. 116.
8. *CC*, III. 106.
9. *Mys*. 281.
10. *CC*, II. 158, 160.
11. *DC*, XXI. 8533. He lived at Sriperambadur, Chingleput Dt.
12. *DC*, XXI. 8534. He lived at Conjeevaram.
13. *DC*, XXI. 8535. He lived at Tiruvalur, Tanjore Dt. He mentioned various works of his in the prologue mostly sṭoṭras in praise of Siva and Pārvaṭī.
14. Ed. Bombay. *DC*, XXI. 8539. He lived at Lingamagunta in Guntur Dt.
15. *DC*, XXI. 8540. Enacted at Varadarājapura near Srirangapatam during the days of Śamarāja, King of Mysore in the later part of the 19th century. He was of Vandavāśi family.
16. *DC*, XXI. 8542. He lived at Trichinopoly. He was the author of a commentary on the Mudrārākṣasa, *DC*, XXI. 8468.
17. *Tanj*. VIII. 3609. He was son of Balacandra and Kinsman of Rāmabhadra Dikṣiṭa. See *IA*, XXXIII.
18. *Tanj*. VIII. 3611. He lived under Rāmabhadra Naik of Madura of the 16th century A.D. Enac at Tirupati.
19. *DC*, XXI, 8563. He lived at Praudha-Devarayapuram.

Śṛṅgārarasabhṛṅgāra by Indraganti Kondasūri, son of Nārāyaṇa,[1] Madanalīlādarpaṇa by Padmanābha, son of Lakṣmaṇa and Venkamāmba.[2]

Kālikeliyaṭrā on the festival of Bhadrakāli at Kotilinga or Cranganoor and Madanamahotsava,[3] a satire on contemporary society[4] of Śrīkantha alias Nanjunda, of Āṭreyagoṭra.

Vallavīpallavollāsa by Manjulācārya alias Kṛṣṇamūrṭi Kumāra, of Vasiṣṭhagoṭra of the Circars,[5] Vasanṭabhūṣaṇa by Nṛsimhasūri, of Vangipuram;[6] Śṛṅgāracandrikā by Śrīnivāsa, son of Varada of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra,[7] Anangaṭilaka by his son Ranganāṭha,[8] Śṛṅgārasanjīvana by Śathajiṭ Kavi of Bhāradvājagoṭra,[9] Madanalīlādarpaṇa of Padmanābha,[10] Śṛṅgāralīlāṭilaka of Bhāskara.[11]

Pancabāṇavijaya by Rangaraya,[12] son of Bhāvaṇācārya of Vādhūlagoṭra, Madanavijaya by Śeṣācārya, son of Vikkirāla family of Kālahasṭi,[13] Madanābhyudaya of Kṛṣṇamūrṭi,[14] Manmaṭhābhyudaya of Venkateśa.[15]

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1. *TC*, III. 3175 Enacted at Srisailam in the Circars at the festival of Mallikārjuna. He says he also wrote Maheśamanasamahṭsava, probably a poem.

2. *TC*, III. 3177. Enacted at Benares at Caitra festival. He was a Telugu Brahmin of Kotipalli, Godavari district. He also wrote the Ṭripuravijayavāyoga (*Ibid.* III. 3370) where see for fuller information.

3. *DC*, XXI. 8398.

4. *DC*, XXI. 8442. He mentioned Cidambara Kavi as one of his Gurus. He lived at Bālavyāghrapura (Sirupuliyur).

5. *TC*, III. 3696. There is another anonymous bhāṇa of this name. (*Ibid* III. 2873).

6. *TC*, III. 3748. He was a native of Parānkusapuram (Ponvalainda Kalattur, Chinglepul Dt.) Enacted at festival at Conjeevaram.

7. *TC*, III. 2989. He was the daughter's son of Vīrarāghava, probably of Conjeevaram.

8. *TC*, III. 3173. Enacted at Srirangam.

9. *Ibid*. III. 304. The author's father migrated to Gctāla on the Godāvari from Conjeevaram. Enacted at the festival of Sanṭānagopāla at Ellore and was patronised by King Venkatanarasimha, probably of Nuzvid.

10. *TC*, III. 3177. He also wroṭe Ṭripuravijayavyāyoga.

11. Printed *JSSP*, XVII June. He was a poet of Kerala patronised by a Sri Vikramadeva.

12. *TC*, II. 2068. Printed, Madras and Calcutta. He wrote also Rāmānujacampu and Ranganāyakīsaunḍaryasṭuṭi. Enacted at Srirangam.

13. Printed Madras. He was Sanskrit Pandit, C. S. Mission College, Vellore.

14. *TC*, II. 2073, III. 2873. He is the author of Yakṣollāsa. See para 319 *supra*. He was also called Abhinava-Kāliḍāsa but he was of Vāsisthagoṭra.

15. *TC*, III. 3203.

Vilāsabhūṣaṇa by Venkata Kṛṣṇa of Bhāradvājagotra,[1] Caturī çandrikā by Venkatārya, son of Śaraṇyapāda,[2] Śṛngārakośa[3] by Girvāṇendra[4] and Kandarpadarpaṇa (i) by his son Śrīkantha,[5] and (ii) by Śrīkṛṣṇa,[6] Śṛngāramanjarī by Viśvanātha,[7] Madanavilāsa by Nāganātha,[8] Kāminīkāmukollāsa.[9]

788. **Sarada** is mentioned by Saluva Narasimha as the authoress of eighteen plays and several poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit :

गद्यपद्यमयैः काव्यैस्साष्टादशनाटकैः ।
साकं प्राकृतकाव्यैश्च साहित्यं शारदाभ्यधात् ॥

Rāmābhyudaya I.

789. In Vīrabhadravijaya, EKAMBARA DIKSITA gives a pedigree of Kempe Gauda Chiefs of Yelamanka, Mysore (1418-1728 A.D.) and he flourished in the Court of the last of the line, Mummadi Kempe Gauda (1705-1728 A.D.)

790. Like Vatsaraja, PRADHANI VENKATABHUPATI of Mysore wrote plays of different species, Rukmiṇīsvayamvara (anka) Kukṣimbharibhaikṣava (prahasaṇa), Kāmakalāvilāsa (bhāṇa) Urvasī-sārvabhouma (īhāmṛaga), Vibudhadānava (samavākāra), Vīrarāghavavijāya (vyāyoga), Sītakalyāṇa (vīthī), and on poetics Alankāramaṇidarpaṇa.[11]

वीचीस्थाने सहस्रं मरतकपरिस्विस्पार्धि बिभ्रद्भुजाना-
मुत्फेनो हारजालैररुणरुचिरनन्ताहिरत्नप्रभाभिः ।
बिभ्राणः शङ्खमन्तश्चरमचरमनिर्वापणीयं च तेजः
पायाद्वः शार्ङ्गधन्वा शयित इव समुद्रैकदेशे समुद्रः ॥

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1. *TC*, II. 2228. Probably of the Circars. Enacted at the festival of Bhadrachellam.
2. *TC*, II. 2342. Probably a resident of Tirupati, Chittoor District staged at the festival at Tirupati.
3. *Tanj.* VIII. 4649 ; *TC*, I. 989. He resided at Conjeevaram.
4. *Tanj.* VIII. 3596.
5. *Tanj.* VIII. 3575
6. *Mys. Sup.* 12.
7. *TC*, II. 2618. He was a poet in the Court of Vemayamantri.
8. *TC*, II. 2669.
9. *TC*, II. 2619.
10. See Puttaiya, *The Kempe Ganda Chiefs* (*JMys*, XIII. 724) ; *Mys. Gazetteer* (1897), II. 20 ; *Memoirs of Mysore*, Vol. II.
11. *Mys.* 274-287, 296. There is Uddhṛtavṛkodara (prekṣaṇaka) by Bhāgavata Kṛṣṇa also of Mysore, (*Mys.* 274).

सोमालङ्कृतमस्तु वस्तु कुशलस्तोमाय वामाङ्गक-
च्छायाबालतृणालिचर्वणकलाचञ्चन्मृगाञ्चत्करम् ।
सव्यार्धस्फुरदंशुजालकलमश्रेणीशिखाखण्डना-
कुण्ठोत्कण्ठशुकार्भकप्रविलसद्दामप्रकोष्ठाञ्चलम् ॥

लक्ष्मीर्घर्मजलच्छलेन सुधया दन्तच्छदच्छद्मना
सोदर्येण च कौस्तुभेन शकलेनेन्दोर्ललाटात्मना ।
पाणिस्पर्शविधावमीभिरुचितैर्नीतेव दातुं विभो-
रालम्ब्याङ्गमधोक्षजस्य भवतां कामप्रसूः कल्पताम् ॥

शम्भोस्तत्प्रथमं विहारभवनं सम्भाविताया रहः
स्तम्भोपान्तनिगूढसस्मितसखीनेत्राम्बुजैरर्चिता ।
चूडाचन्द्रसुलक्षिता मणिमये दीपेऽपि हस्तावृते
देव्याः प्रेमभय(र)त्नपाशबलिता मुग्धा स्थितिः पातु वः ॥

एकं तत् पितरौ समस्तजगतामेणाङ्करेखाङ्कितं
कारुण्यायतनं वपुर्दिशतु वः काङ्क्षाधिकां संपदम् ।
यस्यार्धेन पितामहोऽपि पितृमानर्धेन च श्रीमता
मेनाजानिरवद्यवाग्विजयते मेरोः सहायो गिरिः ॥

विघ्नेशो वः स पायाज्जलनिधिमखिलं पुष्कराग्रेण पीत्वा
यस्मिन्नुद्धृत्य हस्तं विसृजति सकलं दृश्यते व्योम्नि देवैः ।
क्वाप्यम्भः क्वापि विष्णुः क्व च(न) कमलभूः क्वाप्यनन्तः क्व शैलाः
क्वाप्यौर्वः क्वापि मत्स्याः क्व चन मणिगणाः क्वापि नक्रादिचक्रम् ॥

श्रीमद्धाम समामनन्ति कमलं तद्बान्धवं वा ययो-
रक्षीन्दीवररूपमाहुरथवा तद्बन्धुरूपं बुधाः ।
सावर्ण्यं तटिता वपुः शुभतरं धत्तेऽथवा तद्धृता
भूयास्तां भुजगेन्द्रशैलवसती तौ दंपती संपदे ॥

BOOK VI

Sahitya Sastra

CHAPTER XXIII.

Sahitya Sastra.

791. Sahityasastra in its broadest meaning embraces the science of all poetic art, be it poetry for the eye (dṛśya) or poetry for the ear (śravya), that is, all that a critic (sahṛdaya) would expect in ideal poetic compositions.[1] The words Alankāra and Rasa used by Bharaṭa had come to be collated and annotated by his followers and early writers like Bhāmaha and Ḍandin, and the result was the advent of an elaborate literature of rhetorical lore, which by the correlation of matter came to embrace many subsidiary thoughts relating to poetry, faultless and meritorious.

Strictly speaking, the word Alankāraśāsṭra, though even now understandable in this expanded sphere, was replaced by the word Sāhiṭyasāsṭra as early as the 8th to 9th century. A. D. Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāmsa has:

आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयीविद्या दण्डनीतयश्चतस्रो विद्या इति कौटिल्यः । पञ्चमी साहित्यविद्या इति यायावरीयः । सा हि चतसृणामपि विद्यानां निष्यन्दः । शब्दार्थयोर्यथावत् सहभावेन साहित्यविद्या ॥

There have been more than 30 treatises, named with the word Sāhiṭya, and it may be roughly said that latterly the word Alankāra has been used in names of treatises more for a limited sphere of treatment of alankāra (figures of speech) and rasa (sentiment). The word sāhiṭya is "derived from सहित=सम्×धा×क्त by the rule समो वा हिततयोः meaning coherence, or (?) from सहित=सह हितेन meaning the quality of that which is attended with good."

Viśvanāṭha's Sāhiṭyadarpaṇa may be taken as the type of treatises comprehending all spheres of the poetic science, viz.

(i) KAVYALAKSANA—theory and definition of poetry with reference to its soul (āṭman) or essence, rasa, alankāra, rīṭi, ḍhvani, vakrokṭi, &c.

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1. On the history of Alankara literature, see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*; *Orientalia*, II. 207. (The outlines of Rasa theory, from Bharata to Jagannātha); Vamanacharya, *Int. to Kavyaprakasa*; Durgaprasad, *Int. to Sahityadarpana*; P. V. Kane, *IA*, XLI. 124; Jacobi, *ZDMG*. LVI, 392; Winternitz, *IL*. III. 4; Medapalli Venkataramanacarya, *Alankaracaritra* (in Telugu); and Ints. to Nāṭyadarpaṇa and Bhavaprakāśana in *GOS*. Baroda; V. V. Sovani, *Pre-Dhvani Schools of Alankara*.

(ii) SABDAVYAPARA—denolation of words abhidhā, lakṣaṇā and vyanjanā, a philosophy of language or Hermemeutics.

(iii) NAYAKA AND NAYAKI,—hero and heroine and their relations and moods and classes.

(iv) RASA—sentiments including their anecedent and resultant emotions.

(These two heads cover Kāmaśāstra or erotics).

(v) GUNA AND DOSA—merits and faults of poetry, classes of poetry, dṛśya and śravya, padya and gadya and their varieties.

(vi) NATYASASTRA—dramaturgy, all about the drama in its several varieties except the music and the dancing.

(vii) ALANKARA proper—figures of speech.

Thrse are treatises dealing with all those topics or some or one of them only and all these go under the title Alankraśāstra or Sāhitya-śāstra.

To state briefly, therefore, Sāhitya or Alankāraśāstra means the Science of poetry. It embraces in its sphere, theory of poetry, the origin, form and variety of poet's work, its faults and merits, and a description of several embellishments which distinguish poetic from unpoetic compositions. In its widest sense it covers the field of music, dancing and erotics.

792. The earliest literature of the Hindus is poetic and is the natural effusion of man's instinct. But poetics as a science must be of later origin, for without a volume of poetry *(lakṣya)* there cannot be a science *(lakṣana)* dealing with the regulation of its composition. Tradition says that Goddess of Learning, Sarasvati, created Kavya-purușha as the Personification of Poetry, and the Creator sent him down to the human world for the propogation of poetics. In 18 chapters, he taught the subject to his seventeen pupils.[1] The several topics were embodied by these desciples in separate treatises, Kavirahasya by Sahasrākṣha, Auktika by Uktigarbha, Rītinirṇaya by Suvarṇaṇābha, Anuprāsa by Prācetāyana, Yamaka and Citra by Citrāngada, Sabda-sleṣa by Śeṣa, Vāstava by Pulastya, Upamā by Aupakāyana, Atiśaya by Parāśara, Arthaśleṣa by Utathya, Ubhayālankārika by Kubera, Vainodika by Kāmadeva, Rūpaka by Bharata, Rasadhikāra by Nandi-

1. Batuknath Bhattacharya's *A brief survey of Sahityasastra JDL*, Calcutta University, 1923, p. 97 et seq).

keśvara, Ḍoṣa by Ḍhiṣaṇa, Guṇa by Upamanyu and Aupaniṣadika by Kucimāra. These references are given by Rājaśekhara in Kāvya-mīmāṁsa (I. 1.)

It has been thought fashionable to treat these accounts as fictitious, but when we see that much of the earliest literature has been lost and replaced by later compendia, which, on account of the ease of study, have tended to throw the older treatises into oblivion, it is possible that these traditional accounts are not after all a fraud. Opinions of many of these early writers are noticed in later works and Vāṭsyāyana in his Kāmasūṭras cites some of them for their views.[1]

793. The Samhiṭas of the Veḍas contain much that is poetic and use[2] figures of speech like simile, nature, hyperbole. The essence of all poetic art is thus summed up :

"एकश्शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुक् भवति।"

The supreme Spirit is described as Pleasure, ANANDA, and (the embodiment of) RASA, essence of sweetness.[3] But a regular theory of poetics is not traceable in the Vedic literature.

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1. See chapter on KAMASASTRA *post*.

2. (i) अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम् ।
जायेवपत्य उशती सुवासा उषाहस्रेव निरिणीती अप्सः ॥ (Rk, I. 124-7)

(ii) सूर्यस्येव वक्षथो ज्योतिरेषां समुद्रस्येव महीमा गभीरः ।
वातस्येव प्रजवो नान्येन स्तोमो वसिष्ठा अन्येतवे वः ॥

3.

(iii) तमेकनेमिं त्रिवृतं षोडशान्तं शतार्धारं विंशतिप्रत्पराभिः ।
अष्टकैष्षड्भिर्विश्वरूपैकपाशं त्रिमार्गभेदं द्विनिमित्तैकमोहम् ॥

(iiv) द्वासुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृत्तं परिषस्वजाते ।
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ति अनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति ॥ (Rk, VII. 33-8)

(v) चत्वारि शृङ्गास्त्रयो अस्य पादाः द्वे शीर्षे सप्तहस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महादेवो मर्त्यांनाविवेश ॥ (Rk, IV. 58-3)

(i) रण्वं क्षेत्रमिव । (Rk, X. 33-6)

(ii) अफलामपुष्पां वाचम् । Rk. X. 71-5)

(iii) दिवित्मता वाचः । (Rk, I. 26-2)

(iv) ब्रह्मैव रसः । रसो वै सः । आनन्दं परब्रह्मणो रूपम् ।

794. AMONG PURANAS Agnipurana has some chapters on poetics.[1] It mentions gesticulations, figures of speech and faults and merits of poetry. and describes the figures of speech Yamaka, Citra, Upamā, Rūpaka, Sahokṭi, Arṭhānṭaranyāsa, Uṭprekṣa, Aṭiśaya, Vibhāvana, Viroḍha and Heṭu. The enumeration is sufficiently scanty that it is quite in keeping with the antiquity of the Purāṇas. The name of Bharaṭa is cited, but it is not conclusive to determine the relative priority of the extant Nāṭyaśāstra and these chapters of Agnipurāṇa, because the origin of the name of Bharaṭa and his work is lost in remote antiquity.

795. YASKA speaks of Upamā thus:

अथात उपमा । यदेतत् तत्सदृशमितिगार्ग्यस्तदानां कर्म ज्यायसा वा गुणेन प्रख्याततमेन वा कनीयांसं वा प्रख्यातं वा उपमीयते । अथापि कनीयसा ज्यायांसम् ॥

796. PANINI has:

उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिस्सामान्याप्रयोगे ।—II. i. 56.
उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ।—IV. i. 55.
अत एव चोपमा सूर्यकादिवत् ।—I. iv. 1.

797. BHARATA'S NATYASASTRA is, as we have it, the earliest work on poetics. Bharaṭa lays down that RASA is the essence of poetry, though his conception of poetry is dramatic. He enumerates 36 Lakṣaṇas or embellishments, 4 poetic types and 10 poetic merits and faults. But the Lakṣaṇas were either included by later writers, under the heads of Guṇas or Alankāras, or classed as Nāṭyālankāras. Guṇa and Alankāra are according to Bharaṭa subsidiary to Rasa.

Bharaṭa thus describes the genesis of Rasa:

अत्राह—यदाऽन्योन्यार्थसंभूतैर्विभावानुभावव्यंजितैरेकोनपंचाशता भावैः सामान्यगुणयोगेनाभिनिष्पद्यते रसस्तत्कथं स्थायिन एव भावा रसत्वमाप्नुवन्ति । उच्यते......बह्वाश्रयत्वात्

1. Chapter 336-347. S K. De (SP. 103-4) says that these chapters are later interpolations copied from Dandin and Bhāmaha. It is too much to say that after the days of Dandin and Bhāmaha, when the Purāṇas were widely known, any such interpolations could have been contemplated at all. S. K. De himself admits that the tradition of opinion embodied in the Agnipurāṇa was developed by Bhoja and Bhoja was not an author who could not discover a fraud or would show regard to such a late interpolation.

Maheśvara in the commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa says:

अग्निपुराणादिभ्य उद्धृत्य काव्यरसास्वादकारणं अलङ्कारशास्त्रं भरतमुनिः कारिकाभिः संक्षिप्य प्रणिनाय ।

So says Baladeva in his Sāhityakaumuḍi (PR, 1883, 12.)

स्वाभिभूताः स्थायिनो भावाः । यथा नरेन्द्रो बहुजनपरिवारोऽपि स एव नाम लभते नान्यः सुमहानपि पुरुषस्तथा विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिपरिष्कृतः स्थायिभावो रसतां लभते ॥

The original rasa-sūṭra of Bharaṭa विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रस-निष्पत्तिः has been interpreted in four ways, by Lollata according to Mīmāmsa doctrines, by Śankuka according to Nyāya doctrines, by Bhatta Nāyaka according to Sānkhya doctrines and by Abhinavaguptạ according to Ālankārika doctrines. Mammata thus sums up the different views (Ullasa IV):

i. विभावैर्ललनोद्यानादिभिरालम्बनोद्दीपनकारणैः रत्यादिको भावः जनितः, अनुभावैः कटाक्षभुजाक्षेपप्रभृतिभिः कार्यैः प्रतीतियोग्यः कृतः, व्यभिचारिभिर्निर्वेदादिभिः सहकारिभि-रुपचितो, मुख्यया वृत्त्या रामादावनुकार्ये, तद्रूपतानुसन्धानान्नर्तकेऽपि प्रतीयमानो रसः।—इति भट्टलोल्लटादयः ॥

ii. राम एवायम्, अयमेव राम इति, 'न रामोऽयम्'—इत्यौत्तरकालिके बाधे रामो-ऽयमिति, रामस्स्याद्वा न वायमिति, रामसदृशोऽयमिति च सम्यङ्मिथ्यासंशयसादृश्यप्रतीतिभ्यो विलक्षणया चित्रतुरगादिन्यायेन रामोयमिति प्रतिपत्त्याग्राह्ये नटे * * * काव्यानुसन्धानबलात्, शिक्ष्याभ्यासनिर्वर्तितस्वकार्यप्रकटनेन च नटेनैव प्रकाशितैः कार्यकारणकार्यसहकारिभिः कृत्रिमैरपि तथा अनभिमन्यमानैः विभावादिशब्दव्यपदेश्यैः 'संयोगात्' गम्यगमकभावरूपात् अनुमीय-मानोऽपि वस्तुसौन्दर्यबलात् रसनीयत्वेन अन्यानुमीयमानविलक्षणः स्थायित्वेन सम्भाव्यमानो रत्यादिर्भावस्तत्रासन्नपि सामाजिकानां वासनया चर्व्यमाणो रसः।—इति श्री शङ्कुकः॥

iii. न ताटस्थ्येन नात्मगतत्वेन रसः प्रतीयते नोत्पद्यते नाभिव्यज्यते, अपि तु काव्ये नाट्ये चाभिधातो द्वितीयेन विभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानः स्थायी सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयसंविद्विश्रान्तिसतत्त्वेन भोगेन भुज्यते।—इति भट्टनायकः॥

iv. लोके प्रमदादिभिः स्थाय्यनुमानेऽभ्यासपाटववतां काव्ये नाट्ये च तैरेव कारण-त्वादिपरिहारेण विभावनादिव्यापारवत्वात् अलौकिकविभावादिशब्दव्यवहार्यैः ममैवैते शत्रोरेवैते तटस्थस्यैवैते, न ममैवेते न शत्रोरेवैते न तटस्थस्यैवैते, इति सम्बन्धविशेषस्वीकारपरिहारनिय-मानध्यवसायात् साधारण्येन प्रतीतैः ॥

अभिव्यक्तस्सामाजिकानां वासनात्मतया स्थितः स्थायी रत्यादिको नियतप्रमातृगतत्वेन स्थितोऽपि साधारणोपायबलात् तत्कालविगळितपरिमितप्रमातृभाववशोन्मिषितवेद्यान्तरसंपर्कशून्या-परिमितभावेन प्रमात्रा सकलसहृदयसंवादभाजा साधारण्येन स्वाकार इवाभिन्नोऽपि गोचरी-कृतः चर्व्यमाणतैकप्राणो विभावादिजीवितावधिः पानकरसन्यायेन चर्व्यमाणः पुर इव परिस्फुरन् हृदयमिव प्रविशन् सर्वाङ्गीणमिवालिङ्गन् अन्यत्सर्वमिवतिरोदधत् ब्रह्मस्वादमिवानुभावयन् अलौकिकचमत्कारकारी शृङ्गारादिको रसः। * * इति श्रीमदाचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादाः॥

(*Vamanacarya's* Edn pp. 161-1).

798. By the beginning of the Christian era, the study of poetics had well progressed and we hear of various writers of whom we have references in citations. For instance, there are Kāśyapa, Kapila, Kōhala, Ḍaṭṭila, Maṭanga, Rāhula, Sākalīgarbha, Māṭṛgupṭa, Priyāṭiṭhi, Sumanas, Nandiswāmi and Brahmanandin. These writers must have so far speculated on poetics, as to recognise modifications in the views propounded in Nāṭyaśāsṭra.[1] The result of this advance in poetic criticism was the immediate advent of distinct schools of thought of Bhāmaha and Ḍandin and the possibility of newer schools in the coming centuries.

799. Bhāmba is called the founder of Alankāra school. According to him Vakrokṭi is all in poetry:

सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयाऽर्थो विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥—II. 85.

By Vakrokṭi Bhāmaha meant all poetic expression other than natural, that is, all adorned expression as opposed to naked. Vakrokṭi, said Bhāmaha, was the means by which the meaning was rendered assimilable or delectable; in short Vakrokṭi flashes Rasa. Rasa is therefore subordinate to Alankāra and Alankāra is founded on Vakrokṭi. The idea of Vakrokṭi was carried to an extreme by Kunṭa(la)ka and his Vakrokṭijīviṭam enunciates the theory that Vakrokṭi is the life of poetry[2] and that comprehends in it other characteristics of poetry, Alankāra and Ḍhvani.[3] But before him Uḍbhata had kept himself within reasonable limits and accepted Bhāmaha's general theory, except in some subordinate details of definitions and classifications; and on Bhāmaha's work he wrote a commentary. To this school also belongs Mukula and Praṭīhārenḍurāja who commented on Uḍbhata's work.

800. Alongside of this theory of Alankāra, there was the growing thought that Riti or style, as a consideration in composition, was not negligible. Bhāmaha mentioned Vaiḍarbhī and Gauḍīya styles as made melodious and flowing words, but said they wanted imaginative charm. Ḍandin expanded the scope of Rīṭi and said that Vaiḍarbhī for instance is not made by a mere jumble of letters or words but must contain

1. See for more details Chapter on Nāṭyaśāsṭra *post.*
2. वक्रोक्तिः काव्यजीवितम् ।
3. शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि ।
बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ॥

pleasurable ideas. He elaborated the characterstics of two styles, Vaidarbhī and Gaudīya, and while the former was tender and charming the latter was harsh and boisterous, each being suited to the expression of particular sentiments What Bhāmaha called Alankāra, Dandin called GUNA. Dandin says that Guṇas pertain to the soul of poetry and that Alankāras are "those attributes which produce charm in poetry" and all Alankāras endow the sense with Rasa[2] While Bhāmaha subordinated Rasa to Alankāra, Dandin subordinated these to Rīti. And they spoke of Rasa, Bhāva etc., as Rasavat, Preyas, Ūrjasvin,

801. But it was VAMANA who expressly declared that style is the soul of poetry and RITI is the composition of words of superior excellence. Vāmana however saw that mere style unaccompanied by other embellishments would not make good poetry. He included Alankāra and Rasa among the necessary qualities (Guṇa) of poetry and those qualities he classed as formal and essential;[3] he called Rasa as an essential feature of Kānti-guṇa.[4] He differed from Dandin in saying that Guṇas are those attributes which produce charm in poetry, while Alankāras enhance the charm.

802. During the period of the progress of the Alankāra and rīti theories, Bharata's theory of Rasa had not lost its charm. UDBHATA still admired it and he wrote a commentary on Nātyaśāstra. But he was influenced by the views of Bhāmaha, for he assigned the same place to rasa as Bhāmaha did though he appreciated that bhāvas were needed to realise rasa more critically. He mentioned a fourth Rasālankāra, Samāhita. He recognised Śāntarasa as suitable for the drama as for the poem. RUDRATA championed rasa, as of universal merit, that is, not merely in dramas but in poems too; a poem devoid of rasa is no more than an insipid śāstra. He mentioned nine rasas and one more preyas.[5] RUDRABHATTA expressed a similar view in his Śṛngāratilaka.[6]

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1. *Kāvyālankārasangraha* I, 31—34.
2. अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोजः कान्तिसमाधयः । इति वैदर्भमार्गस्य प्राणा दश गुणास्स्मृताः ।
—*Kāvyādarśa*, I, 4.

काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मानलङ्कारान् प्रचक्षते ।—*Ibid*, II. 1.

वाक्यस्याग्राम्यतायोनिर्माधुर्ये दर्शितो रसः ।

इहत्वष्टरसायत्ता रसवत्ता स्मृता गिराम् ॥--*Ibid*, II. 292.

3. रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य । विशिष्टपदरचना रीतिः । *sutra*, I, ii, 16.
4. काव्यशोभायाः कर्तारो धर्मगुणाः । तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलङ्काराः ॥ *Ibid*, III. 11—13
5. Kavyalankāra, XII. 2, 4.
6. I. 5-6.

803. From the earliest times, speculation was rife among rhetoricians on the grammatical rectitude and the exegitical interpretations of expressions in poetics. For instance, Upamā or comparison is of various kinds, comprehending in it various Alankāras, which have been given distinct names by later writers. Even in Upamā proper, there are several classes, according as the particle of similitude is expressed or implied. Grammar was described as father of poetry. Bhāmaha thought it necessary to devote a whole chapter on grammatical forms adaptable in poetry. Vāmana did the same. The theory of speech and meaning has always been a point of difference among the several schools of philosophy in India, that is, to state shortly, whether the real meaning of a word is want is expressed or what is comprehended by way of suggestion and inference ; that is, in Śābdaboḍha they differed, This difference has led rhetoricians to distinguish between the merits of abiḍhā and lakṣaṇā, expression and implication on the lines of propounded by grammatical philosophers The result of the expansion of these disquisitions was a close alliance in the study of poetics and grammar and in the next stage of progress, a third function of words, namely vyanjanā, was conceived on the analogy of the theory of Sphota.

804. The theory of Sphota, briefly stated, is that sphota or ḍhvani is the characteristic capacity of words to signify their import. It is attributed to the grammarian Sphoṭāyana, a predecessor of Pāṇini and it attained its perfection in Bhartṛhari's Vākyapaḍīya. Anandāvarḍhana adopted this theory and applied it to poetics. He rejected the earlier theories of rasa, alankāra and rīti, so far as each claimed to be the soul of poetry and propounded that vyanjanā or ḍhvani is the soul of poetry. This Rasaḍhvani theory of Ānanḍavarḍhana "differs from the original theory of Rasa as formulated in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharaṭa in two points. According to the former the Rasas are enjoyed by the audience only, being suggested by the words ; but according to the latter the factors vibhāva, etc. whether expressed or suggested by the words create the pleasure in the minds of the audience (विभावानुभावव्यभिचारि-संयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः). Moreover, the chief function of poetry according to Ānanḍavarḍhana is to suggest the sense of Rasas, Alankāras and plots for Vasṭu as applied to both the poems and dramas. Bharaṭa holds that the best form of poetry is that where the representations of Vibhavas, etc. before the audience create the aeshetic pleasure in their minds."

It cannot be said that vyanjanā was a discovery of Ānanḍavarḍhana. Bhāmaha and Ḍandin saw that a suggested sense was always there in

Samāsokṭi, Aprasṭuṭapraśamsā, Vyājasṭuṭi etc. Bharaṭa and Uḍbhata included ḍhvani in Paryāyokṭi. So did Ruḍra. Vāmana included it in Vakrokṭi, which he defined as 'suggestion founded on similarity.' But with these writers, the suggested sense (vyanjiṭa) was ancillary to the expressed (vācya).

805. According to ĀNANDAVARDHANA Ḍhvani is supreme in characterising good poetry. Ḍhvani literally means suggestion. The poet expresses an idea in a sentence and to the readers' mind flashes an idea not actually expressed by the words, but implied or suggested by them. Ḍhvani is the result of the function vyanjanā, as opposed to abhiḍhā or lakṣaṇā. Ḍhvani is the soul, Guṇas like māḍhurya, ojas &c. are the properties of the soul of poetry, as bravery is the property of the human mind, and Alankāras are ornaments which enhance the charm of poetry, as ornaments of gold set off a person's beauty. Poetry is classed under three heads, Ḍhvani, where the suggested sense is prominent, Guṇībhūṭavyangya, where it is not prominent and Ciṭra where it is not manifest.

806. The Dhvani theory was not applauded by all. There were still the admirers of Rasa. PRATIHARENDURAJA wrote Laghuvṛṭṭi on Uḍbhata. He said that Ḍhvani was implied in Alankāras like śleṣa, rasavaṭ and paryāyokṭa, and reiterated that rasa was the soul of poetry. He differed from Bhāmaha in refusing to include Rasas among Alankāras:

(i) एवमेतद्व्यञ्जकत्वं पर्यायोक्तादिष्वन्तर्भावितम् ।

(ii) रसाद्यधिष्ठितं काव्यं जीवद्रूपतया यतः ।
कथ्यते तद्रसादीनां काव्यात्मत्वं व्यवस्थितम् ॥

यत्तु रसादीनां पूर्वमलंकारत्वमुक्तं तदेवंविधभेदाविवक्षया ।

807. BHATTANAYAKA was a devout follower of Bharaṭa. Starting from Bharaṭa's explanation of bhāva, vibhāva &c. he said that besides abhiḍhā, which is the only operating function in Veḍas and Śāsṭras, there are two other functions bhāvakṭva and bhojakaṭva in all kāvya, dṛśya or śravya, from which emanates the aesthetic pleasure in the minds of audience.

BHOJA thought it was good poetry, if it was free from blemishes and if it had the merit of guṇa, alankāra and rasa.

808. DHANANJAYA and DHANIKA did not recognise ḍhvani at all. Ḍhanika answered criticisms of Bhattanāyaka's views and held that Ṭāṭparyaśakṭi, desire for expression and understanding "not only

makes the hearer understand the meaning of the sentence but also actuates him to act according to the sense of the sentence, not only to make the reader or the spectator understand the vibhāva, etc., from the poetry, but also to act accordingly. This activity is nothing but the enjoyment of the æsthetic pleasure. Thus the poetry becomes Bhāvaka of the Rasāsvāḍa through the Ṭāṭparyāśakṭi, and therefore, no ḍhvani or vyanjanāvṛṭṭi as the chief function of the poetry is necessary. The connection between the Kāvya and Rasa according to Ḍhanika is Bhāvyabhāvakabhāva and not Vyangyavyanjakabhāva as formulated by the Ḍhvani school. This kind of connection according to him is different from the Janyajanakabhāva as held by the Naiyāyikas (Asaṭkāryavādins) because rasas already exist in an appreciative mind in the form of permanent moods (Bhāvayaṭi)." Ḍhananjaya did not adopt śānṭa as a rasa.

809. The theory of Ḍhvani however soon gained prominence and obtained recognition. ABHINAVAGUPTA's erudition gave fresh vigour to it and his Locana stands as it were an original treatise on Ḍhvani. But the theory was again assailed with vehemence. KUNTAKA in his Vakrokṭijīviṭa said ḍhvani was included in *Vakrokṭi*. MAHIMABHATTA did not brook the insolence against logicians and in a mood of revenge set up his theory Anumāna or *Kāvyānumiṭi*. In his Vyakṭiviveka, he attempted to demolish the various theories of poetics and said that anumāna or inference was all-pervasive and in it was embraced dhvani or whatever was attributed to it.

810. VIDYADHARA was a follower of Ananḍavarḍhana. He refuted the views of Bhāmaha and others who denied ḍhvani, Ḍhvanyabhāvavāḍins. He refers to Bhāmaha and Ruḍrata and Mahimā as Ānṭarbhāvavāḍins viz. ḍhvani is comprehended in guṇa and alaṅkāra and is not different from anumāna, and to Bhatta Lollata as Ḍīrghavyāpāravāḍin, viz., the expressive power of words reaches very far like that of arrows.

811. By the time of MAMMATA, Ḍhvani attained a firm stand, but the earlier theories of alankāra, rasa and rīṭi were still in the field for Bhoja and his erudite circle gave them prominence. Mammata therefore thought it prudent to define poetry in more comprehensive terms, keeping Ḍhvani as the foremost quality and appending to it the essentials of alankāra and rasa, with a better recognition. "Mammata was influenced by Vāmana (III. 1-1-3) although Mammata considered guṇas as primary attributes of rasas and only secondarily of letters. To a

less extent he was influenced by the alankāra school, as he allows a Kāvya to be devoid of alankaras in a few cases. However, Bhamaha's Vakrokti does appear in Kavyaprakasa under the name of Praudhokti." Being as it were a compromise of the existing theories, without giving up the accepted superiority of Dhvani all the same, Mammata's views have been considered the perfectest theory of poetry and during these long centuries they have not lost their appreciation. In the mode of exposition and in the classification of the subject, his work has been the standard and many rhetoricians of repute thought it a merit in them to compose commentaries on Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa, though they expressed their views in independent treatises on poetics. Except in the way of further illustrations, newer definitions and keener classifications the science of poetry as described by Mammata has remained unaffected.

812. The views of different rhetoricians have thus been summed up by RUYYAKA in his Alankārasarvasva :

इह हि तावत् भामहोद्भटप्रभृतयः चिरन्तनालङ्कारकाराः प्रतीयमानमर्थं वाच्योपस्कारकतयालङ्कारपक्षनिक्षिप्तं मन्यन्ते । तथा हि—पर्यायोक्ताप्रस्तुतप्रशंसासमासोक्त्याक्षेपव्याजस्तुत्युपमेयोपमानन्वयादौ वस्तुमात्रं गम्यमानं वाच्योपस्कारकत्वेन 'स्वसिद्धये पराक्षेपः परार्थे स्वसमर्पणम्' इति यथायोगं द्विविधया भङ्गया प्रतिपादितं तैः ।

रुद्रटेन तु भावालङ्कारो द्विधैवोक्तः । रूपकदीपकापह्नुतितुल्ययोगितादावुपमाद्यलङ्कारो वाच्योपस्कारकत्वेनोक्तः । उत्प्रेक्षा तु स्वयमेव प्रतीयमाना कथिता । रसवत्प्रेयःप्रभृतौ तु रसभावादिर्वाच्यशोभाहेतुत्वेनोक्तः । तदित्थं त्रिविधमपि प्रतीयमानमलङ्कारतया ख्यापितमेव ।

वामनेन तु सादृश्यनिबन्धनाया लक्षणाया वक्रोक्त्यलङ्कारत्वं ब्रुवता कश्चिद्ध्वनिभेदोऽलङ्कारतयैवोक्तः । केवलं गुणविशिष्टपदरचनात्मका रीतिः काव्यात्मकेनोक्ता ।

उद्भटादिभिस्तु गुणालङ्काराणां प्रायशः साम्यमेव सूचितम् । विषयमात्रेण भेदप्रतिपादनात् संघटनाधर्मत्वेन चेष्टेः । तदेवमलङ्कारा एव काव्ये प्रधानमिति प्राच्यानां मतम् ।

वक्रोक्तिजीवितकारः पुनर्वैदग्ध्यभङ्गीभणितिस्वभावां बहुविधां वक्रोक्तिमेव प्राधान्यात् काव्यजीवितमुक्तवान् । व्यापारस्य प्राधान्यं च काव्यस्य प्रतिपेदे । अभिधानप्रकारविशेषा एव चालङ्काराः । सत्यपि त्रिभेदे प्रतीयमाने व्यापाररूपा भणितिरेव कविसंरम्भगोचरः । उपचारवक्रत्वादिभिस्समस्तो ध्वनिप्रपञ्चः स्वीकृतः । केवलमुक्तिवैचित्र्यजीवितं काव्यं न व्यङ्ग्यार्थजीवितमिति तदीयं दर्शनं व्यवस्थितम् ।

भट्टनायकेन तु व्यङ्ग्यव्यापारस्य प्रौढोक्त्याभ्युपगतस्य काव्यांशत्वं ब्रुवता न्यग्भावितशब्दार्थस्वरूपस्य व्यापारस्यैव प्राधान्यमुक्तम् । तत्राप्यभिधाभावकत्वलक्षणव्यापारद्वयोत्तीर्णो रसचर्वणात्मा भोगापरपर्यायो व्यापारः प्राधान्येन विश्रान्तिस्थानतयाङ्गीकृतः ।

ध्वनिकारः पुनरभिधातात्पर्यलक्षणाख्यव्यापारत्रयोत्तीर्णस्य ध्वननद्योतनादिशब्दाभिधेयस्य व्यञ्जनव्यापारस्यावश्याभ्युपगम्यत्वात् व्यापारस्य च वाक्यार्थत्वाभावात् वाक्यर्थस्यैव च व्यङ्ग्यरूपस्य गुणालङ्कारोपस्कर्तव्यत्वेन प्राधान्याद्विश्रान्तिधामत्वादात्मत्वं सिद्धान्तितवान् ।

यत्तु व्यक्तिविवेककारो वाच्यस्य प्रतीयमानं प्रति लिङ्गितया व्यञ्जनस्यानुमानेऽन्तर्भावमाख्यत् तद्वाच्यस्तप्रतीयमानेन सह तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्त्यभावादविचारिताभिधानम् ॥

Alankārasarvasva, Bombay Edn., 3–13.

813. SAMUDRABANDHA in his commentary on Alankarasarvasva has another classification of these poetical theories, (*TSS*, p. 4) into five schools :

इह विशिष्टौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् ।
तयोश्च वैशिष्ट्यं धर्ममुखेन व्यापारमुखेन व्यंग्यमुखेन वेति त्रयः पक्षाः ।
आद्येऽप्यलंकारतो गुणतो वेति द्वैविध्यम् ।
द्वितीयेऽपि भणितिवैचित्र्येण भोगकृत्त्वेन वेति द्वैधम् ।

इति पंचसु पक्षेष्वाद्य उद्भटादिभिरंगीकृतः, द्वितीयो वामनेन, तृतीयो वक्रोक्तिजीवितकारेण, चतुर्थो भट्टनायकेन, पंचम आनन्दवर्धनेन ॥

व्यक्तिविवेककाराभिमतस्त्वनुमानपक्षः सिद्धान्तप्रदर्शनसमन्तरं विचारसहत्वेन दूषितत्वात् मङ्खकस्य पूर्वपक्षत्वे नाभिमत इत्याहुः ।

एषु प्रस्थानेषु स्वाभिमतं प्रस्थानं तस्य सर्वैरङ्गीकरणीयतां च दर्शयितुमेषाएपन्यासः ॥

Vāmanācārya (*Int.* Kāvyaprakāśa, p. 24) thus summarises the views briefly :

गुणालंकारयुक्तौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यमिति वामनमतम् ।
अदोषावित्यधिकविशेषणयुक्तौ तौ काव्यमिति मम्मटमतम् ।
एवमेव प्रभाकरमतम् ।
निर्दोषं गुणालंकाररसवत् वाक्यं काव्यमिति भोजमतम् ।

गुणालंकाररीतिरसोपेतः साधुशब्दार्थसंदर्भः काव्यमिति वाग्भटमतम् ।
निर्दोषं गुणालंकारलक्षणरीतिवृत्तिमत् वाक्यं काव्यमिति पीयूषवर्षमतम् ।
रसादिमद्वाक्यं काव्यमिति शौद्धोदनिमतम् ।
एवमेव विश्वनाथादिमतम् ।

इष्टार्थोपेता पदावली काव्यमिति दंडिमतम् ।
रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकश्शब्दः काव्यमिति जगन्नाथमतम् ।
ध्वन्यात्मकं वाक्यं काव्यमिति महिमभट्टमतम् ।
रसालंकारयुक्तं सुखविशेषसाधनं वा काव्यमिति केशवमिश्रमतम् ।

The following extracts from P. V. Kane's 'Outlines of History of Alankara Literature' (*IA*, XLI. 124, 204) will be of interest :

"The most ancient basis of classification appears to have been very simple. Figures of speech were divided into two classes: those that depend for their charm on words alone and those in which the beauty is seen in the sense alone. This division of the figures of speech is the only one that is found in ancient writings on Alankāra. Bharata does not speak of it in his Natya-Sastra. Dandin tacitly recognizes it, inasmuch as he treats of Arthalankaras in the second Parichcheda and of Sabdalankaras in the third. Both Bhamaha and Udbhata do not explicitly divide Alankaras into two varieties, but they seem to have had the twofold division in mind, for Bhamaha first speaks of Anuprasa and Yamaka and then of figures that are regarded by all as Alankaras of Artha. Udbhata similarly speaks of Punaruktavadabhasa and Anuprasa first and then of Arthalamkaras. Vamana speaks of Sabdalamkaras in the fourth Adhikarana (1st Adhyaya) of his work and of Arthalamkaras in the second and third Adhyayas of the same Adhikarana. Rudrata, Mammata, Ruyyaka and most subsequent writers recognise this twofold division of figures of speech.

Some writers, however, propose a division which is a little more elaborate. Alankaras, according to them, are either of Sabda, or of Artha, or of both. Bhoja in his Sarasvatikanthabharaṇa enumerates twenty-four Alamkaras of each. It is worthy of note that he regards Upama, Rupaka, etc., as Alamkaras of both Sabda and Artha (and not of artha alone, as said by almost all other writers).

The number of Sabdalamkaras has never been very large. Most writers, such as Dandin, Bhamaha, Udbhata, speak of two or three. The largest number is that mentioned by Bhoja, viz., 24. The ancient works of Alamkara paid a good deal of attention to Sabdalamkaras, but as critical insight grew, the Alamkaras of words dwindled into insignificance.

Unlike Sabdalamkaras, the number of Arthalamkaras has generally been large and has been subject to great fluctuations. We may safely affirm that as a general rule, the more ancient a writer is, the fewer is the number of figures treated of by him. Bharata speaks of only four Alamkaras. Dandin, Bhatti, Bhamaha, Udbhata and Vamana treat of from thirty to forty figures. Mammata speaks of more than sixty, while Ruyyaka adds a few more. The Chandraloka (13th century) speaks of a hundred figures of speech, to which the Kuvalayananda adds about a

score more. This is the highest number known to us. Jagannatha prefers a smaller number of figures, although he is later than the author of Kuvalayananda. If for some slight difference a different figure of speech were to be defined there would be no end of figures, as remarked by Dandin.

In the ancient writers there is no basis of division. Dandin, Bhamaha, Vamana and Udbhata give no classification of the figures of sense. They generally first speak of Upama and some other Alamkaras based upon it and the rest are treated of at random ; e.g., Dandin puts Vibhavana between Vyatireka and Samasokti. It is Rudrata who first gives a fourfold division of Arthalamkaras. Mammata seems to have had in view no scientific basis of division. The Alamkara-Sarvasva gives first of all, the figures based upon Aupamya (resemblance); then those based upon Virodha (contradiction); then those based upon Srinkhala (chain), such as Karanamala, Maladipaka, Ekavali; then the figures based upon Tarka-Nyaya, Kavya-Nyaya and Loka-Nyaya; then the figures based upon the apprehension of a hidden sense; and lastly based upon the combination of figures such as Samkara and Sansrishti. The Ekavali, the Prapaparudriya and the Sahityadarpana generally follow the classification. Jagannatha also speaks of figures based upon Aupamya, Virodha and Srinkhala. From Kavyalinga downwards he does not mention any express basis of classification but appears to have followed in the main the Alamkara-Sarvasva."

CHAPTER XXIV

Alankara

814. Alankara-Sutras. Every science, *Śastra,* in India has its *sūtra, vṛtti* and *Bhāṣya.* So has Alankāraśāstra. Śauḍḍhodani is mentioned by Keśava as an author of Alankārasūtras,[1] and it was on the Kārikas of Śauḍḍhodani that Keśava commented in his Alankāraśekhara.[2] Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa have been considered, mostly in Bengal, as embracing the original Bharaṭa's Alankārasūṭras, on which Mammata wrote a vṛṭṭi called Kāvyaprakāsā.[3] Balaḍeva Viḍyābhūṣaṇa took these Kārikas as Bharaṭasūṭras and wrote his commentary on them Sāhiṭyakaumuḍī in the 18th century.[4] Bharaṭa, it is said to the contrary, wrote sūṭras relating to *rasa* etc., in nāṭya and not sūṭras for Alankāra, but these sūṭras are but rarely preserved in the extant Nāṭyaśāṣṭra.[5] Pāṇini mentions Naṭasūṭras of Śilālin :

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः (IV. iii. 10.)
कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः (IV. iii. 11.

Alankārasūṭras of unknown authorship have been commented upon by Śobhakara in his Alankārarat̤nākara.[6] Śobhākara was son of

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1. अलङ्कारविद्यासूत्रकारो भगवान् शौद्धोदनिः काव्यस्य स्वरूपमाह। काव्यं रसादिमद्वाक्यम्।
2. See S. K. De, *SP*. I. 261.
3. So says Commentary Vivaraṇa: काव्यप्रकाशस्य द्वावंशौ, कारिका वृत्तिश्चेति। भरतमुनिप्रणीता या कारिका सा अलङ्कारसूत्रनाम्ना व्यवह्रियते, मम्मटप्रणीता या वृत्तिस्सैव काव्यप्रकाशनामभाक् ॥

Several other authors call these Kārikas 'suṭras' :

i उदाहरणेषु दृष्टत्वात्सूत्रानुक्तमपि प्रभेदद्वयमाह—Maheśvara.
ii सूत्रे प्रश्नोत्तरपदं पूर्वापरवाक्योपलक्षकम्—Bhimasena.
iii सूत्राक्षरानुसाराच्चोपेक्ष्यम्—Vaiḍyanāṭha
iv सूत्रे विभागः उपलक्षणपरः—Govinḍa Thakkura.
v सूत्रं चोपलक्षणपरतया योज्यम्—Nagojibhatta.

4. सूत्राणां भरतमुनीशवर्णितानां वृत्तीनां मितवपुषां कृतौ ममास्याम् ।
लक्ष्याणां हरिगुणशालिनां च सत्वात् कुर्वन्तु प्रगुणधियो बतावधानम् ॥
5. e. g. व्यभिचारिभावविभाजकानि निर्वेदग्लानिशङ्काख्याः ॥
6. *BKR*, Ap. cxxviii.

Ṭrayīśvaramiśra and lived about the 12th century A.D. He is quoted by Jagannāṭha. These sūṭras have been extracted and illustrated by Yaśaskara in his Ḍevīsṭotra, a poem of devotion. Yaśaskara was a poet of Kāṣmir.[1] On account of ill-health, he spent much of his time at the sanatorium[2] on the hill Pradyumna and there on the spot held sacred on account of the final ascent of King Pravara to Heaven in bodily form, he composed his Ḍevīsṭoṭra.[3]

There are again Kāvyālankārasūṭras on which Vāmana wrote his own Vṛṭṭi and Ruyyaka's Alankārasūṭra on which Mankha wrote vṛṭṭi Alankārasarvasva. Jayaraṭha mentions an Alankāravārṭika in his commentary on Alankārasarvasva (p. 71) :

बिम्बप्रबिम्बभावेनापीयं भवति । यथा—

क्षिपन्त्यचिन्त्यानि पदानि हेलया स्वराजहंसानधिरुह्य च स्थिता ।
कवीन्द्रवक्त्रेषु च यत्र शारदा सहस्रपत्रेषु रमा च रञ्यति ॥

अत्र दक्त्रपद्मयोर्बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बभावः । अनेनैव चाशयेनात्रालङ्कारवार्तिके ग्रन्थकृता वैशिष्ट्यमस्यादर्शितम् ॥

815. **Bhamaha** was the son of Rakrila Gomin. Maskari was probably his son.[4] From the word Gomin and from the salutation to Sarva Sarvagna at the commencement of his work it has been said he was a Buddhist. Canḍra in his grammar mentions Gomin as a termination of respect.[5] The epithets Sarva and Sarvagna have been used for various divine incarnations without limitation. Bhamaha's reverence to the Hindu pantheon[6] and his elegant references to heroes of Rāmāyaṇa,[7] Mahābhāraṭa[8] and Purāṇas[9] indicate more properly his Vedic persuasion. This surmise is supported by Bhāmaha's scathing criticism of Buddhist theory of Anyāpoha.[10]

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1. *PR*, 1. 12.
2. This health resort is mentioned in *Raj.* III. 645.
3. *PR*, I. 77 (where the sutras are all extracted).
4. He says so in his commentary on Gauṭama-Dharmasuṭra.
5. गोमिन् पूज्ये ।
6. प्रणम्य सार्वं सर्वज्ञं ।
7. II. 35; III. II. 32, 36; IV. 21, 28; V. 44.
8. III. 7; V. 36, 39, 41, 42, 43.
9. III. 5, 42; V. 59.
10. VI. 16, 17.

On the relative priority of Bhāmaha and Ḍandin, there has been divergence of opinion.[1] But the assertiveness of Ḍandin's expression of dissent in relation to views of Bhāmaha on particular topics indicates his posteriority. It is possible that Bhāmaha was an elder contemporary of Ḍandin and Bhāmaha was an author whose opinions were then fresh in the minds of the readers which Ḍandin thought ought to be controverted before they gained a place of honor.[2]

From illustrations[3] of Ālankāras and from their number and significance it is conjectured that Bhatti came after Bhāmaha.

If Ḍandin flourished about the biginning of the 7th century, Bhāmaha can be safely placed in the 6th century A.D.[4]

Bhāmaha composed his Kāvyālankāra[5] after an investigation of the thoughts of good poets for the instruction of the virtuous:

> अवलोक्य मतानि सत्कवीनां
> अवगम्य स्वधिया च काव्यलक्ष्म ।
> सुजनावगमाय भामहेन
> ग्रथितं रक्रिलगोमिसूनुनेदम् ॥ VI. 64.

and the making of faultless poetry facilitates the pursuit of the Puru-

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1. For details of arguments about the priority of Bhāmaba to Dandin, see Trivedi's introduction to Prataparudrayasobhuskana, M. Rangacharya's Introduction to Kavyadarsa, Anantacharya in Brahmavadin (1911), R. Narasimhacharya, *Ind. Ant.* XLI. 20 and Medepalli Venkataramanacharya's *History of Alankārasūtra* (in Telugu). Ṭaruṇavācaspaṭi, in his commentary on Kāvyādarśa (I. 29; II. 235-7; IV. 4) distinctly says that Dandin criticises Bhāmaba See S. K. De's *SP*, I. 45-62. For a contrary opinion, see P. V. Kane, *JRAS*, (1808) 545; *IA*, XLI. 12-98; Pathak, *JBHAS*, XXIII. 19; *IA*, XLI. 222; M. T. Narasimba Aypangar, *JRAS*, (1905) 535, Barnett, *JRAS* (1905) 841; D. T. Tatacarya, Int. to Edn. While Bhāmaha mentions that Upamā should not be divided into several categories as Nindopamā, Praśamsopamā, etc., and that all such varieties should come under sāmānyaguṇa, these scholars see in it a criticism of Daṇḍin's long list of varieties of Upamā.

2. See A. Rangasami Sarasvati, *JMy*, III. 682.

3. For the list of Alaṅkāras illustrated in Canto X, see *JRAS*, (1922), 830 *et seq.* On this question there is a difference of opinion. See para 48 *supra*.

4. Ganapathi Sastri, in his introduction to Svapnavāsvadaṭṭa (*TSS*, No. 15 p. XXIV), places Bhāmaha far earlier than Kālidasa and in the 1st century B.C. See III. 36 and I. 48, where references to Kāliḍasa's Raghuvamśa, XVI. 7, 8 and Megha, I. are indicated. S. K. De, (*SP*, I 49) places him in 7-8 century A D.

5. Printed by K. P. Trivedi, as appendix to Praṭāparuḍrayaśobhuṣaṇa (*BSS*); Ed. by P. V. Naganathasastri with translation, Tanjore; Ed. D. T. Tatacarya with Vṛṭṭi, Trivadi, Tanjore.

ṣarthas and leads on to pleasure and celebrity. His instruction for choice of words and their disposition is an enchanting instance of his æsthetics :

एतत् ग्राह्यं सुरभि कुसुमं ग्राम्यमेतन्निधेयं
धत्ते शोभां विरचितमिदं स्थानमस्यैतदस्य ।
मालाकारो रचयति यथा साधु विज्ञाय मालां
योज्यं काव्येष्ववहितधिया तद्वदेवाभिधानम् ॥ I. 59.

His humility is in keeping with his dignity and he leaves his homage to the Goddess of Poetry unmindful of his deserts :

न दूषणायायमुदाहृतो विधिर्न चाभिमानेन किमु प्रतीयते (?) ।
कृतात्मनां तत्त्वदृशां च मादृशो जनोऽभिसन्धिं क इवावमोत्स्यते ॥ IV. 51.

In six chapters, he deals with six topics, Kāvyaśarīra, Alankāra, Doṣa, Nyāya and Sābdaśuddhi. His veneration for Pāṇini is supreme and his description of the Ocean of Vyākaraṇa reminds us of the garlands of metaphors which is Vālmīki's peculiar glory :

सूत्राम्भसं पदावर्तं पारायणरसातलम् ।
धातूणादिगणग्राहं ध्यानग्रहबृहत्प्लवम् ॥
धीरैरालोकितप्रान्तममेधोभिरसूयितम् ।
सदोपभुक्तं सर्वाभिरन्यविद्याकरेणुभिः ॥
नापारयित्वा दुर्गाधममुं व्याकरणार्णवम् ।
शब्दरत्नं स्वयं गम्यमलङ्कर्तुमयं जनः ॥ VI. 1-3.

Here is Vālmīki's description of the sky as an ocean :

स चन्द्रकुमुदं रम्यं सार्ककारण्डवं शुभम् ।
तिष्यश्रवणकादम्बमभ्रशैवालशाद्वलम् ॥
पुनर्वसुमहामीनं लोहिताङ्गमहाग्रहम् ।
ऐरावतमहाद्वीपं स्वातीहंसविलोलितम् ॥
वातसंघातजालोर्मिचन्द्रांशुशिशिराम्बुवत् ।
भुजङ्गयक्षगन्धर्वप्रबुद्धकमलोत्पलम् ॥
हनुमान् मारुतगतिर्महानौरिव सागरम् ।
अपारमपरिश्रान्तः पुप्लुवे गगनार्णवम् ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, V. 57, 1-4.

By his assertive expression and courageous criticism he displays the ardour of his study and the range of his learning He disapproves

as unnatural and improbable of the use of inanimate objects as messengers of love and the story of the capture of Vatsarāja by the lure of a false elephant. He condemns the Sphoṭa theorists with disdain:

शपथैरपि चादेयं वचो न स्फोटवादिनाम् ।
नभःकुसुममस्तीति श्रद्दध्यात् कः सचेतनः ॥ VI. 12.

The illustrations are all Bhāmaha's except where he quotes expressly from other authors. He says:

स्वयं कृतैरेव निदर्शनैरियं मया प्रक्लृप्ताः खलु वागलङ्कृतिः । II. 96.

Bhāmaha is called the founder of Alankāra school. According to him Vakrokṭi is the character of poetry:

सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्तिरनयाऽर्थो विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥ II. 85.

This verse of Bhāmaha has been quoted by later writers, aad Bhāmaha also states it in other words:

वक्राभिधेयशब्दोक्तिरिष्टा वाचामलंकृतिः ।—I. 36.
वाचां वक्रार्थशब्दोक्तिरलङ्काराय कल्पते ।—V. 66.

And Abhinavaguplta thus explains it:

शब्दस्य हि वक्रता अभिधेयस्य च (वकता) लोकोत्तीर्णेन रूपेणावस्थानमित्ययमेवासावलङ्कारान्तर्भावः । (?)

It cannot therefore be said that Bhāmaha was an opponent of the existence of Ḍhvani, though indeed Mallināṭha called him Ḍhvanyabhāvavāḍin.

Ānanḍavarḍhana appreciates Bhāmaha's views:

भामहेनाप्यतिशयोक्तिलक्षणे यदुक्तं 'सैषा सर्वैव वक्रोक्ति'रिति, तत्रातिशयोक्तिर्यमलङ्कारमधितिष्ठति कविप्रतिभावशात्तस्य चातुर्यातिशययोगोऽन्यस्यालङ्कारमात्रतैवेति सर्वालङ्कारत्वकरणयोग्यत्वेनाभेदोपचारात्, सैव सर्वालङ्काररूपेत्ययमेवार्थोऽवगन्तव्यः । तस्याश्चालङ्कारान्तरसङ्कीर्णत्वं कदाऽचिद्वाच्यत्वेन कदाचिद्व्यङ्ग्यत्वेन । (Bom. Edn. P. 207–8).

Ruyyaka thus sums up Bhāmaha's views:

इह हि तावद्भामहोद्भटप्रभृतयश्चिरन्तनालङ्कारिकाः प्रतीयमानमर्थं वाच्योपस्कारतया अलङ्कारपक्षानिक्षिप्तं मन्यन्ते ।

Among the authors and works mentioned by Bhāmaha are Nyāsa-

kāra, Meḍhāvin,[1] Sakhavarḍhana,[2] Raṭnāharaṇa, Rāmaśarman's Acyuṭoṭṭara,[3] Aśmakavaṃśa and Rājamiṭra.

It is a matter of controversy whether this Nyāsakara was Jinenḍrabuḍḍhi.[4] Namisāḍhu mentions Meḍhāvān as a writer on Alankāra and adds

अत्र च स्वरूपोपादाने सत्यपि चत्वार इति ग्रहणाद्यन्मेधाविप्रभृतिभिरुक्तम् यथा लिङ्गवचनभेदौ हीनताधिक्यमसम्भवो विपर्ययोऽसादृश्यमिति सप्तोपमादोषाः, तदेतन्निरस्तम् ।

Meḍhāvin is probably indentical with Meḍhāvi Ruḍra, whom Rājaśekhara instances as a poet born blind and one of the three Kāliḍasas (Kāliḍasaṭrayi) mentioned by Rājaśekara. The Lexicon Ṭrikandaśeṣa gives it as a synonym of Kāliḍāsa.

Rāmaśarma's poetry is thus described:

नानाधात्वर्थगम्भीरा यमकव्यपदेशिनी ।
प्रहेलिका सा ह्युदिता रामशर्माच्युतोत्तरे ॥ II. 19.

Sākhavarḍana's verse is fine:

निष्पेतुरास्यादिव तस्य दीनाः शरा धनुर्मण्डलमध्यभाजः ।
जाज्वल्यमाना इव वारिधारा दिनार्धभाजः परिवेषिणोऽर्कात् ॥ II. 47.

and the same verse is quoted anonymously by Namisāḍhu und Mammata.

On the style of Aśmakavaṃśa there is this comment:

ननु चाश्मकवंशादि वैदर्भमिति कथ्यते । I. 33.

From Rājamiṭra, there is an instance taken to illustrate the figure samāhiṭa:

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1. त एत उपमादोषास्सप्तमेधाविनोदिताः । I. 40.

2. His verse:

निष्पेतुरास्यादिव तस्य दीप्ताः शरा धनुर्मण्डलमध्यभाजः ।
जाज्वल्यमाना इव वारिधाराः दिनार्धभाजः परिवेषिणोऽर्काः ॥ II. 47.

is quoted to illustrate the fault Asambhava.

3. His verse:

सपीतवासाः प्रगृहीतशार्ङ्गो मनोज्ञभीमं वपुराप कृष्णः ।
शतह्रदेन्द्रायुधवान्निशायां संसृज्यमानश्शशिनेव मेघः ॥ II. 57.

is instanced for उपमाने अधिकपदत्वम् ।

4. On this see K. B. Pathak's *Bhamaha's attacks on Jinendrabuddhi* (*JBRAS*, XXIII. 18); P. V. Kane, *Bhamaha, Bhasa and Magha* (Ibid. 91) and K. P. Trivedi, (*IA*, XLIII, 204, 207).

समाहितं राजमित्रे यथा क्षत्रिययोषिताम् ।
रामप्रसत्त्यै यान्तीनां पुरोऽदृश्यत नारदः ॥ III. 10.

Bhāmaha refers to Nanda and Cāṇakya thus;

चाणक्यो नक्तमुपयान्नन्दक्रीडागृहं यथा ।
शशिकान्तोन्तोपलच्छन्नं विवेद पयसां कणैः ॥—III. 13.

Bhāmaha has been honoured in the history of poetics as an Ācārya of antiquity and renown. Vidyānātha wrote

पूर्वेभ्यो भामहादिभ्यः सादरं विहिताञ्जलिः ।

Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Vāmana and Mammata and others quote his views and verses with distinction.

Udbhata's gloss, Bhāmahavivaraṇa, is now lost.[1]

In the prefatory eulogies to his commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa Bhatta Gopāla wrote:

उद्भटेनापि नम्रेण नायकेनोपलालितः ।
हृद्यो भाम इव स्त्रीणामल्पारम्भोऽपि भामहः ॥

Is it possible that Bhattanāyaka also composed a commentary on Bhāmaha's Kāvyālankāra, as Udbhata did?

It is suspected that Bhāmaha wrote a later work on rhetoric, with greater completeness, for we have in "Rasikarasāyanam,[2] which goes under his name, an elaborate treatment in seven parakaraṇas of all topics embraced in poetics. The exposition of the Nātyālankaras of Bharata is particularly good. But a distinction must be made between the Kārikas and the Vṛttis. If these Kārikas could have been the

1, In his commentary on Udbhata's Kāvyalankārasangraha Pratihārendurāja says;

विशेषोक्तिलक्षणे च भामहविवरणे भट्टोद्भटेन एकदेशशब्द एष व्याख्यातः ... ...

Abhinavagupta in his Locana (p. 1?) says:

भामहोक्तं 'शब्दच्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थाः' इत्यभिधानस्य शब्दात् भेदं व्याख्यातुं भट्टोद्भटो बभाषे ।

Hemacandra in his Kāvyalankāracudāmaṇi (p. 110) says:

तस्माद्गड्डलिकाप्रवाहे गुणालंकारभेद इति भामहविवरणे यद्भट्टोद्भटोऽभ्यधात् तन्निरस्तम् ।

and Ruyyaka in Alankārasarvasva (p. 133) says:

अपि च शब्दानामाकुलता(?)चेति तस्य हेतून् प्रचक्षते भामहीये । वाचामनाकुलत्वेऽपि भाविकमिति चोद्भटलक्षणे ।

2. Mys. 303.

work of Bhāmaha. Vṛtti must have been anonymously written later than the 12th century A.D., for it mentions Kāvyaprākaśa and Bhāvaprakāśa and quotes Mālatīmādhava.

In spite of the attempts of scholars to get at a complete manuscript of Bhāmaha's work, it is still suspected that these editions are not yet the last word. For instance in Locana, Abhinavagupta writes :

भामहेन हि गुरुदेवनृपतिपुत्रविषयप्रीतिवर्णनं प्रेयोऽलङ्कार इत्युक्तम् ।

But in the extent editions, we see only one verse delineating the Love for Devas :

प्रेयो गृहागतं कृष्णमवादीद्विदुरो यथा ।
अद्य या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहागते ।
कालेनैषा भवेत्प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात् पुनः ॥—III, 5.

There is an indication that Bhāmaha wrote also a work on metrics. Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on Śakuntalā quotes :

तदुक्तं भामहेन—

देवता वाचकाः शब्दा ये च भद्रादिवाचकाः ।
ते सर्वे नैव निन्द्याः स्युर्लिपितो गणतोऽपि वा ॥

कः खो गो घश्च लक्ष्मीं वितरति वियशो ङस्तथा चः सुखं छः
प्रीतिं जो मित्रलाभं भयमरणकरौ झ्ञौ टठौ खेददुःखे ।
डश्शोभां ढो विशोभां भ्रमणमथ च णस्तः सुखं थश्च युद्धं
दो धः सौख्यं मुदं नः सुखभयमरणक्लेशदुःखं पवर्गः ॥

यो लक्ष्यं रश्च दाहं व्यसनमथ लवौ शस्सुखं षश्च खेदं
सस्सौख्यं हश्च खेदं विलयमपि च ळः क्षस्समृद्धिं करोति ।
संयुक्तं चेह न स्यात् सुखमरणपवुर्वर्णविन्यासयोगः (?)
पद्यादौ गद्यवक्त्रे वचसि च सकलं प्राकृतादौ समोऽयम् ॥

And if these two authors are identical, this work on metrics appears to be an extensive treatise on the topic.

Here are some fine specimens of Bhāmaha's poetry :

ताम्बूलरागवलयं स्फुरद्दशनदीधिति ।
इन्दीवराभिनयनं तवेव वदनं तव ॥ III. 46.

अंशुमद्भिश्च मणिभिः फलनिम्नैश्च शाखिभिः ।
फुल्लैश्च कुसुमैरन्यै र्वाचोऽलंकुरुते यथा ॥ VI, 64.

किंशुकव्यपदेशेन तरुमारुह्य सर्वतः ।
दग्धादग्धमरण्यान्यां पश्यतीव विभावसुः ॥ II. 92.

एलातक्कोलनागस्फुटबकुललताचन्दनस्पन्दनाढ्यः
सृक्काकर्पूरचक्रागरुकमनशिलाध्यानकाम्यासतीरः ।
शङ्खव्राताकुलान्तस्तिमिमकरकुलीकर्णवीचीप्रतानो
धत्ते यस्याम्बुराशिश्शशिकुमुदसुधाक्षीरशुद्धां सुकीर्तिम् ॥ V. 68.

तस्या हारी स्तनाभोगो वदनं हारि सुन्दरम् ।
हारिणी तनुरत्यन्तं किमन्नहरते मनः ॥ VI. 47.

आक्रोशन्नाह्वयन्नन्यानाधावन्मण्डलं रुदन् ।
गा वारयति दण्डेन डिम्भस्तस्यावतारणीः ॥ II. 94.

816. **Dandin's Kavyadarsa,**[1] in four parts, is a standard treatise on poetics and belongs to the school, for which *riti* or style is the mark of poetry.[2] It deals with only two styles Gaudī (learned) and Vaiḍarbhī (simple) but allows intermediate types. The first part treats of the nature of poetry and classification of poems, the second and third parts with figures of speech and poetical devices and the fourth part with the faults of poetry. It refers to Seṭubanḍha[3] and quite often differs from opinions must probably of Bhāmaha.[4] Very soon it attained great eminence and as early as the eighth century A.D. it was copied in the Kanarese work on Alankāra, Kavirājamargavijaya of Amoghavarṣa or Nṛpaṭunga.

There are commentaries on Kāvyaḍarśa by Vāḍighanghālaḍeva,[5]

1. Ed. by Premacandra Tarkavagisa, (*Bib. Ind.*). Ed. by Bohtlingk, (Leipsig) with German translation by Jibananda (Calcutta). Tr. in English (Poona). On Agashe's doubt on the identity of the authors of Kavyādarśa and Daśakumāracariṭa, see *IA*, XLIV. 67; S. K. De, *Bharavi and Dandin*, (*IHQ*, I).

2. The four *vibhagas* (parts) are called mārga arṭhālamkāra, sabḍālamkāra and ḍoṣa.

3. Kāvyāḍarśa, I. 34; also to a work called Kalāparicoheḍa.

4. On the relative priority of Bhāmaha and Dandin, see para 815 *supra*. S. K. De, *A note on Avantisundarikatha in relation to Bhamaha and Dandin*, *IHQ*, III. 395.

5. Ed. with notes and translation by V. Krishnamachariar and V. Hanumanṭachariar, Madras. *TC*, III. 3928; *SKC*, 61, 270.

There is a copper plate grant of Ganga King Mārasimha dated 963 A.D. to a Jain Scholar Munjārya who had the title "Vadighanghālabhatta" (See *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1921).

The contents of this plate and 6 other plates are described by R. Narasimhacarya in his paper "The Western Gangas of Talkad," published in the Jl. Mythic Society,

Ṭaruṇavācaspati,[1] S. K. Belvalkar and N. B. Raddi,[2] by Premacandra,[3] by Jībānanda,[4] by Harināṭha son of Viśveśvara,[5] by Narasimha, Bhagīraṭha and Vijayānanda,[6] by Viśvanāṭha,[7] by Ṭribhuvanacandra,[8] by Ṭriśaranaṭa Bhīma,[9] by Kṛṣṇakinkara Ṭarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya,[10] by Mallināṭha, son of Jagannāṭha,[11] and three anonymous.[12]

Bangalore. Ganga geneology from Konganivarma to Narasimhadeva (Satyavakya) is given there. - See *EI*, IV. 141 ; *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1919; *Ep. Car*. X, Kolar 90. In commenting upon Kāvyādarśa, II. 979, he says

रात (ज?) वर्मण इति रातवर्मा नाम ... ...

and that verse is from Keralavamśakāvya. In mentioning previous rhetoricians (I. 2) he names Brahmadaṭṭa, Nandiswami etc. He refers to Kusumamanjari an Ākhyāyikā. Rangācārya and Agashe read *Rājavarman* and he referring to Rājasundaravarman *alias* Narasimhavarman II of Kānci whose titles Kālakāla Daudin is said to have alluded to in Kāvyādarśa (III. 50) Mahāvaraṇa (*Ibid* IV. 25) is said to be a from referring to the royal token of Calukya Pulakesin II. S. K. De, (*SP*, I. 55) says "But the passage under discussion looks like a reference to a legendary rather than a comtemporary prince and as Pischell suggested the entire verse 278 may have been taken directly from a work relating to history."

1. Ed. Madras, by M. Rangacharya with an introduction. *DC*, XXII. 8635. Tiruṇavācaspati and Vādighanghāla say in their commentary on I. 29, II. 235 and IV. 4 that Dandin there criticises Bhāmaha. Taruṇavācaspati quotes Bhoja and the Jain poet Hasṭimalla and is quoted in an anonymous Subhāṣitāsangraha, probably of the 15th century. Poet Hasṭimalla referred to by him is probably the Jain dramatist (See S. K. De, *SP*, II. 72). The name is given as Dharmavācaspaṭi in *Opp.* 2581.

2. Ed. *BSS*, Bombay.

3. Printed, Calcutta.

4. Printed, Calcutta.

5. Ed. Madras. *DC*, XXII. 8633. It is called Hṛdayangamā. In the commentary on I. 2, it is stated that before Dandin, Kāśyapa and Vararuci had written works on Alankāra and Kālidāsa had produced his poem. The second anonymous commentary is extant only to the 1st Paricchcda and seems to be an ancient work. This quotes the first verse of Praṭignāyaugandharāyaṇa. For the third, see *Mitra*, 297; *CSC*, VII. 21.

6. *PR*, VI. 30 (Bod. 206). He was son of Viśvadhara and wrote a commentary on Sarasvaṭīkanthābharaṇa. He cites Keśavamiśra.

7. *CC*, I. 102. Nṛsimha was the son of Godādhara and grandson of Kṛṣṇaśarma.

8. Haraprasad Sastri's report (1896-00) and Haraprasad Sastri's Notices, second series, i-iv. He was a Jain and was also known as Vādisimha.

9. *Hall's Index*, 63.

10. *ICC*, No. 1497.

11. *CC*, II. 20. He is referred to by Viśveśvara in Alankārakausṭabha (69). He is different from Kolacala Mallināṭha.

12. *CC*, I. 103; *Opp.* 4119.

817. Dharmakīrti is an old writer on Alankāra. He was a Buddhist philosopher.[1] He commented on Dingnāga's Pramāṇa-samuccaya and wrote several other works on Buddhistic philosophy.[2] His Buddhanirvāṇastotra is a short poem of devotion. Quotations in the anthologies show his exquisite poetry.[3]

818. Bauddhasangati, though not now extant, is probably alluded to by Subandhu in his Vāsavadattā.[4] It is quoted by Ānandavardhana[5] and Kṣemendra.[6]

According to Tārānātha,[7] Dharmakīrti lived in the time of the Tibetan King Stron-tsan-Gampo, who was born in 617 A.D. and reigned 629-698 A.D.[8] and if Dingnāga flourished in the 5th or 6th century A.D.[9] it may be safe, apart from difference of opinion, to say

1. Aufrecht, *ISt*, XVI 204; *ZDMG*, XXVII. 41; *CC*, I. 268. He is quoted in the Sarvadarsānasangraha (I. 5). See also *BR*, (1897) xx.

2. For a full list of his works, see Thomas, *Kav.* 48-9.

3. Bstod, foll. 222.

4. Hall's Edn. 235 and preface 10: बौद्धसंगातिमिवालङ्कारभूषिताम्. On this Śivarāma says अलङ्कारो नाम धर्मकीर्तिकृतो ग्रन्थविशेषः See also R. V. Krishnamachariar, Int. to Vasa. xxxii; K. T. Telang, *JBRAS*, XVIII. 148; K. B. Pathak, *JBRAS*, XVIII. 88; L. H. Gray, Int. to Vasa. Levi denies this allusion (Bulletin de l' Ecole Franćoise d'Extreme Orient, III. 45). The Tebetan Tanjur does not mention this work.

5. For quotations in the anthologies, see Peterson, *Subh.* 46-48; F. W. Thomas, *Kav*. 48-50.

See for instance in *SDK*, II. 141:

शशिनमसूत प्राची नृत्यति मदनो हसन्ति ककुभोऽपि ।
कुमुदरजः पटवासं विकिरति गगनाङ्गणे पवनः ॥

6. See Peterson, *JBRAS*, XVI. 46-8, 172-3.

7. *History of Buddhism.*

8. Dingnāga's date is fixed at 5th or 6th century (see para 17 note *supra*) and Dharmakīrti must be at least half a century later.

There is a tradition that at the instance of Bāṇa, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa secretly studied under a Buddhist monk and after learning the secrets of their teaching vanquished Dharmakīrti, then they became friends and jointly composed the grammatical work Rupāvatāra (Ed. Madras). This would make Bāṇa, Bhatta Nārāyaṇa and Dharmakīrti contemporaries.

9. Burnell's Preface to Sāmavidhana Brāhmaṇa; K. B. Pathak, (*JBRAS*, XVIII. 88) says that ITsing calls himself a contemporary of Dharmakīrti (MaxMuller, *India*, 210 and *IA*, XIX. 319 and Takakusu's Translation of ITsing's, *A record of the Buddhist religion*, lv et seq and the accuracy of the translation is disputed (see *JBRAS*, XVIII. 149). See also *IA*, IV. 141 and IX. 149. 316; K. T. Telang (*JBRAS*, XVIII. 149) calls attention to this fact that Sthiramati who was a contemporary of Dharmakīrti (MaxMuller, *India*, 305) died some considerable time before 587 A.D. (*IA*, VI. 9).

that Ḍharmakīrṭi flourished in the last quarter of the 6th and the early part of 7th century A.D.

819. Vamana was a poet of the Court of King Jayāpīda of Kāṣmir (779-819 A.D.)[1] and having migrated later to the Court of the Rāṣṭrakūta King Jagaṭṭunga known as Govinḍa III (794-813 A.D,) he became also a member of his Council.[2] From the invocatory verses in his works, it is inferred that in religion he favoured Buddhism and Nainism. Abhinavagupṭa refers to Vāmāna's views as having been alluded to by Ānanḍavarḍhana and thus suggests that Vāmana was the earlier.[3] Vāmana makes quotations[4] from Kāḍambarī, Uṭṭararāmacariṭa, and Śiśupālavaḍha and these references make it probable that he flourished about the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century A.D.[5] His Kāvyālamkārasūṭras with his own gloss[6] are divided into 5 chapters and embrace the whole sphere of poetics. His theory is that style (रीति) is the soul of poetry,[7] and though traces of this theory are discernible in earlier literature, it was Vāmana who clearly propounded it and created a school of poetics. The popularity of the work has brought it the name of Kavipriyā.

There are commentaries on the Kāvyālankārasūṭras by Gopenḍra

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1. मनोरथश्शङ्खदत्तश्चटकस्सन्धिमांस्तथा ।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मंत्रिणः ॥ *Rai*. IV. 497.

2. " While commenting on the phrase *Rājārṭha* in the 9th Kārika of his Lingānusāsana Vāmana mentions Jagaṭṭunga-sabhā. Vāmana also mentions the name of the village Śribhávana az a village and this village is given in *EI*, XI. 162 (Vani Dindori and Radhanpur plates) of that King as a place where be spent the rainy season with his army." For the grants of Govinḍarāja III, see *EI*, VIII. App. 10-12; *EI*, V. 192.

3. Dhvanyāloka, p. 37. वामनाभिप्रायेणायमाक्षेपः ।

4. He also quotes from Subanḍhu, Amarusāṭaka, Kirātārjunīya and Mṛcchakatikā and refers to Kāmanḍakiniti, Nāmamālā and Hariprabodha, also to poets Viśākhila (author of Kalāśāsṭra), Śuḍraka and Kavirāja, probably the one mentioned as ancestor of Rājaśekhara. (?)

5. Vāmana the author of the grammatical work Kāśika is referred to by Hiuen Tsang the Chinese Traveller and could not therefore be identical. See also *PR*, I. 28-30. See articles in *COJ*, and II.

6. Edited by Cappeller (Jeena); also Bombay (Kāvyamāla) and Srirangam. Ed. by N. N. Kulkarni; Ed. by in *JSSP*, Calcutta. Tr. into English by Ganganath Jha.

7. See para 801 *supra*. See article by K. Gopalakrishnasastri in *Andhra Sah. Par. Patrika*, XXI. 189 and by G. Ganapatisarma, in *Ibid*, XX. 817.

Ṭippa Bhūpāla[1] and by Maheśvara[2] and by Sahaḍeva.[3] Sahaḍeva, the earliest commentator on the work says that the study of Vāmana's[4] work had fallen into disuetude and Bhatta Mukula procured a manuscript and revived the interest in it.[5]

Besides this work on rhetoric the following works were also Vāmana's compositions, Lingānuśasana,[6] Viḍyaḍharakāvya[7] and part of Kāśikāvṛṭṭi.[8]

820. Udbhata was a poet of tha court of King Jayāpīda of Kāṣmir (779-813 A.D.) and was the President of the royal Council on a salary of a lakh of dinaras a day. In that council was Manoraṭha, Śankhaḍaṭṭa, Cataka, Sanḍhiman, Vāmana etc.

So says Kalhaṇa (*Raj.* IV. 495, 497):

विद्वान् दीनारलक्षेण प्रत्यहं कृतवेतनः ।
भट्टोऽभूदुद्भटस्तस्य भूमिभर्तुस्सभापतिः ॥
मनोरथश्शङ्खदत्तश्चटकस्सान्धिमांस्तथा ।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥

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1. He is otherwise known as Ṭripurahara Bhupāla, apparently a South Indian Prince. He cites Viḍyāḍhara, Viḍyānāṭha, Mallināṭha and Dharmada and also a work called Kavikajānkuśa. He lived probably in the 16th century A.D. The commentary is called Kāmaḍhenu. Ed. Benarer and Srirangam.

2. *IOC*, 566 O. Bod. 2076. See for further information under Śrīvatsalānchana and Subodhanamiśra, commentators on Mammata *post*.

3. Sahaḍeva was a desciple of Śankaḍhara and belonged to the family of Tomaras. He learnt the work from Bhatta Mukula.

4. On Vāmana generally. see V. V. Sovani, *Bhandarakar Com.* Vol. 398; G. A. Jacob, *JRAS*, (1897), 288; Buhler, *Bkl*, 65; P. V. Kane, *IA*. XLI. 204; Vāmanācārya, Introduction to Kāvyaprakasa; Pischell, Introduction to Śṛngāraṭilaka; Capeller, Introduction to Edn. (His date as later than 1000 A.D. is untenable). S. K. De, *SP*, 81-4.

5. वेदिता सर्वशास्त्राणां भट्टोऽभून्मुकुलाभिधः ।
लब्ध्वा कुतश्चिदादर्शं भ्रष्टाम्नायंसमुद्धृतम् ।
काव्यालङ्कारशास्त्रं यत्तेनैतद्वामनोदितम् ।

6. Ed. with the author's own commentary by C. D. Dalal, (*GOS*) with introduction.

7. This is referred to by Varḍhamāna in his Gaṇaraṭnamahoḍaḍhi-

"वामनोऽविश्रान्तविद्याधरकाव्यकर्ता"

8. The joint author was Jayāḍiṭya. See Belwalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* and articles in *JSSP*, Calcutta by Malati Sen.

In Saḍgarusanṭānaparimala it is stated that Abhinavaśankara, 38th Ācārya of Kāmakoṭipīṭha was contemporary of Uḍbhaṭa :

क्षीरस्वामिभनोरथेशचटकर्थासा-घमच्छङ्कक-
श्रीदामोदरढक्कयवामनमहोपाध्यायमुख्यान् कवीन् ।
अष्टावप्यभिभूय दुर्जयतया भट्टोद्भटः प्रत्यहं
यो दीनारकलक्षवेतनवहः कोस्याग्रतस्सोप्यभूत् ॥

According to Kalhaṇa, Jayāpīda roamed about other kingdoms with a feigned name Kallaṭa and while witnessing Bharaṭanāṭya in the temple of Kārṭikeya at Paundravarḍhana (in Gauda Country ruled by king Jayanṭa) he was so taken up by the graces of the art, that he took with him one of the dancing women, Kamalā and made her his queen. It was probably at the request of the king that Uḍbhaṭa began his writings.[1]

Ānanḍavaḍhana mentions him with great reverence.[2] His KAVYALANKARASANGRAHA, a treatise in six chapters, deals with 41 figures of speech.[3]

There are two commentaries on it, one Vivṛṭi (now anonymous), probably the same as Uḍbhaṭaviveka of Rājānaka Ṭilaka, the other by Praṭīhārenḍurāja.[4]

Uḍbhaṭa's gloss Bhāmahavivaraṇa is referred to by Ānanḍavarḍhana, Abhinavagupṭa and Hemacanḍra.

821. Uḍbhaṭa's poem **Kumarasambhava** is extant only in the illustrations quoted in his Kāvyālankarasangraha. The few verses so preserved indicate a grace of expression and a mode of narration, which far transcends the theme of Kāliḍāsa in its poetic propriety. These are some verses :

ततः प्रभृति निस्संज्ञो नागकुञ्जरकृत्तिभृत् । शितिकण्ठः कालगळत्सतीशोकानलव्यथः ॥
तत्र तोयाशयाशेषव्याकोशितकुशेशया । चकाशे शालिकिंशारुकपिशाशामुखा शरत् ॥
सान्द्रारविन्दवृन्दोत्थमकरन्दाम्बुबिन्दुभिः । स्यन्दिभिस्सुन्दरस्यन्दं नन्दितेन्दिन्दिरा क्वचित् ॥

1. *Raj.* IV. 412-434.
2. Bom. Edn., pages 96, 108.
3. Ed *GOS*, Baroda. Rājānaka Ṭilaka is mentioned by Jayaraṭha in his commentary on Alankārasarvasva, as the author of Uḍbhaṭaviveka. (Bom. Edn., 118). Ṭilaka was the father of Ruyyaka (Rucaka) and lived about the end of the 11th century, for whom see *post*. In the introduction to this edition by K. S. Ramaswamisastri Siromani discusses all that relates to this commentary.
4. Ed. by Banhatti, Bombay.

केलिलोलालिमालानां कलैः कोलाहलैः क्वचित् । कुर्वती काननारूढश्रीनूपुररवभ्रमम् ॥
क्वचिदुत्फुल्लकमला कमलभ्रान्तषट्पदा । षट्पदक्वाणमुखरा मुखरस्फारसारसा ॥
पद्मिनीः पद्मिनी गाढस्पृहयागत्य मानसात् । अन्तर्दन्तुरयामासुर्हंसा हंसकुलालयात् ॥
जितान्यपुष्पकिञ्जल्ककिञ्जल्कश्रेणिशोभितम् । लेभेऽवतंसतां नारीमुखेन्दुष्वसितोत्पलम् ॥
काशाः काशा इवाभान्ति सरांसीव सरांसि च । चेतस्याचिक्षिपुर्यूनां निम्नगा इव निम्नगाः ॥
ज्योत्स्नाम्बुनेन्दुकुम्भेन ताराकुसुमशारितम् । क्रमशो रात्रिकन्याभिर्व्योमोद्यानमसिच्यत ॥
उत्पतद्भिः पतद्भिश्च पिञ्छालीवालशालिभिः । राजहंसैरवीज्यन्त शरदेव सरोनृपाः ॥
आसारधारावेिशिखैः नभोभागप्रभासिभिः । प्रसाध्यते स्म धवलैराशाराज्यं बलाहकैः ॥
संजहार शरत्कालः कदम्बकुसुमश्रियः । प्रेयोवियोगिनीनां च निश्शेषसुखसम्पदः ॥
क्षणं कामज्वरोच्छित्त्यै भूयस्सन्तापवृद्धये । वियोगिनामभूच्चान्द्री चन्द्रिका चन्दनं यथा ॥
तरुण्य इव भान्ति स्म चक्रवातैः स्तनैरिव । प्रबोधाद्धवळं रात्रौ किञ्जल्कालीनषट्पदम् ।
शशाङ्कबिम्बेन समं बभौ कुमुदकाननम् ॥
अपि सा सुमुखी तिष्ठेददृष्टे पथि कथंचन । अप्रार्थितोपसम्पन्ना पतितानभ्रवृष्टिवत् ॥

* * * *

इति काले कलोल्लापिकादम्बकुलसंकुले । त्रिदशाधीशशार्दूलः पश्चात्तापेन धूर्जटिः ॥
तां शशिच्छायवदनां नीलोत्पलदलेक्षणाम् । सरोजकलिकागौरीं गौरीं प्रति मनो दधे ॥

* * * *

सदग्धविग्रहेणापि वीर्यमात्रस्थितात्मना । स्पृष्टः कामेन सामान्यप्राणिचिन्तमाचिन्तयत् ॥
चण्डाळकल्पे कन्दर्पे प्लुष्ट्वा मयि तिरोहिते । सञ्जातातुलनैराश्या किं सा शोकान्मृता भवेत् ॥

* * * *

स गौरीशिखरं गत्वा ददर्शोमां तपः कृशाम् । राहुपीतप्रभस्येन्दोर्जयन्तीं दूरतस्तनुम् ॥
पद्मं च निशि निश्श्रीकं दिवा चन्द्रं च निष्प्रभम् । स्फुरच्छायेन सततं मुखेनाधः प्रकुर्वतीम् ॥
शीर्णपर्णाम्बुवाताशकष्टेऽपि तपसि स्थिताम् । समुद्वहन्तीं नापूर्वं गर्वमन्यतपस्विवत् ॥
या शैशिरी श्रीस्तपसा मासेनैकेन विश्रुता । तपसा तां सुदीर्घेण दूराद्विदधतीमधः ॥
अङ्गलेखामकाश्मीरसमालम्भनपिञ्जराम् । अनलक्तकताम्राभामोष्ठमुद्रां च बिभ्रतीम् ॥
दन्तप्रभासुमनसं पाणिपल्लवशोभिनीम् । तन्वीं वनगतां लीनजटाषट्चरणावलिम् ॥
तपस्तेजस्स्फुरितया निजलावण्यसंपदा । तपसास्याः कृतान्यत्वं कौमारायेन लक्ष्यते ॥
अचिन्तयच्च भगवानहो नु रमणीयता ।
पतेद्यदि शशिद्योतच्छठा पद्मे विकासिनि । मुक्ताफलाक्षमालायाः करेऽस्याः स्यात्तदोपमा ॥
मन्ये च निपतन्त्यस्याः कटाक्षा दिक्षु पृष्ठतः । प्रायाणाग्रे तु गच्छन्ति स्मरबाणपरम्पराः ॥

* * * *

किंवास्य बहुनोक्तेन व्रज भर्तारमाप्नुहि । उदन्वन्तमनासाद्य महानद्यः किमासते ॥

822. Lollata's commentary on Bharata is mentioned by Abhinavagupta and other later writers. He seems to have definitely championed the theory of rasa, and this Śankuka who came after him attacked. He was probably a Kāśmirian and lived about the beginning of the 9th century A.D., because according to Abhinavagupta he controverted the views of Udbhaṭa. On the question of denotation of words, he held that *abhidhā* is comprehensive enough to include any implication or suggestion, so he is called by Mammaṭa and Hemacandra as Dīrghavyāpāravādin. There is Rājaśekhara's quotation in Kāvyamīmāṃsa (p. 45):

" 'अस्तु नाम निस्सीमा अर्थसार्थः। किन्तु रसवत एव निवन्धो युक्तः, न नीरसस्य इति आपराजितिः। यदाह—

'मज्जनपुष्पावचयनसन्ध्याचन्द्रोदयादिवाक्यमिह।
सरसमपि नातिवहुलं प्रकृतरसानन्वितं रचयेत्॥
यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरपुरतुरगरथादिवर्णने यत्नः।
कविशक्तिख्यातिफलो विततधियां नो मतः स इह॥' "

This second verse is quoted along with another by Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana (p. 35) as Lollata's:

यथाह लोल्लटः—

'यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरनगतुरगपुरादिवर्णने यत्नः।
कविशक्तिख्यातिफलो विततधियां नो मतः प्रबन्धेषु॥
यमकानुलोमतदितरचक्रादिभिदोऽतिरसविरोधिन्यः।
अभिमानमात्रमेतद्गड्डरिकादिप्रवाहो वा॥' इति

This suggests that Lollata was son of Aparājita.[1]

1. Vallabhadeva has a verse of Bhaṭṭa Aparājita (*Subh.* 1024) which looks satirical:

क्षुत्क्षामेण कथं कथंचिदनिशं गात्रं कृशं बिभ्रता
भ्रान्तं येन गृहे गृहे गृहवतामुच्छिष्टपिण्डार्थिना।
अस्थ्नः खण्डमवाप्य दैवपतितं शून्यां त्रिलोकीमिमां
मन्वानो धिगहो स एव सरमापुत्रोऽद्य सिंहायते॥

Is he identical with Aparājita, the poet who was a contemporary of Rājaśekhara and mentioned in his prologue to Bālarāmāyaṇa (see para 655 *supra*). On Lollata, see S. K. De, *SP*. 38 and Vamanācārya, *Int. to Kāvyaprakāśa*.

823. Sankuka[1] is by tradition known to have criticised the views of Lollata on rasa, and he was probably a younger contemporary of Lollata, for his poem Bhavanābhyudaya[2] was composed during the reign of Ajitāpīda, King of Kāṣmīr (814-851 A.D.)[3] Śankuka's commentary on Nātyaśāstra is quoted by Abhinavagupta and later writers. He lived earlier than Anandavardhana.

824. Ghantaka came after Śankuka. His verses are quoted in the anthologees,[4] but Abhinavagupta's quotation of his opinion on nataka.

श्रीशङ्कुकस्तु अयुक्तमेतदित्यभिधाय अष्टधेति व्याचष्टे । तथा च देवी कन्या च ख्याता अख्याता भेदेन चतुर्धा । कन्या तु अन्तःपुरसङ्गीतकभेदेन द्विधेति । घण्टकादयस्त्वाहुः नायको नृपतिरित्येतावन्मात्रम् । नाटकादावुपजीवितं न तु प्रख्यातत्वमपि । तद्भेदद्वयादन्ये षोडश भेदा इति ॥

suggests that he wrote a treatise on dramaturgy.

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1. In the Sārngadharapaddhati and Suktimuktāvali, the verse

दुर्वारास्स्मरमार्गणाः प्रियतमो दूरे मनोऽप्युत्सुकं
गाढं प्रेम नवं वयोऽतिकठिनाः प्राणाः कुलं निर्मलम् ।
स्त्रीत्वं धैर्यविरोधि मन्मथसुहृत् कालः कृतान्तोऽक्षमः
नो सख्यश्चतुराः कथं नु विरहस्सोढव्य इत्थं शठः ॥

This is quoted in *Subh.* as Mayura's son Bhatta Śankuka's. If Śankuka was the son of Mayura (see para 279 *supra*) he must have lived in the 7th century A.D. and must be a different from Śankuka of Vikrama's Court.

2. Thus says Rājataranginī (IV. 703-4)

अथ मम्मोत्पलकयोरुदभूद्दारुणो रणः । रुद्रप्रवाहा यत्रासीद्वितस्ता सुभटैर्हतैः ॥
कविर्बुधमनस्सिन्धुश्शाङ्कश्शङ्कुकाभिधः । यमुद्दिश्याकरोत्काव्यं भुवनाभ्युदयाभिधम् ॥

On Śankuka, see S. K. De, *SP*, 38; Peterson's *Subh.* 127; Quackenhos, *Sanskrit Poems of Mayura*, 50-52; G. A. Jacob, *Notes on Alankara Literature*, *JRAS*, (1897), 281, 287. For the misreading by Peterson (*PR*, II. 59), see *IA*, XLI. 139. For quotation in anthologies, see Quackenbos, *l. c.* 50 f.n. and Peterson *l.c.* This is a poet Śankha or Śankhaka quoted in *Subh.* 3514.

"In 1877 one of the Buddhist Pundits obtained clue to the existence of a copy but did not succeed in persuading the ignorant owner to produce it."

3. S. P. Pandit's Pref. to Gaudavāno, lxxxvii.

4. धनुर्माला मौर्वी क्वणदलिकुलं लक्ष्यमबला
मनो भेद्यं शब्दप्रभृतय इमे पञ्च विशिखाः ।
इयान् जेतुं यस्य त्रिभुवनमदेहस्य विभवः
स कामः कामान् वो दिशतु दयितापाङ्गवसतिः ॥ *Subh.* 82.

See on Ghantaka, R. Ramamurti in *JOR*, II.

825. Anandavardhana,[1] was the son of Nona. He was a poet of the Court of Avanṭivarman of Kāṣmīr (855–884 A.D.). Raṭnākara, Mukṭākaṇa and Śivaśvāmin were his friends.[2] He was the father of the school of Ḍhvani in the science of poetics. His ḌHVANYALOKA or Kāvyāloka,[3] elaborates the doctrine of *dhvani* or suggestion, as the soul of poetry, and on that basis he discusses its relation to the other poetic embellishments. His language is lucid and is such as must clothe the expression of one who was inaugurating a new thought. His ideas have always been respected and have found a deserving notice at the hands of every later author.[4] The commentary on it, Locana of Abhinavagupṭa, has given it a worthy elucidation and a wide renown.

His Ḍevīśaṭaka is a melodious lyric in praise of Pārvaṭī.[5] Among his other works[6] are Arjunacariṭamahākāvya and two Prakrit poems, Viṣamabāṇalīlā[7] and Harivijaya

According to Gururaṭnamālikā, (64), Saṭcidānanḍasarasvaṭī, 38th Acārya of Kamakotipīṭha was a contemporary of Ānanṭavarḍhana :

अनुपश्चपुरं चिराय तिष्ठन् ध्वनिकारादिबुधाश्रितो व्रतिष्ठः ।

1, Ānanḍameru, the teacher's teacher of Paḍmasunḍara who wrote the Rāyamallābhyuḍaya Mahākāvya in Sam. 1615 (1631 A D) (*PR*, III. 257; IV, List of authors) is a different person. See para 231 *supra*.

2. *Raj*. V. 34.

3. Called also Sahṛḍayāloka. Ed. Kāvyamāla Bombay. Abhinavagupṭa appears to think (*l. c.* 54) that Ānanḍavarḍhana was the author only of the vṛṭtis and the Kārikas are anonymous. Uṭṭungodhya in his commentary on the Locana (*TC*, III. 3876) calls Ānanḍavarḍhana's work Kāvyāloka. Among the authors and works quoted are Kāliḍāsa, Pundarika, Bāṇa, Bhaṭṭoḍbhata, Bhāmaha, Sarvasena and Śātavāhana, Amaruka, Dharmakirṭi, a poem named Maḍhumaṭhanavijaya, Raṭnāvali, Ṭāpasavaṭsarāja, Rāmābhyuḍaya.

4. So says Rājaśekhara :

ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यतत्त्वनिवेदिना ।
आनन्दवर्धनः कस्य नासीदानन्दवर्धनः ॥

—Jablaṇa's Sukṭimukṭāvali.

5. In *DC*, XIX. 7678 and *SKC*, 68 there is a different work of the same name.

6. There is a commentary by Kayyata, son of Canḍrāḍitya and grandson of Vallabhaḍeva, composed in Kali 4078 or 976 A. D. in the reign of King Bhīṣmagupṭa. This Vallabhaḍeva is probably the famous commentator and the same as the poet quoted in the Subhāṣiṭāvali. See Peterson's *Subh*. 112–114. Kayyata, son of Jayyata, the author of Bhāṣyapraḍīpa is a different person. See para 29 supra.

7. It was an anthology. See Sten Konow's Int. to Karpuramanjari (*HOS*. No. IV) p. 193. Peterson (*PR*. II. 18) conjectures it is a work like Kuttinīmaṭam

826. **Mukula** was son of Bhattakallata who was a poet of the Court of king Avantivarman of Kāṣmīr (855-884). Mukula's son Harṣata wrote a gloss on Jayadevachandas,[1] and that is mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra.[2] Mukula's Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā deals with the literal denotation of words.[3]

INDURAJA, also known as Pratihārendurāja[4] was his pupil. He was born in Konkhan[5] and subsequently migrated to Kāṣmir. His only known work is Kāvyālankārasāralaghuvṛtti, the commentary on Udbhata's Kāvyālankāra.[6]

827. **Bhattanayaka's Hrdayadarpana** is reputed to be another commentary on Bharata. Abhinavagupta and Jayaratha[7] quote a verse under his name, which Mahima cites as from Hṛdayadarpaṇa.[8] It is in prose and verse and is traced only in a fragment the availability of which now is doubted.[9] Bhattanāyaka thought that rasa is the essence of good poetry and differed from Dhvani theory of Ānandavardhana. He was therefore the object of attack by Abhinavagupta. Ruyyaka sums up Bhattanāyaka's views.[10] He was probably a poet of the Court of King Avantivarman (855-884 A D) and King Śankaravarman of Kāṣmir. He seem to have written a commentary on Bhāmahālankāra.[11] His trancendental view of Nātya is rightly quoted by Abhinavagupta :

1. *Raj*. V. 66.
2. See *Bharati* (1925). S. K. De, *SP*, II. 76,
3. Ed. Bombay. If refer to Kumārila, Śabaraswāmin and Bhartṛhari.
4. On Indurāja, see *PR*, IV Index of authors ; *BKR*, 66; Peterson's, Paper on Aucityavicaracarca, 20 and introduction to *Subh*. 11, and Vamanacarya's introduction to Kavyaprakasa, 22. Jacob. *JRAS*, (1897), 295.
5. He called himself कोङ्कणः श्रीन्दुराजः
6. Ed. Bombay. Among old authors mentioned in it are Amaruka, Kāṭyāyana, Curnikāra (Patanjali), Dandin, Vāmana, Bhāmaha.
7. See *BKR*, 64-67,
8. See T. R. Chintamani, *Fragments of Bhattanayaka JOR*, (1927), 257.
9. The manuscript was possessed by the late father of M. Ramakrishna Kavi and was by him entrusted to Cheru Narasimha Sastri of Pidur village, 3 miles from Manubole Railway Station in Nellore District. This may set at rest the doubt and suggestion of S. K. De, *SP*, 39-43 that Hṛdayadarpaṇa is not a commentary on Nātyasāstra, but an independent treatise on Alankāra.
10. *Raj*. V. 159. Peterson's, *Subh*. 60.
11. GA. Jacob, *JRAS*. (1897), 296.

Bhattagopāla's commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa has

भट्टनायकस्तु, 'ब्रह्मणा परमात्मना यदुदाहृतम् अविद्याविरचितं निस्सारभेदग्रहे यदुदाहरणीकृतं तन्नाट्यम्, तद्वक्ष्यामि। यथा हि कल्पनामात्रसारं तत एवानवस्थितैकरूपं क्षणेन कल्पनाशतसहस्रसहं स्वप्नादिविलक्षणमपि सुष्ठुतरां हृद्यग्रहनिदानम् अव्यक्तस्वालम्बनब्रह्मकल्पनाटोपरचितं रामरावणादिचेष्टितं कुतोऽप्यभूताद्भुतवृत्त्या भाति, तथा भासमानमपि च पुमर्थोपायतामेति। तथा तादृगेव विश्वमिदम्सत्यनामरूपप्रपञ्चात्मकमथ च श्रवणमननादिवशेन परमपुमर्थप्रापकमिति लोकोत्तरपरमपुरुषार्थसूचनेन शान्तरसोपक्षेपोऽयं भविष्यति, 'स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादुत्पद्यते रसः' इति। तदनेन पारमार्थिकं प्रयोजनमुक्तम्' इति व्याख्यानं हृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत्। यदाह—

'नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यतः।
प्रतिक्षणं जगन्नाट्यप्रयोगरसिको जनः॥'' Baroda Edn, pp. 4-5

He distinguished Kāvya for Śāstra and Ākhyāna by the poet's expression of Bhāvakṭavavyāpāra generated by guṇa and alankāra. Mahimabhatta embarked on the same object of refuting Ḍhvani theory, though he did it without seeing this Hṛdayadarpaṇa and he was probably his younger contemporary.[1]

828. Rajasekhara's Kavyamimamsa is a unique work of literary criticism and tradition. It is supposed to be a fragment of a bigger treatise KAVIRAHASYA (or Kavivimarśa), not now traceable, though

उद्भटेनापि नम्रेण नायकेनोपलालितः।
हृद्यो भाम इव स्त्रीणामल्पारम्भोऽपि भामहः॥

V. Raghavan explains that this does not mean any commentary on Bhāmaha:

"Nāyaka accepted, as Abhinava says, (p. 12), that Rasa is the Ātman of poetry. But in distinguishing poetry from ordinary, Sātraic, or Purāṇic utterences, he formulated the doctrine of अभिधाप्राधान्य or व्यापारप्राधान्य. This means an emphasis on the form of poetry as its differentia. Bhāmaha gave Vakrokti as the differentia of poetry. The Abhidhā of a poet is his characteristic expression as a whole, his Vakrokti. Abhinava equates Nāyaka's Vyāpāra, (i.e.) expression having it and Bhāmaha's Vakrokti in his commentary on the section on Lakṣaṇas.

Abhinava says in his Locana that the Bhāvakatvavyāpāra, which is one of the three Amśas of Kāvya Śabda as distinguished from other Śabdas, is the embellishep utterence having Guṇas and Alaṇkāras pp. 68–70.

"भावकत्वमपि समुचितगुणालङ्कारपरिग्रहमस्माभिरेव वितत्य वक्ष्यते।"

Thus it is most likely that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, in defining poetry and its difference from other utterences, and in expounding his idea of Abhidhāpradhānya or Vyāpārapradhanya, drew upon, adopted, exploited and re-interpreted Bhamaha's idea of poetry as being characterised by Vakrokti. This is perhaps the उपलालन which Bhaṭṭa Gopāla says, Nāyaka gave to Bhāmaha."

1. So he says अदृष्टदर्पणा ममधीः

Bhattaśrī Nārāyaṇaśastrin mentions it and gives an extract about Bhāsa's works.[1] Kāvyamīmāmsa has been extensively used by Kṣemendra, Bhoja and Hemacandra and has been held in very great reverence.[2]

A. B. Keith has an excellent summary of this work: He conceives of the Kavyapurusa, the spirit of poetry, son of Sarasvati, and the Sahityavidya, science of poetics, who becomes his bride, the term Sahitya being derived, we may believe, from the old doctrine of the union of word or sound and sense to make a poem, as laid down by Bhamaha, Magha, and others. He distinguishes carefully science, Castra, and poetry, and analyses the division of the former: and discusses at length the relation of genius, poetic imagination, culture, and practice in making a poet and classifies poets on this score. A further classification is based on the fact that a poet may produce a Castra, or a poem, or combine both in varying proportions, and of poets in the narrower sense he makes eight illogical groups. His own conception of poetry appears traditional; he defines it as a sentence possessing qualities and figures, and he accepts Vamana's doctrine of styles which are the extreme of Sahityavidya's wanderings in diverse lands. The sources of poetry are touched on, and the subject-matter as concerned with men, divine beings, or denizens of hell is investigated. Very interesting is the discussion of borrowing from earlier works; it is recognized as justified by freshness of idea and expression, and elaborate illustration is given of thirty-two different ways of evading improper plagiarism. Important also is the consideration of poetical conventions, and we are given a geography of India and many remarks on the seasons with their appropriate winds, birds, flowers, and action. Rājasekhara also gives curious details of the likings of different parts of India for certain languages and their mode of mispronouncing Sānskrit. The Magadhas and others east of Benares are blunt in Prākrit, good at Sanskrit, but the Gaudas are thoroughly bad in Prakrit, the Latas dislike Sanskrit but use the Prakrit beautifully, the Surāstras and Travanas mix Apabhranca with Sanskrit, the Dravidas recite musically, Kāshmirian pronunciation is as bad as their poetry is good, Karnātas end up sentences with a twang, northerners are nasal, the people of Pancala sweet and honey-like. Women poets are recognised, and sex barriers despised, while of the ten grades of poets the rank of Kavirāja, held by Rajacekhara, comes seventh even above the Mahākavi himself. Great stress is laid on the assem-

1. See para 568 *supra*.
2. See S. K. De, *SP*, 125.

blies at which poets were judged and where the prize given by the king included crowning with a fillet and riding in a special chariot. The poet's paraphernalia is given, chalk, a board, palm leaves, birch bark, pen and ink. More important is the insistence on the equal rights of all four forms of speech; Sanskrit; Prakrit elegant, sweet and smooth; Apabhranca also elegant, as loved in Marwar, Takka, and Bhadānāka; and Bhūtabhāṣā current in Avanti, Pariyatra, and Daca-pura, while the people of the Madhyadeca, used all equally well. The people of that land show also their admixture by their colours, brown like the easterners, dark like the southerners, while like the westerners, while the northerners are fair. When we add that he quotes extensively including the *Mahimnastotra*, gives many fine verses and anecdotes and is usually lively if pedantic, the merits of his work can be appreciated."[1]

829. Rudrata[2] known as Śatānanda was the son of Bhatta Vāmuka, a follower of Sāmaśākhā.[3] His Kāvyālankāra is quoted by Rājaśekhara, by Bhoja and by Pratīharendurāja in his comentary Udbhatālankāra which was written in Sam. 1122 (1066 A.D.). Rudrata must have therefore flourished in the latter half of the 9th century.[4]

Of Rudrata's works, there are two, Śṛngāratilaka and Kāvyālankāra, besides Tripuravadha of which there is a mention.

830. SRNGARATILAKA,[5] in three parts, delineates rasas as developed in poems as opposed to plays. It is written in very fine verse and has been quoted profusely by later writers with admiration. There

1. *SL*, 885. Ed. with introduction, (*GOS*) Baroda and Ed. by Narayanasastri Kisthe, with his own commentary and Ed. with the commentary of Pandit Madhu. sudanamiśra.

2. Nyāyavācaspati Rudrakavi, son of Vidyavilāsa was the author of Bhāvavilāsa and panegyric of King Bhāvasimha of Jaipur, son of Wanasimha, contemporary of Akbar of the 17th century. (Kavyamala, Part II).

3. This information is given in the Mahācakrabandha. See the diagram at the end of the book in the Kāvyamāla Series.

4. Buhler originally thought (*BKR*. page 67, *JBRAS*. XXI. 67) that Rudrata belonged to the second half of the 11th century but later on saw (*IA*, XII. 30) that he could not be placed later than the 10th century A. D. Jacobi (*VOJ*, II. 151) suggests that Rudrata was a Kashmirian contemporary of King Sankaravarman, son of Avantivarman and that the example of Vakrokti given by him (II. 15) was prompted by Ratnākara whose work Vakroktipancāśikā contains similar railleres between Śiva and Pārvati.

5. Ed. Bombay, and by Pischell, Kiel. On the identity of authors of Śṛngara-tilaka and Kavyalankāra, there has been much difference of opinion. But the quotations here following make the identity clear. In Bhāvaprakāśa (Ch. IV) Śaradātanaya says:

is a commentary on it called Rasataranginī by Gopala Bhatta, son of Harivamśabhatta.[1]

831. His KAVYALANKARA is written in Āryā metre and is in 16 chapters. Rudrata recognises the fame of the poet and the good of others as the only object of poetry. He deals with the figures of speech depending on sound and sense. He includes Vakrokti among the former and makes a broad classification of the latter into vāstava[2] aupamya, atiśaya and śleṣa.

There are three commentaries on Kāvyālankāra by Vallabhadeva,[3] Namisādhu,[4] and Āśādhara.[5]

832. **Namisadhu**[6] was a Śvetāmbara Jain Bhikṣu and disciple of Śālibhadra. He wrote his commentary in the year Sam. 1125

इत्थं शतत्रयं तासामशीतिश्चतुरुत्तरा ।
संख्येयं रुद्रटाचार्यैरुपभोगाय कल्पिता ॥

in which the 1st half is I 88 of Śṛṅgāratilaka and saying

शृंगाराभास एव स्यान्न शृंगारः कदाचन ।
इति द्विषन्तमुद्दिश्य प्राह श्रीरुद्रटः कविः ॥—Śṛiṅgāraṭilaka.

He quotes from Śṛiṅgāraṭilaka, I. 64, 68–70. In his commentary on Daśarupa, Bahurupamiśra thus quotes from Rudrata. रसिकसार्वभौमः रुद्रट एवोत्तरमाह and quotes some versez I. 49, 68, 69.

Bhattagopāla in his commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa says

आर्यानुरागी सर्वज्ञस्सत्यं रुद्रस्स रुद्रटः ।

In Rasārṇavasudhākara, Śingabhupāla quotes Śṛṅgāraṭilaka (I. 69) as of Rudrata. Bhoja quotes from Śṛṅgāraṭilaka and Kāvyālankāra. Aufrecht (*ZDMG*, XXVII. 80; XXXVI. 776), Weber (*ISt.* XVI). Buhler (*BKR*, 67) and Pischel (*ZDMG*, XLII. 296–304. 425–435 and preface to Edn.) accept the identity. Durgaprasad (Edn. of Śṛṅg). Trevedi (*Notes to Ekavali*, 3), Jacobi (*VOJ*, II. 51, IV. 69; *ZDMG*, XLII. 296, 425), and S. K. De (*SP*, I. 90–96) deny the identity. Peterson (*Subh.* 104–5; *PR*, I. 14, II. 19; *JBRAS*, XVI. 14–20) and Thomas (*Kav.* 92–96) doubt the identity. See also *BR*, (1897) xliv and *JRAS*, (1897) 221. Durgaprasad (*l.c.*) notes that a verse *Sārdham Manorathaśataiḥ* is quoted by Viṣṇuśarman in Pancaṭanṭra and because the latter cannot be earlier than 8th century A.D. (as he quotes Kuttinimaṭa) the author of Śṛṅgāraṭilaka must have lived about the end of the 7th century A.D. In some colophons of Śṛṅgāraṭilaka he is called Rudrabhatta. See also *IA*, XV, 287; *BKR*, 65.

1. If he is the author referred to by Kumāraswāmin he is earlier than the beginning of the 15th century A.D. He wrote commentaries on Kāvyaprakāśa and Rasamanjari. See S. K. De, *SP*, I. 101 and *CC*, I. 113, 161, 195.

2. *BR*, I. 14–20.

3. The work is lost.

4. Ed. Bombay.

5. *CC*. I. 103, 779.

6. He calls himself, Śvetabhikṣunami, Śvetāmbaranami, Panditanemi, Nami sadhu, Sādhunami.

(1069 A. D),[1] for "men of feeble intellect; ever on the lookout for primers and abstracts. His gloss is drawn up "in strict accordance with commentaries drawn up by mighty minds of old." For Rudrata's work to grow so much in importance and for it to become so popular sufficient time must have elapsed and about two centuries may be thought of as that interval.[2]

833. **Dhananjaya** was the son of Viṣṇu. He was a poet of the King Munja (Vākpaṭirāja II) of Paramāra dynasty of Malva who ruled in 9744-995 A.D.[3] Among Ḍhananjaya's friends were Paḍmaguptạ, Halāyuḍha and Ḍhanapāla. His ḌASARUPA[4] is a succinct treatise on dramatic writing. It is mainly based on the rules laid down by Bharaṭa, which "being diffuse is bewildering to those of slow wit" and except to a little extent in the classification of heroines, and treatment as Śṛngara, he rarely differs from Bharaṭa's Nāṭyaśāsṭra. The excellence of Ḍhananjaya's presentation has gained for it a popularity which has tended to replace in a great measure the usefulness of Nāṭyaśasṭra and it is referred to by later writers on rhetoric mostly with approbation.

There are commentaries on Ḍaśarūpa by Ḍhanika,[5] and by Bahurūpamiśra,[6] by Nṛsimhabhatta,[7] by Ḍevapāṇi,[8] by Kṣoṇīḍharamiśra,[9] and by Kūravirāma.[10]

1 Ed. Bombay. He quotes from Arjunacariṭa of Ānanḍavarḍhana, Ṭilakamanjari of Dhanapāla and from a work on prosody by Jayaḍeva.

2. Peterson (*PR.* I. 17) thinks middle of 11th century probable.

3. About this dynasty, see paras 515 *supra*.

4. Ed. by F. Hall, Calcutta with preface; by K. P. Parab, Bombay; by Vidyasagara, Calcutta. Tr. into English by C. C. C. Haas (*Col. Unv. Series*) with notes and introduction. See also S. K. De, *SP*, I. 128-135; Barnett, *JRAS*, (1913) 190.

5. Ed. along with Daśarupa (*l. c.*).

6. *TC*, IV. 5434, V. 6180.

7. *TC*, III. 3347. There are commentaries on Kāvyaprkaśa on Sarasvaṭīkanthābharaṇa and Śabarabhaṣya by Narasimha, but it is not known if all these Narasimhas are identical. From the fact that manuscripts of commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa are found in Telugu commentary only, it may be said he was a different author but the manuscripts of the other three commentaries are found in Malabar and were discovered in the house of Payyur Patteri, father of Vāsuḍeva, in whose family there was a scholar named Narasimha. About Payyur Patteri see para 170 *supra*.

8. *TC*, II. 1097. He is quoted by Ranganāṭha in his commentary on Vikramorvaśi and must therefore be earlier than 1656 A D.

9. Hall's Edition, 4 notes.

10. *CC*, II. 53. His Daśarupakapaḍḍhaṭi (*CC*, II. 1097) is in 110 verses on the characteristics of plays. He also wrote a commentary on Bhāratacampu and Viśvaguṇādarśa and Kuvalāyananḍa. (See *HR*, I. xi). He was patronised by the Zamindar of Karvetnagar, Chittoor Dist. in Madras.

834. Dhanika was probably Ḍhananjaya' brother[1] unless as some say Ḍhanika and Ḍhananjaya are one. In one of the manuscripts of his Avaloka he is described as an officer (Mahāsāḍhyapāla) of king Uṭpala-rāja, that is Munja.[2] He was probably the father of Vasanṭācārya, who was a donee under a grant of land by king Vākpaṭi (Munja) in 974 A.D[3] He also wrote poetry and gives his own illustrations of Ḍhananjaya's definitions.[4] In his Avaloka (IV. 46) he quotes verses from another work of his, Kāvyanirṇaya.

835. BAHURUPAMISRA is described as Mahāmahopāḍhyāya in the colophon to his work. Of the latest writers, he quotes are Bhoja and Murāri and from the circumstance that he does not refer to Mammata or any later rhetoricians, he may be assigned to the beginning of the 12th century A.D. He comments on the text and gloss of Ḍhananjaya and Ḍhanika, and thereby treats both as Ḍaśarūpa. His commentary is called Rūpaḍīpikā. It is probably the best commentary available and its value is ennanced by illustrations taken from authors of whom many are now unknown.[5]

836. Abhinavagupta alias **Nrisimhagupta**[6] was the son of Nṛsimhagupṭa (known as Chukhala or Mukhala) and Vimalā, and grandson of Varāhagupṭa. His father's maternal grandfather was Yaśorāga.

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1. In some works Daśarupa is referred to as the work of Dhanika (see Sāhiṭyadarpaṇa, 313 and 316) and this had led to the confusion that the author of the Daśarupa and the commentary are one. See Levi, *WI*, 17 ; Jacobi, *GA*, (1913) 303. The commentary has several indications of difference in authorship. See for instance II. 34; III. 40 and IV, 62.

2. See Wilson's, *Theatre*, I. xx-xxi : Hall, *Int. to Edn* 3 notes.

3. *IA*, VI. 51-53, *JASB*, XXX, 195-210.

4. Among works quoted or referred to are, Uḍāṭṭarāghava, Chaliṭarāma, Pandavānanda, Rāmābhyuḍaya, Ṭarangaḍaṭṭa and Puṣpaḍuṣiṭaka.

5. Among rare authors and works quoted by him are:
कोहल, नखकुट्ट, भट्टनारायण, श्रीहर्ष, छलितराम, मातृगुप्त, षट्सहस्रीकार, कुमारगर्भ, देवीनायकानंद, प्रतिज्ञाभीम, पाण्डवानंद, दशग्रीववध, रामाभ्युदय, सुग्रीवाभिषेक, नलविजय, देवीपरिणय, मेनकानहुष, मदलेखा, स्तंभितरंभ, स्वप्नवासवदत्त, कृत्यारावण, नृत्यचरक, तरंगदत्त, पद्मावतीपरिणय, पुष्पभूषितक, माधवी, ललितनागर, शशिकला, भगवदज्जुक, तारकोद्धरण, सिंधुर, विक्रम, भीमाविक्रम, अमृतमथन, शक्रानंद, मालतिका, कामदत्त, नागाविजय, कुसुमशेखरविजय, ऊर्वशीमदन, उदात्तराघव ॥

6. 'Gupta' denotes a sect of Kashmir brahmins. Abhinava is the proper name. So writes Kṣemarāja in his Neṭroḍyoṭa : अभिनवबोधा.' See Durgāprasāda's Int to Sāhiṭyadarpaṇa (Bombay)'

Manorathagupta[1] was his brother. His teachers were Utpalarāja Bhattendurāja, Lakṣmaṇagupta, Siddhicela and Bhatta Tauta.[2] Kṣemendra was his pupil. He was a staunch votary of Śiva. He is held in great everence by later writers and he is styled Ācāryapādāḥ. His Bṛhat-Pratyabhignā-vimarśinī gives his parentage and the date of its composition as the year 90 Laukika or 1013 A.D.[3] He was a poet, logician and philosopher.

Abhinava's paternal uncle VAMANAGUPTA was also a writer on poetics. He is quoted thus in Abhinavabhāratī (p. 297):

तत्र हास्याभासो यथा अस्मत्पितृव्यस्य वामनगुप्तस्य—
लोकोत्तराणि चरितानि न लोक एष
संमन्यते यदि किमङ्ग वदाव(म?) नाम ।
यत्त्वत्र हासमुखतस्त्वसमुष्य तेन
पार्श्वोपपीडमिह को न विजाहसीति ॥

In Mādhava's Śankaravijaya (XV. 158) it is said that Abhinavagupta was vanquished by Śankara.[4] The 48th Ācārya in Kamakotipītha, Advaitanandabodhendra is said to have vanquishedby Abhinaagupta and Śriharṣa. So says Punyaslokamanjari and Gururatnāmalikā.

अभिचारकगुप्तपादवादिप्रमुहर्षादिपराभवाग्रभूमिम् ।

His Locana is a commentary on Dhvanyāloka[5] of Anāndavardhana

1. The poet Manoratha of the Court of king Jayāpida (779–319 A. D) was a different person (*RAJ*, IV. 496). See Peterson' *Subh.* 85.

2. He was called Mahāmāheśvara Abhinavagupta (*DC*, XXI. 8666),.

3. इह विश्वानुजिघृक्षापरः परमशिव एव सकलभूमण्डलोत्तरे श्रीमच्छारदादिव्यक्रीडासदने श्रीकाश्मीरदेशे श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तसहधर्मचारिण्यां श्रीमत्यां विमलायां लीलया अवतीर्य श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तनाथ इति प्रख्याताभिधानः ... ...
... ...
श्रीमदुत्पलदेवाचार्यमुखोद्गतं श्रीमदीश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाख्यं शास्त्रं व्याचिख्यासुः ...

4. See C. V. Krishnaswami Iyer's *Life of Sankara* (Madras) 70. On Abhinavagupta, see Jacobi *JRAS*, (1897,) 297; (1908), 65–9; P. V. Kane, *IA*, XLI. 204.

5. Ed. Kāvyamala, Bombay, [except chapter IV which has been edited by S. k. De in *Jl. of Dep. of Letters*, Calcutta, 1923] Being edited by S. K. De for *BSS*, Bombay. There is a commentary on it Anjanā, anonymous. It cites Induraja as Paramaguru or teacher's teacher (ibid. 8668), There is another commentary by Uttungodaya (*TC.*, III. 3876). In the Locana the following works are referred to:

Arjunacarita, Kadambarikathasara (as the work of Bhatta Jayantaka, father of Abhinanda though the latter is the reputed author of it), Tapasavatsaraja, Bhallata, Matangadivakara, Śriharṣa, Yaśovarman's Ramabhyudaya, Bhattanayaka, Rudrata, Viṣamabāṇalilā, Bhāmaha, Dutangada, Patalavijaya (of Panini,) Venisambara, Śukasaptati, Tilakamanjari, Svapnavasavadatta, Kavyakautuka, Haravijaya (prakrit).

and is a mine of rhetorical learning, Bhairavastotra[1] is a collection of verses in praise of Kālabhairava and Mahopadeśavimśati is a series of sententious moral maxims. Among his other works[2] are also Kramastotra,[3] Ghatakarparavivṛti, Nāṭyalocana and Abhinavabhāratī, the last two being commentaries on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra.[4]

837. **Utpaladeva** was the teacher of Abhinava's teacher Lakṣmaṇagupta, He was the son of Udayākara and lived adout 930 A.D. He is quoted by Kṣemendra. He was the author of Iśvarapratyabhijnā-sūtra, on which Abhinava wrote a gloss (vṛtti) in 1015 A.D.[5] Utpala's guru was Somānanda, founder of Pratyabhijnā cult. Utpala's views on music are quoted by in Abhinavabhāratī. For instance :

तस्मादुक्तधर्मोपजविनमेव परमगुरुनिरूपितं युक्तम् ।

यथोक्तं श्रीमदुत्पलपादैः—

स्थितस्थायित्वसंपन्नात् प्रस्तुतस्थमयोजनम् ।
ध्रुवास्तु यद्यदन्येभ्यस्तद्वद्प्रज्ञोपकल्पयेत् ॥

and in Basavarāja's Śivatatvaratnākara, there is this reference:

उत्पलाद्यं परिमळं कार्ति शार्ङ्गधरस्य च ।

838. **Bhatta Tauta's**[6] work Kāvyakautuka is lost. His definition of Kavi and Kāvya is mentioned by Rāmacandra and quoted by Māṇikyacandra :

तथोक्तं काव्यकौतुके—

प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिमा मता ।
तदनुप्राणनाजीवद्वर्णनानिपुणः कविः ॥
तस्य कर्म स्मृतं काव्यम् ।

It appears that Rājacūdāmaṇi Dīkṣita had a copy of this book and he follows Tauta's definition in his Kāvyadarpaṇa.[7]

Tauta's estimation of a kavi (poet) is superb and is quoted by Hemacandra :[8]

1. Composed in Laukika 68 (989 A. D).
2. For a list of his works, see *SKC*, 365.
3. Composed in Laukika 66 (991 A. D).
4. See chapters on *Music* and *Dancing*, post.
5. *TC*, III. 3843. For a summary of quotations, see Thomas, *Kav.* 29, also Aufrecht, *ZDMG*, XXVII. 12 ; *CC*, I. 64; *SKC*, 306.
6. For a discussion of fragments of Tauta, see V. Raghavan's article on *Writers quoted in Abhinavabhārati*, *JOR*, Madras.
7. Mys. Edn. of Kavyaprakāśa, p. 7.
8. Srirangam Edn. I, 7.

तथा चाह भट्टतोतः—

"नानृषिः कविरित्युक्तः ऋषिश्च किल दर्शनात् ।
विचित्रभावधर्मांशतत्त्वप्रख्या च दर्शनम् ॥
स तत्त्वदर्शनादेव शास्त्रेषु पठितः कविः ।
दर्शनाद्वर्णनाच्चाथ रूढा लोके कविश्रुतिः ॥
तथा हि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेर्मुनेः ।
नोदिता कविता लोके यावज्जाता न वर्णना ॥—*Kāvyānuśāsana,* p. 316.

Abhinavagupta wrote a gloss on it Vivaraṇa and mentions it in his Locana,[1] and quotes his views in Abhinavabhāratī. Tauta refuted the theories of Lollata and Śankuka on rasa.

839. **Bhattenduraja** was the son of Śrībhūtirāja and grandson of Saucuka of Kāśyapagotra. His verses furnished easy illustrations for Abhinavagupta, who calls his teacher Vidvat-kavi-sahṛdaya-cakravartin. He is quoted by Kṣemendra in Aucityavicāracarcā and Suvṛttatilaka.

840. **Ksira** or **Ksiraswamin** was a pupil of Bhattendurāja. His drama Abhinavarāghava is quoted in Nāṭyadarpaṇa by Rāmacandra, a pupil of Hemacandra, where Sthāpaka says—

आर्य चिरस्य स्मृतम्—

अस्त्येव राघवमहीनकथापवित्रं
काव्यं प्रबन्धघटनाप्रथितप्रथिम्नः ।
भट्टेन्दुराजचरणाब्जमधुव्रतस्य
क्षीरस्य नाटकमनन्यसमानसारम् ॥

and Rāmacandra in introducing the above quotation says—

यथा क्षीरस्वामिविरचितेऽभिनवराघवे ।

841. **Bhojadeva** of Dhārā[2] has a distinquished place in poetics, and with his name are associated Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa and Śṛngāraprakāśa. In Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa,[3] in five long chapters, Bhoja discusses the merits and faults of poetry, the figures of speech, and the sentiments. The general precepts are profusely illustrated from the

1. Bom. Edn. p. 178. भट्टतौतेन काव्यकौतुके अस्माभिश्च तद्विवरणे बहुतरकृतनिर्णयः ।
2. See S. K. De, *Agnipurana and Bhoja* [*JRAS* (1928), 537]
3. Ed. Benares. For a detailed description of the work, see Auf. Bod. Cat. No. 489 and R. Mitra's Cat. No. 3143; *DC*, XXII, 8703.

works of standard authors[1] and in this respect, the treatise forms a landmark in the history of Sanskrit literature.

There are commentaries on it by Ratneśvaramiśra composed at the instance of Rāmasimhadeva,[2] by Bhatta Narasimha,[3] by Lakṣmīnāthabhatta[4] and by Jagaddhara.[5]

842. **Bhoja's Srngaraprakasa**[6] is the most extensive work on Alankāra and has largely been used by Hemacandra and Śāradātanaya. It has 36 Prakāśas or Chapters. The first eight deal with grammatical technicalities and the theory of Vṛtti; the ninth and the tenth with faults and merits of expression and thought, and the eleventh with Mahākāvya and the twelfth with drama; and the next twenty-four chapters are devoted to Rasas, of which the main is held to be Śṛngāra.[7]

In the last verses of these two treatises Bhoja invokes eternity for his work thus:

यावन्मूर्ध्नि हिमांशुकंदलभृति स्वर्वाहिनी धूर्जटे-
र्यावद्वक्षसि कौस्तुभस्तबकिते लक्ष्मीर्मुरद्वेषिणः ।
यावच्चित्तभुवस्त्रिलोकविजयप्रौढं धनुः कौसुमं
भूयात्तावदियं कृतिः कृतधियां कर्णावतंसोत्पलम् ॥

1. Among rare works and authors quoted are, Kādambarikathāsāra, Bhāravi, Kumāradāsa, Gādhāsaptaśati, Candiśataka, Caurapancāśikā, Daśakumāracarita, Bhallataśatakā, Bhāsa, Mahānātaka, Mālavarudra, Rudrata, Bhāmaha, Mudrārākṣasa, Lakṣmīdhara, Vikatanitambā, Vijjakā, Rājaśekhara, Hayagrīvavadha. For a fuller reference, see Jacobi, *Notes on Alankara Literature*, [*JRAS* (1897), 281.]

2. Ed. Benares. *DC*, XXII. 8505.

3. *TC*, III. 3518.

4. *CASB*, 215.

5. Ed. by Kedarnath Sarma, Bombay.

6. *TG*, IV. 4831. Ed. partly by Sri Yadugiriswāmi of Melkote.

7. Among works and poets quoted are the following that are rare:

अनङ्गवती, अब्धिमथनम्, अभिसारिकावंचितकम्, चौरपञ्चाशिका, इंदुलेखा, इंदुमती, उदयनोदयम्, उषाहरणम्, उदात्तराघवम्, कुंदमाला, कुवलयाश्वचरितम्, कृष्णचरितम्, चारुमती, चित्रलेखा, छलितराघवम्, तापसवत्सराजम्, त्रैलोक्यसुंदरी, दमयंती, देवीचन्द्रगुप्तम्, पार्थविजयम्, फुल्लसकम्, बृन्दावनम्, बृहत्कथा, भीमकुल्या, मत्स्यहसितम्, मलयवती, मदालसाख्यायिका, माधविका, मारीचवधम्, मालतिका, मुकुटताडितकम्, रतिविलापम्, रामचरितम्, रामाभ्युदयम्, राघवानंदम्, रावणवधम्, लक्ष्मीस्वयंवरम्, लीलावती, विक्रान्तशूद्रकम्, विनयवतीशूद्रकम्, शकुन्तिका, शाखाविशाखोपयमम्, शूद्रककथा, स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्, स्वयंप्रभा, सुभद्राहरणम्, हयग्रीववधम्, हरविलासम्, हरिवंशम्, हरिविजयम्, हरिश्चंद्रचरितम्.

843. Ajitasena was a Jain ascetic. He was priest of Cāmundarya, minister of the Ganga King Rācamalla of the 10th century A.D. He was the teacher of the Kanarese poet Nāgavarma, head of a Mut at Bankipore. His Śringāramanjarī is a small work in 128 verses meant for elementary instruction,[1] but Alankāracūḍāmaṇi[2] is more elaborate.

844. Ksemendra's Aūcityavicāracarcā has been noticed. It propounds the theory that *aucitya* is the mark of poetry.[3]

In his Kavikanthābharaṇa (p. 126) Kṣemendra quotes a verse of Bāṇa, from a source unknown:

कट्ठ क्रणन्तो मलदायकाः खलास्तुदन्त्यलं बन्धनश्टङ्खला इव ।
मनस्तु साधुध्वानिभिः पदे पदे हरन्ति सन्तो मणिनूपुरा इव ॥

and from Lalitamahākāvya of his pupil Udayasimha.

845. Kuntaka or Kunṭala came between Rājaśekhara and Mahimabhatta and was very probably a younger contemporary of Abhinavagupta. He must have lived between 10-11th century A.D. Bhāmaha had declared that vakrokṭi embellishes poetry. Ḍandin classified poetry as svabhāvokti and vakrokṭi:

भिन्नं द्विधा स्वभावोक्तिर्वक्रोक्तिरिति वाङ्मयम् ।

Kunṭaka laid down in his VAKROKTIJIVITA[4] that vakrokṭi is the life of poetry and combatted the theory of ḍhvani by saying that ḍhvani should be included in upacāravakraṭā, vakrokṭi based on resemblance or attribution.[5]

846. Mahimabhatta or Mahimā was the son of Śrīḍhairya. Mahimā courted renown and the means he chose was to make a destructive critique on the most famous work of his day.[6] Ānanḍavarḍhana's Ḍhvanyāloka was the target[7] and with a sagacity of thought, scarcely rivalled by any other rhetorician, Mahimā brought into his work a width of learning and a logic of argument which can only be appre-

1. Ed. by Paḍmaraja Pandita in Kavyāmbuḍhi (1893-4). *CC*, I. 6, III, 2.
2. *CC*, I.661; *SR*, II. 83, 231; *DC*, XXI. 8699.
3. See para 69 *supra*.
4. Ed. by S. K. De with a valuable introduction in *COS*, Calcutta.
5. K. A. Sankaran, *Kuntaka's attitude towards Dhvani*, *JOR* (1927), 45.
6. *TC*, III. 3891.
7. On Mahimabhatta, see Peterson, *PR*, II. 17; Aufrecht, *CC*, I. 616 (Rājānaka Mahimācārya); M. T. Narasimha Iyengar (*JRAS*, 1908, 65-69); V. V. Sovani (*Bh. Co.* Vol. 392); P. V. Kane (*IA*. 41-204).

ciated by a study of it. "The latest writer Mahimā quotes is Abhnivagupta and the earliest writer who reviews the work of Mahimā is Mammata." Mahimā must therefore be placed between Abhinavagupta (about 1000 A.D.) and Mammata (middle of 1050 A.D.), that is about the beginning of the 11th century A.D.[1]

Mahimā was a dialectician par excellence. To him all the world was *anumāna* or inference. He would reduce any idea into a syllogism. In short, no knowledge there is that is not in scientific essence grounded on inference.[2] Bhatta Nāyaka had already taken up his cudgels against the theory of Ḍhvani,[3] but Mahimā hnd not seen his work Ḍarpaṇa, Hṛḍayaḍarpaṇa, because his aim was to achieve celebrity without delay and without being charged for not being original.

847. His VYAKTIVIVEKA, (called by him Kāvyālankāra[4] of that name), literally an inquiry into Vyakṭi (or succession), is in three chapters.[5] In the first, the definition of Ḍhvani as given by Ānanḍavarḍhana is attacked word by word and letter by letter and is merely a destructive criticism. In the second he takes up other sundry theories such as of Vakrokṭi of Kunṭaka and refutes his doctrine of that the merit of poetry is felicitous expression.

Mahimā's reasoning is thus epitomised: Vyakṭi is Ḍhvani. It is the manifestation of that which is desired to be manifested and it manifests itself along with its subject, that is, that which manifests it. For instance, a vessel contained in a dark room becomes visible along with the light that makes it visible.[6] Mahimā's object, viz., to gain celebrity, has been really attained. He cared not whether it was approbation or reprobation, for in any case his aim was not to sink into oblivion in the literary world.[7]

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1. अनुमानेऽन्तर्भावं सर्वस्यैव ध्वनेः प्रकाशयितुम् ।
   व्यक्तिविवेकं कुरुते प्रणम्य महिमा परां वाचम् ॥
2. See P. V. Kane, (*IA*, 41, 204).
3. सहसा यशोभिसर्तुं समुद्यताऽदृष्टदर्पणा मम धीः । See para 809 *supra*,
4. व्यक्तिविवेकाख्ये काव्यालंकारे ।
5. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandram.
6. See Mahadevasastri's preface to Edn. *l. c.* 2.
7. अन्यैरनुल्लिखितपूर्वमिदं ब्रुवाणो नूनं स्मृतेर्विषयतां विदुषामुपेयाम् ।
   हासैककारणगवेषणया नवार्थतत्त्वावमर्शपरितोषसमीहया वा ॥

The commentary that is printed in the Trivandrum edition is nameless. Jayaraṭha in his commentary on Alankārasarvasva says that Ruyyaka had written a Vyakṭivivekavicāra. From the fact that the commentator mentions his other works Nāṭaka-

848. **Mammata** was the son of Jayyata[1] of the Rājānaka family. He was a native of Kāṣmir but had his education at Benares. Tradition says that he was the brother of Kayyata, the grammarian and Uvvata, the Vedic glossator.[2] He came after Bhoja and probably had himself seen the last years of that king's reign, and he distinctly mentions his greatness and liberality in his Kāvyaprakāśa.[3] The earliest commentary on this work, yet known, was written by Māṇikyacandra in 1159 A.D.[4] and we may safely assign Mammata to the middle of the 11th century A.D.[5]

Mammata was a staunch devotee of Śiva. He was a great grammarian and followed the views of the grammarian school.[6] His KAVYAPRAKASA (in 10 Ullasas) is often called Ākara. It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, treats as usual of the merits and faults of poetry, the operation of words and their sources, and the figures of speech. According to him, real poetry is that which is free from faults and

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mimāmsa, Sāhityamimāmsa and Harṣacaritvārtika and Bṛhaṭī, it is likely that this commentary is the work of author of Alankārasarvasva, (Mankhuka?). See Int. to Alankārasarvaśva, *TSS*.

1. Jayyata was probably the joint author with Vāmana of the Kaśikāvṛtti.

2. This account is given in Bhīmasena's commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa. But Vāmanācārya (Int. to Kāvyaprakāśa, Bombay) says that Uvvata calls himself in his Bhāṣya the son of Vajrata and that his Bhāṣya was composed when Bhoja was the reigning king. He therefore thinks that this tradition cannot be true. See on this *JRAS* (1908), 65, 66.

3. The references are given by Vāmanācārya. *l. c.* pp. 5-6.

4. Ibid *l. c.* pp. 26-27 where the extract from the commentary is given.

5. Peterson (*Subh.* 85) notes that Mammata cannot be placed earlier than the commentary on it by one Jayanta written in 1300-1294 A. D. and that the earliest writer that is known to refer to Mammata is Ruyyaka, who wrote his Sanketa on Kāvyaprakāsa (*PR*, II. p. 13). Duff (*Chronology*, p. 189) refers to the commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa by Narahari dated 1242 A. D (See Vāmanācārya *l. c.* p. 28-29.) Ganapatiśāstrin (*TSS*, No. 5 Int, p. 8-9) makes him contemporary of Bhoja. Vāmanācārya (*l. b.*) assigns Mammata to the end of the 11th century. M. T. Narasimha Ayyangar (*JRAS* 1908, 65) discusses these dates and arranges the chronology thus: Abhinavagupta, the last decade of the 10th century; Mahimabhatta early part of the 11th century; and Mammata, middle of the 11th century. Buhler (*BKR*, 68) thought that Mammata was later than Jayaratha, the commentator of Ruyyaka, whom he assigned to the end of the 12th century, but G. A. Jacob (*JRAS* 1897, 282) says that Jayaratha refers to Mammata by name and that Buhler's view is impossible. Buhler later on agreed (*I.A.* Jan. 1884) with Peterson (*JBRAS*, 1883-84 Extra No.) in placing him in the beginning of the 12th century. See P. V. Kane (*IA*, XLI. 204).

6. The commentaries, Nidarśana and Sudhāsāgara say so. (See Vamanācarya, Int. *l. c.* p. 9.)

[illegible] collection of Mammata's grammatical views is found in Vamanācārya's introduction (*l. c.* pp. 10-12.)

adorned with merits.[1] It has two parts, Sūṭras or Kārikas and Vṛṭṭi or the gloss.[2] Bhīmasena expressly says that Mammata was the author of the Kārikas, but on this question there is a difference of opinion.[3] Viḍyābhūṣaṇa in his Sāhiṭyakaumuḍī calls the Kārikas Bharaṭasūṭras and has written his own gloss on it.[4] Whatever it is, Kāvyaprakāśa has in fact eclipsed all earlier works by its popularity. Lucid and erudite it enchants the reader and infuses into his mind a thought of its sublime merit. Mammata begins by the invocation of Sarasvaṭī :

नियतिकृतनियमरहितां ह्लादैकमयीमनन्यपरतन्त्राम् ।
नवरसरुचिरां निर्मितिमादधती भारती कवेर्जयति ॥

It is now almost accepted that Kāvyaprakāśa was the work of two authors Mammata and Allata.[5] Mammata's work ends with the Parikarālaṅkāra and the rest was made up by Allata. The other work known

1. तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलंकृती पुनः क्वापि ।

2. Ed. by Vāmanācarya Jhalakikara wi a long introduction and commentary, Bombay and again revised with additional extracts from several commentaries and Ed. with Tr. and notes by H. D. Sharma. For other editions with notes, see Cat. of Or. Book Agency, Poona, p 57, Tr. into English by Ganganath Jha, by H. D. Velankare and by P. P. Joshi.

3. On this question, see *IA*, XLII. 23; *ZDMG*. LXVI. 477. LXVII. 35. The commentary Vivaraṇā says that the current tradition in Bengal is that Kārikas are the work of Bharaṭa. But in the Rasagangāḍhara Mammata is referred to as the author. See Vamanācārya's Int. *l. c.* 13-16, where he shows that Mammata refers to Bharaṭa as an author, p. 101.

4. Ed. Kavyamāla (Bombay), See on this *PR*, II. 20. and para 814 *supra*.

5. Ānanḍa in his commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa says

कृतश्श्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यैः परिकरावधिः ।
प्रबन्धः पूरितश्शेषो विधायाल्लटसूरिणा ॥

Jayanṭa in his commentary calls Mammata the author of the work (See *PR*, II. 20) It may be interesting to note (*PR*, II, 14) that in the colophon to that Chap. I. of the Kāvyaprakāśa-Sanketa, it is said that the whole work is discribed as of Mammata, Allata and Rucaka : इति श्रीमद्राजानकालकमम्मटरुचकविरचिते निजग्रंथकाव्यप्रकाशसंकेते ।

So says Sārasammuccaya also. But were Mammata and Rucaka contemporaries? Peterson (*PR*, I. 21 and II. 1883-84, p. 13) takes Alaka to be the real name of the joint author. Some Mss. give the name Bhattarājānaka. The Jammu Manuscripts (*SKC*, xxv) contain the word Allata. Alaka who is mentioned in Raṭnakantha's Sārasamuccaya as a commentator on Ruyyaka's Alankārasārvasva, who was also the son of Jayānaka, the author of a commentary on Raṭnakanṭha's Harivlaya, says Stien, is a different person (See *SKC*, op. cit. p. xxvi). Peterson identified them (*PR* II. 17). See also Buhler (*IA*, XIV p. 353). Vāmanācarya (*l. c.* p. 9) confounds one with the other and calls Allata author of theommentary on Harivijaya.

to be Mammaṭa's is Śabḍavyāparacarcā[1] on the derivation and function of words like Mukula's Abhiḍhāvṛṭṭimāṭṛkā.

The extent to which Kāvyaprakāśa was revered is seen from the numerous commentaries that have been composed on it in all these successive centuries. Every later writer of repute considered it an edification of his own learning to expound or discuss Mammata's views so much that it was said by Maheśvara that in spite of glosses written "from house to house,"[2] Kāvyaprakāśa was still unfathomable and and Bhāskara and Kamalākara said so too, though they saw "thousands of commentaries" written on it.[3]

So far as is available the commentaries will now be noticed.

849. Manikyacandra[4] was the pupil of Nemicanḍra and Sāgarenḍu[5] of the Rājagaccha of which Praḍyumna was the founder.[6] He wrote his Pārśvanāṭhacariṭa[7] in ten cantos in Sam. 1276 (1220 A.D.) at Ḍevakūpaka (Divbandar) at the instance of Ḍehada, son of Varḍhamāna, a councillor of kings Kumārapuṭa and Ajayaputa. His Nalāyana[8] or Kuberapurāṇa is a long poem in 100 cantos and relates the story of Nala, whom he takes to be a prior incarnation of Kubera. His merit in rhetoric is displayed in his commentary, *Sanketa* on Kāvyaprakāśa[9] composed in 1160 A.D.

850. Sarasvatitirtha was born at Ṭribhuvanagiri (near Kalpi in Cuddapah District). He was the son of Mallināṭha (nor the famous commentator of Śrivaṭsagoṭra). His original name was Narahari but

1. Peterson, *Subh.* p. 85. The book is in manuscript in Dacca Coll. Library.
2. काव्यप्रकाशस्य कृता गृहे गृहे टीका, तथाप्येष तथैव दुर्गमः ।
3. i टीकाः काव्यप्रकाशस्य कामं सन्तु परश्शताः ।
   ii काव्यप्रकाशे टिप्पण्यस्सहस्रं सन्तु यद्यपि ॥
4. Mānikyacanḍra mentioned in Meruṭunga's Prabanḍhacintāmaṇi as contemporary of king Jayasimha is a different person.
5. Peterson (*PR*, IV. cxxviii) identifies him with Sāgarenḍu who wrote the first copy of Amāmaswāmicariṭa in Sam. 1252 (1196 A. D.)
6. *PR*. IV. xci. Praḍyumna was a great scholar in Nyāya and triumphed over Digambaras. He is reported to be the author of 84 works and was honoured by kings of Sapādalakkha, Ṭribhuvanagiri etc. *PR*. IV. lxxix.
7. *PR*. III. 160, 320.
8. *PR*, III. App. 35.
9. Ed. Mysore. See S. K. De, *SP*, I. 169; *CC*, I. 102, II. 20.; *PR*, III. 191; *IOC*, III. 1104.

after he became a sanyāsi he called himself Sarasvatī Tīrtha. He wrote his commentary at Kāśī in 1242 A. D.[1]

851. **Jayantabhatta** (1277-1297 A.D.) was the son of Bhāradvāja, a priest at the Court of King Sārangadeva, Vaghela king of Guzerat. He wrote his commentary Jayantī in 1264 A.D.[2]

852. **Srivatsalanchana** or Śrīvatsa was also a native of Bengal. He cites Vidyānātha and is mentioned by Kamalākāra. His commentary Sārabodhinī follows in substance Cakravartin's work. He must also be placed therefore in the 16th century. He refers to the commentaries by Vidyāsāgara and Jayarāma.[3]

853. **Somesvara** was the son of Devana of Bhāradvājagotra. He belonged probably to the 14th century A.D.[4]

854. **Visvanatha** was the author of Sāhityadarpaṇa and lived in 14th century A.D. He refers to the other commentaries by Caṇḍīdāsa and Śrīdhara.[5]

855. **Candidasa** was probably the granduncle of Viśvanātha. He mentions a work of his called Dhvanisiddhāntagrantha and cites commentaries of Śrīdhara and Vācaspatimiśra who was different from the author of Bhāmatī.[6]

856. **Cakravartin** or more fully Paramānanda Cakravartin was a native of Bengal and a great logician. He refers to Viśvanātha as well as king Pratāpa Rudra and is cited by Kamalākara and lived probably in the 15th century A.D. He wrote the commentary Sāhityadīpikā.[7]

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1. As for his other works, see Vamancaārya, *l. c*, pp. 28-30 and *PR*, I. 25; among which commentaries are Meghadūta and Kumārasambhava. On this author, see para 31 supra.

2. *CC*, I. 101, II. 19. *BR*, (1883-4) ap. 326. See Vamanāçārya, *l. c.* 30; *PR*. II. 16, 20; *BR*, (1883-4) 17-18. Jayanta, author of Kādambarikathāsāra was an earlier author.

3. *CC*, I. 102, II. 20, 193; *DC*, XXII. 8628; *SKC*, 60. He wrote also Kāvyaparīkṣā (*CC*, I. 778, II. 19). Kāvyāmṛta (*CC*, 1. 103) and Rāmodayanāṭaka (*CC*, I. 526). See S. K. De, *SP*. 177-8. There is a Kāvyāmṛta, poem by Keśava (*CC*. II. 20)

4. See Vamanācārya. *l.c.* 30. *CC*, I. 102, II. 20, III. 22; *PR*, V. 52-3. The identification of this author with Someśvara, author of Kīrtikamudī (*PR*, V. lxxxiv; *CC*, 1. 102, 737) is incorrect as the latter was the son of Kumāra.

5. *CBSC*, 299.

6. *IOC*, 491.

7. *CC*, I. 101, II. 19, III. 22; *PR*. II. 108-9. See *PR*, VII. 22; He also wrote a commentary on Naiṣadha (*IOC*. VII. 1438).

857. **Mahesvara** Nyāyālankāra, or Subuddhimisra wrote his commentary Ādarśa at the end of the 16th century A.D.[1]

858. **Ananda Rajanaka** was a native of Kaṣmir and a staunch devotee of Śiva. He interpreted Kāvyaprakāśa as having an inner meaning referring to Śiva in his commentary Nidarsanā which he wrote in 1765 A.D. He refers to the commentaries of Cakravartin and Subuddhi Misra.[2]

859. **Kamalakara** was son of Rāmakṛṣṇa, a Mahratta brahmin of Benares. His name is particularly known to us as the author of Vivādatāndava and Nirṇayasindhu which he wrote in 1612 A.D.[3] He refers to the commentaries of Ravibhatta, Padmanābha and Devanātha. He wrote a big poem Rāmakautuka and a commentary on Gītagovinda.[4]

860. **Narasimha Thakura** appears to have been of the same family as Govindathakura. He refers to Kamalākara's views as that of moderns and must have been either a contemporary of Kamalākara or followed him immediately. He was a great logician. He refers to the commentaries by Yasodhara, Maṇisāra and Rucikara.[5]

861. **Vaidyanatha** was the son of Rāmabhatta of Tatsat family. He wrote his commentary Udaharaṇacandrikā on the illustrations only in 1684 A.D. and a commentary on Kāvyapradīpa called Prabhā.[6]

862. **Bhimasena** was the son of Śivānanda of the Śandilya family of Kānyakubja. He was a great grammarian. He wrote his commentary Sudhāsagāra in 1723 A.D. He says Mammata, Kaiyata and Auvata were brothers. He refers to two other works of his, Alankārasāroddhāra and Kuvalayānandakhandana. It was his object to support the views of Mammata and to answer the faults attributed

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1. Ed. Calcutta. *CC*, I. 193 ; *Tanj*, IX. 400). See Vamanācarya *l. c.* pp. 36-7 ; *PR*, II. 19 and III. Ap. 394.

2. *CC*, I. 102, II. 20. Is he the same as Rājānanda (*DC*, XXII. 822)? Buhler's statement that Nidarśana was otherwise called Sārasamuccaya (*IA*, 1884) is wrong. See *SKC*, xxvii, I. 21, 74. and II. 15-16. He wrote also Mādhavānalakathānakam and a commentary on Naiṣadha: See *PR*, I. 114 ; III. ap. 395 ; IV. x ; *BKR*, x. Weber, *ISt.* II. 148.

3. Ed. Benares. For a list of his works etc., see Vamanācarya *l. c.*, 37-38 and *CC*, I. 80. where his works are given. See *PR*, Iv. cxxiii. Hall (*Int. to Vas.* 54) gives his name also as Mahesvara which according to *PR*, II. 19. is doubtful. On his pedigree, see V. P. Mandlik's int. to Vyavahāramayukha, lcxxvi ; *BR*, (1883-4), 50.

4. *CC*, I. 80. 5010.

5. Ed. Bombay. *CC*, I. 101 ; II. 19 ; *Adyar*, II. 34.

6. Ed. Bombay. *PR*, II. 22, 108. He is different from the author of the commentary on Kuvalayānanda.

to it by Govinda in his Kāvyapradīpa. He refers to other commentaries by Acyuṭabhaṭṭa, his son Raṭṇapāṇibhaṭṭa, and his son Ravibhaṭṭa, by Murāri Miśra and Pakṣhaḍhara (Jayadeva ?)[1]

Nāgojibhaṭṭa was a Mahratta Brahmin of the Kalag family of Benares. He was the son of Śivabhaṭṭa and Saṭī and grandson of the famous Bhaṭṭoji Ḍīkṣiṭa. He was attached to the Court of Rāmasimha, the ruler of Śṛngaverapura, of the 18th century A.D. He wrote commentaries on Kāvyapradīpa, Rasagangāḍhara, Rasamanjarī, Kuvalayānanda, Gīṭa-Govinda, Suḍhālaharī and Rāmāyaṇa.[2]

863. Rajanaka Ratnakantha was son of Śankarakantha of Ḍhaumyāyaṇagoṭra of Kāṣmir "the land that is purified by the dust of the lotus-feet of Śāraḍā." Besides being an excellent scribe of Śāraḍā script, for in his hand are several manuscripts preserved at Śrīnagar,[3] he was a poet and rhetorician. His eulogy of Śūrya is contained in Raṭnaśaṭaka or Ciṭrabhānuśaṭaka composed in 1680-1 A.D. He wrote commentaries on Raṭnākara's Haravijaya in 1681-2 A.D., on Vāsuḍeva's Yuḍhisthiravijaya in 1671-2 A.D.,[4] on Jagaḍḍhara's Sṭuṭikusumānjali[5] in 1680-1 A.D. and on Yaśaskara's Ḍevīsṭoṭra. On Kāyaprakaśa, he wrote the commentary Sārasamuccaya, containing a resume of Jayanṭī and other earlier expositions.[6] His descendants still live at Srīnagar as a respectable family of Karkuns.

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1. Ed. Benares, *CC*, I. 102, II. 20. On Bhīmasena's commentary, see *PR*, I. 26, 94; IV. lxxxvi.

2. Ed. Poona. For a list of his other works on grammar, see Vamanācārya, *l.c.* 43-44.

3. See Stein's. *Int. to Raj*, vii.

4. Printed, Kāvyamāla, Bombay.

5. *Ibid* In the colophon his other works are mentioned.

6. *PR*, II. 16. In Stein Kashmir's catalogue, xxv, there is mention of a manuscript in which colophon to Ullāsa I reads thus : इति श्रीमद्राजानकाल्हटमम्मटरुचकविरचिते निजग्रन्थकाव्यसङ्केते —

Ānanḍa's gloss Kāvyaḍarśana was also called Śiṭikanthavibodhana. "By Sitikantha is meant the god Siva. Ananda calls his commentary the 'perception of Siva' since it is his endeavour to interpret Mammata's text as having besides its ordinary meaning a mystical sense relating to the worship of the god. Thus he says with reference to Mammata's Mangala : राजानककुलतिलको मम्मटनामा देशिकवरः लौकिकस्य काव्यप्रकाशने प्रवृत्तोऽपि ... ... अभ्यन्तरस्य काव्यस्य शिवतत्वस्य प्रकाशिकामभेदप्रथोत्थापिकां शुद्धविद्यां ... दर्शयति·

Ananda who composed his commentary in A D. 1665. is still well-remembered in the tradition of the Kashmirian Pandits as the contemporary and friend of Rajanaka Ratnakantha." Seeins Kash. Cat, Int. xxvii.

863-A. Other Commentaries.—Besides those referred to elsewhere, there are also commentaries[1] by Gopīnātha, Caṇḍīdāsa, Janārdana Vyāsa (*SKC*, 61),[2] Devanātha Tarkapancānana (*TC*, II, 2214)[3], Jagannātha Paṇḍitaraja, Nārāyaṇa, Baladeva, Bhānucandra, Bhāskaramiśra (*Tanj*. X. 298,[4] *TC*, III. 3976), Ratneśvara, Ravi, son of Ratnapāni (*Mys*. 298),[5] Rāmakṛṣṇa, Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, Lauhitya Gopālabhatta (*Tanj*, IX, 4003, *DC*, XXII. 3629)[6]; and by Śrī Vidyācakravartin (*DC*, XXII, 8626, *Tanj*, IX, 4011);[7] Venkatācalasūri, Vaidyānātha (*Mys*, 298)[8], Śivarāma, Śrīdhara Sāndhivigrahika, Sivanārāyaṇa and Jayarāma Pancānana (*Mys*. 298); and by Vedāntācārya, son of Śrinivāsādhvarin of Bhāradvājagotra (*TC*, III. 3878), Yagneśvara, son of Kṛṣṇadeva (*DC*, XXII. 8623),[8] Jayadratha, brother of Jayaratha,[9] Sāhityacakravartin (*Tanj*, IX, 400; Rucinātha (*Adyar*, II, 34), Hariśankara (Ed. Calcutta), and Śivadatta (Ed. Bombay); and by Bhānucandra,[10] Gadādharacakravartin,[11] Gokulanātha,[12] Gopīnātha,[13] Guṇaratnagaṇi,[14] Kaladhara,[15] Kalyāṇa Upadhyāya,[16] Kṛṣṇa

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1. See *CC*, I. 101-2; II. 19-20; III. 22 and 114, 108, 190; *PR*, II. 13, 16, 17, 21; III. 394.

2. He wrote commentaries on Raghuvaṁśa and Vṛttaratnākara.

3. His commentary Kāvyakaumudī answers the criticism of Viśvanātha. He also wrote Rasikaprakāśa on poetics (*CC*, I, 497). His son Rāmananda wrote Rasataraṅgiṇi (*TC*, III, 3171).

4. About the 14th century A.D.

5. Ratnapāni wrote a commentary probably called Kāvyadarpaṇa on Kāvyaprakāśa which Ravi expanded. Ratnapāṇi or his father Acyuta was minister of Śivasiṁha, king of Mithila. See *JASB*, (1825), 143; (1899), 96, grant dated Saka 1321 (1399 A.D.) See Manmohan Chakravarthy, *History of Mithila* (*JASB*, 1915).

6. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum, earlier than 15th century A.D. He also wrote a commentary on Rasamanjari.

7. His Bṛhaṭṭikā is printed in *TSS*, Trivandrum. He calls the Kārikas as Bharatamuni's. See *PR*, IV. xxxi.

8. The commentary was composed at Patna in 1649 A.D. He was pupil of Bhavadeva Thakkura.

9. *PR*, II. 18.

10. *CC*, I, 101. He wrote a commentary on Daśakumāracarita.

11. *Mitra*, 1527; *CSC*, VII, 13.

12. Ganganatha Jha's Translation of Kāvyaprakāśa, *Int*. IX. He wrote the play Amṛtodaya about 1693 A.D. See para 693 *supra*.

13. *CC*, I, 101. He also wrote a commentary on Sāhityadarpaṇa, about the end of 17th century A.D.

14. *CC*, III. 22.

15. *CBod*. 501. It is a synopsis of the Kārikās.

16. Ganganatha Jha, *l. c.*

Dvivedin,[1] Kṛṣṇaśarman,[2] Kṛṣṇamitrācārya,[3] Jagadīśa Tarkālankāra,[4] Nāgarāja Keśava,[5] Narasiṁhasūri,[6] Nanayadīkṣita,[7] Rucaka,[8] Madhumatīgaṇeśa,[9] Raghudeva,[10] Ratneśvara,[11] Rājānanda,[12] Rāmacandra,[13] Rāmakṛṣṇa,[14] Rāmanātha,[15] Vidyavācaspati, Śivanārāyaṇadāsa,[16] Vidyāsāgara,[17] Venkatācalasūri,[18] Vijñānanda,[19] Yagneśvara,[20] and some other anonymous commentaries.[21]

864. RAGHAVA's gloss called Avacūri is incomplete and extends only to the middle of the 7th Ullāsa.[22]

Maheśacandra was professor in the Calcutta Sanskrit College in 1882.[23]

Narasiṁha's gloss Ṛjuvṛtti is a commentary on the Karikās only.[24]

Kāvyāmṛtataranginī is an adverse criticism on Mammata's work of unknown authorship.[25]

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1. CC, I. 101.
2. HPR, III. No. 58.
3. CC, I. 101. He was the son of Rāmanātha and a logician. For his works, see CC, I. 121.
4. CC, I. 101. He lived at Nuddea in 17th century A.D.
5. CC, I. 101.
6. CC, II. 19.
7. CC, I. 101. He was son of Rangaṇātha who wrote commentary on Vikramorvaśī in 1656 A.D.
8. Ed. COJ. 1935. See under Ruyyaka, para 870 *post*.
9. CC, I. 102.
10. CC, II. 20.
11. Mentioned in his commentary on Sarasvatī-Kanthābharaṇa.
12. DC, XXII. 8622.
13. CC, I. 102.
14. CC, I. 102 ; II. 20.
15. CC, I. 102. He lived about 1625 A.D.
16. *Weber*, II. No. 81 ; CC, I. 102. He lived in the beginning of the 17th century. For his other works, see CC, I. 649.
17. He is cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana. Was he identical with the commentator on Bhattikāvya ?
18. CC, I. 102.
19. CSC, 44. The manuscript was transcribed in 1683 A.D.
20. DC, XXII. 8623.
21. CC, I. 101, 778 ; II. 20, 193.
22. Vamanācārya, I. c. 36.
23. Printed, Calcutta.
24. TC, III. 4115. He belonged to the Āndhra country.
25. *Mitra*, 2674.

865. Govinda was the son of Keśava and Sonoḍevi of the Ravikara race. Rucikara alias Śrī Harṣa was his younger brother. His fifth ancestor Narasimha lived in the 18th century and he was himself prior to Kamalākara who wrote Nirṇadyasindhu in 1612 A.D. He may be assigned to the middle of the 16th century. His Kāvyapradīpa[1] though usually considered as a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa is in fact a distinct commentary on the Kārikas of the Kāvyaprakāśa. His reference to Mammata's lines are much in the way of possible criticism, though likewise explanatory. At the end of his work, he says that in the composition of his work, his brother Rucikara or Śrī Harsa was a collaborator.[2]

866. Hemacandra lived in 1088-1174 A.D. and for some time in the Court of King Jayasimha of Anhilwid. His Kāvyānuśāsanam in eight chapters with his own commentary is very valuable in literary history.[3]

Jayamangala also flourished in the Court of king Jayasimha and wrote Kaviśikṣā,[4] and NAGAVARMAN wrote Kāvyālokanam.

867. Vagbhata. Among the contemporaries of King Hemacandra was Vagbhata I,[5] the son of Soma. Vāgbhata (Bahada) was the minister in the Court of the Calukya king Jayasimha Siddharāja of Anhilwid[6] (1094-1143 A.D.), for such is the description given by Prabhācandra in his Prabhāvakacarita.[7] The work on poetics known after his name Vāgbhatālankāra[8] describes in easy verse and in five chapters the forms and functions of poetry and refers to that king and his capital. It is likely Vāgbhata wrote also the poem Neminirvāṇa.[9] There are commentaries on Vāgbhatālankāra by Āḍināṭha or Jina-

1. Ed. Bombay.

2. *PR*, I. 27-28 also refers to another commentary on the Kārikas called Kāvyalaṭā at Odeypore. This may show that the Kārikas are considered as of distinct authorship.

3. See para 70 supra.

4. *CO*, I. 88.

5. His Prakrit name was Bābada. Vāgbhata, the writer of medicine was the son of Simhagupṭa and was a different author.

6. Harioand (*Kalidasa*) wrongly says this Jayasimba was King of Kaṣmir. According to Lassen (*IAlt*, III. 562) Jayasimha ruled 1093-1154 A.D.

7. This work gives the dates for Vāgbhata, 1123 and 1157 A.D.

8. Ed. Bombay and Calcutta. But Weber's Manuscript (1718) has a sixth chapter on Yamaka.

9. Winternitz (*IL*, II. 3386 ; III. 642) thinks so. The work is printed in Bombay.

vardhanasūri,[1] Simhadevagaṇi,[2] Mūrtidhara,[3] Kṣemahamsagaṇi,[4] Samayasundara,[5] Gaṇeśa, son of Ānnaṭabhaṭṭa,[6] Rājahamsa,[7] and Vācanācārya,[8] and two anonymous.[9]

Ādinātha was a priest of Kharataragaccha in about 1405 or 1419 A.D.

868. **Devesvara** or **Devendra** was the son of Vāgbhata,[10] who was a Mahāmātya to the King of Malava. In one of his verses he praises Hammīramahīmahendra, who, if he was the Chauhan king, ruled about 1283 A.D. His Kāvikalpalatā follows the Amarasimha's Kāvyakalpalatā and a verse from it is quoted in Sārngadharapaddhati. It was probably composed about the year 1300 A.D. He also mentions a work Candrakalāpa[11] on poetics.

There are commentaries on Kāvyakalpalatā by Vecārāma Sārvabhauma,[12] by Rāmagopāla Kaviratna,[13] by Śaraccandrasāstri,[14] by Sūrya Kavi,[15] and one anonymous.[16]

869. **Vagbhata** (II)[17] was the son of Nemikumāra,[18] and Vasun-

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1. Ed. Bombay Granthamala, VIII, 1889-90 CC, I 5599.
2. Ed Bombay. Klatt, *IA*, XI. 249; *PR*, V. 191.
3. Ed. Bombay.
4. *SKC*, 274; *CC*, II. 132.
5. *PR*, IV, cxxvi; *CC*, II 132. He was a pupil cf Sakalcandra, who was pupi of Jinacandra. He wrote also a commentary on Raghuvamśa.
6. *CC*, I. 559; *PR*, (1883-4), 156, 279. The manuscript was copied in 1430 A.D.
7. *CC*, I. 559, 794. He was pupil of Jinatilakasuri who was pupil of Jinaprabhasuri of Kharataragaccha. Composed between 1350-1400 A D. See *COJ*, II. 312.
8. *CC*, I. 559. It was composed in Samvat 1889 in Marwad during the reign of Gajasimha.
9. Ed. by Kṣemarāja, Bombay; *CC*, II, 132; III. 118: *CSC*, VII. 45.
10. It is not likely that this Vāgbhata was identical with the two rhetoricians of that name. On Devesvara, see S.K. De *SP*, 212; *JRAS*, (1922) 578.
11. मत्कृतकाव्यकल्पेऽमलमतिभिः तद्बुधैर्ज्ञेयम् ।
The reading however is different in other editions.
12. Ed. Calcutta. He was son of Rajarāma. His other work Ānandaranginī describes a tour from Candarnagore to Benares (*Mitra*. 205).
13. Ed. Calcutta.
14. Ed. Calcutta (*Bibl. Ind*) and in *Pratna Kramanandini*, *Benares*, Nos. 1-31.
15. *CC*, I. 87; III. 19; S. K. De, *PS*, II, 214.
16. *CSC*, VII. 8.
17. Eggeling wrongly identifies this Vāgbhata with Vāgbhata I, *IOC*, III. 330.
18. Peterson (*HR*, III app. 124) notes one Nemikumāra who lived in Sam. 1395 (1239 A.D.) was probably Vāgbhata father.

ḍharā, and lived at Rāḍhāpura. He refers to Vāgbhata (I)[1] and of the two kings he mentions, Mūlarāja and Vibhākara. Mūlarāja was the founder of the Calukya dynasty of Anhilwid and may have lived about the end of the 13th century A.D.[2] His Kāvyānuśasana with a vṛtti on it is a work full of quotations of fine poetical illustrations and must have suggested itself to him after the work of Hemacandra of the same name. He alludes to his Chanḍonuśāsana, a work on metrics and Ṛṣabhadevacarita, a big poem, but they are not now available.[3]

870. Ruyyaka[4] was the son of Ṭilaka.[5] He lived in Kāṣmir and was the teacher of Mankha, the author of Śrikanthacarita,[6] who was attached to the Court of King Jayasimha (1129 to 1150 A.D.) His Alankarasarvaswa is reputed to be work of Ruyyaka.[7] But from the recent edition of the work published at Trivandrum,[8] with the commentary of Samuḍrabanḍha[9] it appears that Alankārasarvasva is only the name of the gloss, while the sūtras alone were the work of Ruyyaka.[10]

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1. दण्डिवामनवाग्भटादिप्रणीतादश गुणाः, वयं तु माधुर्यौजःप्रसादलक्षणान् त्रीनेव गुणान् मन्यामहे ।

2. See Harichand, *Kalidasa*.

3. Ed. Bombay.

4. Rajānaka Ruyyaka is identical with Rai Rupaka and Rucaka (Aufrecht, *Oxf. Cat.* 210; *BKR*, 63.) In Buhler's List 1875-6 No. 247 and *PR*, II. 14, 17 the manuscripts make Rucaka the author of Alankārasarvasva and Kavyaprakāśasanketa. Viḍyācakravarṭin calls him Rucaka. Jayaratha, refers to Kāvyaprakāśasanketa as Ruyyaka's work. In a manuscript (*Buhler's List*, 1875-6 No. 265) of the Sahṛḍayalila, there is an explicit statement of the identity (See Pischell *Gott. gel. Anz. Nr.* 19 p. 767). See G. A. Jacob, *JRAS*, (1897) 233. Peterson's *Subh.* and *PR*, II. 14, 106 and introduction to Vyaktiviveka (*TSS*,) p. 8.

5. Pischel (*op, cit.*) notes the name of his father as a commentator on Uḍbhata. Jayaraṭha calls it Uḍbhataviveka (See Bombay Edn. p. 205).

6. *PR*, II. 17-18.

7. Ed. Bombay. Ruyyaka's views as expressed in the Alankārasarvasva are criticised by Mammata. See Vāmanācarya's Int. to Kavyaprakāśa, p. 23.

8. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XL.

इति मंखुको वितेने काश्मीरकाक्षितिपाल ... सान्धिविग्रहिकः ।
सुकविमुक्तालंकारं तदिदमलंकारसर्वस्वम् ॥

9. Samuḍrabanḍha also calls it Mankhuka's work. This commentator was a poet of the Court of King Sangrāmaḍhira or Ravivarma Bhupa of Kolamba (Quilon) in Travancore who was born in 1265 A.D. He was probably the father of Simharāja, the father of Prakṛṭarupāvaṭāra. (See Int. to Trivandrum Sanskrit Serice, Nos. 8. and 40).

10. In the opening Stanza, Mankha says that he was beginning a gloss on Gurvalankārasutras i.e., the alankāra aphorisms of his teacher. It must however be noted that at p. 15 and 17 in quoting from Śrikanthasṭava, it is said that Mankhiye Śrikanthasṭave and at p. 17 maḍiye. The latter is the reading in Bombay Edn. p. 19.

871. ALANKARASARVASVA,[1] meaning by it the gloss above, is in the nature of the Bhāṣya. It attempts to classify Alankāras, accompanied by criticisms refined in language and temper.[2]

Ruyyaka seems to have been the author of several other works. His SAHRDAYALILA is "a short prose-poetic discourse on the qualities of a fashionable gentleman, a charming formulary in four chapters and deals with attributes of beauty, adornments, youth and devises for preserving and enhancing beauty."[3] His Alankāravimarśana is a commentary on the Jahlaṇa's Somapālavilāsa,[4] and a commentary on Mahimabhatta's Vyaktiviveka has been identified to be (Ruyyaka's ?) work.[5] This latter commentary refers to his four other works Nātakamīmāṃsā, Sāhityamīmāṃsā, Harṣacaritavārtika and Bṛhatī. Śrikanthastava was probably also his work.[6]

872. **Jayaratha** wrote his commentary Alankāravimarsiṇī[7]. He was the son of Śṛngāra,[8] the minister of King Rājarāja who ruled at Satīsaras.[9] He quotes from Pṛthvīrājavijaya, a poem describing the

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1. There is an Alankārasarrasva of unknown authorship in praise of King Gopāladeva, *DC*, XXII. 8609.

2. For a summary of earlier views, see para 812 *supra*.

3. Ed. by Pischell, Kiel. Ed. Bombay, with the commentary of Jayaratha.

4. Ratnakantha's Sārasamuccaya yields this reference. See Peterson, *Subh.* p. 106; *PR*, II. 17.

5. In the introduction to Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. 5) Ruyyaka is taken to be the author of the Alankārasarvasva and from this basis the commentary on the Vyaktiviveka is traced to be Ruyyaka's work, because in his Alankārasavasva the works Sāhityamīmāṃsā and Harṣacaritavārtika are mentioned in both as the author's other works. If as now opined in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 40, Alankarasarvasva is the work of Mankha, it would follow that all these four works and the commentary on Vyaktiviveka must also be Mankha's works.

6. Pischell rightly says that this was a hymn to Śiva. But Aufrecht takes it "to be a chapter in praise of the country so called standing at the head of a poem called the Harshacarita also by Ruppaka." See Peterson *Subh.* *l.c.* 106. This mistake seems to have been due apparently to Aufrecht's referring to a passage quoted from Harsacarita, in Alankārasarvasva (Bombay Edition. p. 47), Harsacarite, Śrikanthākhyājanapadavarṇane. See also *JRAS*, (1897) 285.

7. Śṛngāra is quoted in Kavindravacanasamuccaya and Saduktikarṇamṛta, V. 25, 114. *CC*, I. 66 M. Duff calls the author of the commentary Jayadratha, brother of Jayāratha, author of Tantralokaviveka (*PR*. II. 181.

8. Ed. Bombay. He quotes from a romance Anangalekhā, (see para 145 *supra*), and

माघशिशुपालवधं विदधत्कविसदवधं विदधे ।
रत्नाकरस्तविजयं हरविजयं वर्णयन् व्यवृणोत् ॥

9. Buhler's *KR*. 62. See also C. A. Jacob (*JRAS*, (1897) 292-3).

victory of the Chauhan King Pṛthvīrāja, who died in 1193 A.D. and must have flourished probably in the 13th century. He wrote a poem Haracaritacintāmaṇi.[1]

There are also commentaries by Śrī Vidyācakravartin[2] and by Alaka quoted by Ratnakantha.

873. Malayajapandita or Sarveśvara was the son of Trivikrama and pupil of Vāmarṣi. He was proficient in Bharataśāstra. Vāmarṣi is referred to in Belgaum inscriptions as having lived at Vanabāsi in 1168 A.D. His Sāhityasāra is a short treatise on dramaturgy.[2]

874. Rajaraja ruled at Calicut about the beginning of the 12th century A.D.[3] He, or a poet of his court, wrote Rājarājīyam, a name adopted in the absence of the real one. It is a treatise on poetics, music and dancing, but only that portion dealing with the drama is now available. In his days, the works of Manoratha and Bhattanāyaka were probably read and there is therefore a hope that their existence may be still be traced.[4]

875. Āsadhara[5] was the son of Sallakṣaṇa and Rathī of the family of Vyaghravala. He was a Jaina teacher. His wife was Sarasvatī and his son Chabada, a favourite of King Arjunavarman of Mālva who ruled in the 1st quarter of the 13th century A.D.[6] He lived till Sam. 1296 (1240 A.D.). He wrote about fifteen works, of which he gives a list.[7] His Triśaṣṭi-smṛti-śāstra was written in 1236 A.D.[8]

876. Dharmadasa was a Buddhist ascetic. His Vidagdhamukhamandana[9] in 4 parts describes poetic riddles and involved composition. Jinaprabha, pupil of Jayasimha, commented on it and he

1. *DC*, XXII. 8609. In this commentary he refers to a drama Hariscandracarita not known elsewhere.

2. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

3. If he is the great Cola king Rājarāja I. he ruled about 999 A.D. See *EI*. V. 48. *Trav. Arch. Series*, II. 1.

4. This verse is fine :—

उद्यन्मनोरथमतीं महिमानुयातानुत्सर्पिदर्पणहृदो विमतान्विधूय ।
आनन्दवधनपराभिनवोक्तिरेषा व्यक्तारसस्य समया..,राजराजः ॥

5. Āśādhara, son of Rāmāji, commentator on Kuvalayānanda is a different person. S. K. De, *SP*, I. 199.

6. He gives this account at the end of his Dharmāmṛta.

7. *PR*, II. 85; *BR* (1883-84), 103-4.

8. *CC*, I. 54.

9. Ed. Calcutta, Bombay and elsewhere. S. K. De, *SP*, I. 227. See para 347. *supra*.

lived about 1293 and 1309 A.D.[1] Dharmadāsa may therefore be assigned to about the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th century A.D. There are other commentaries on it by Ātmārāma or Svapnārāma,[2] by Tāracandra Kāyastha,[3] by Nariharibhatta,[4] by Trilocana,[5] by Durgādāsa,[6] son of Vāsudeva.

AMṚTANANDAYOGIN's Alankārasangraha in 10 chapters is an extensive work written at the instance of king Manva, son of Bhatibhūmipati who probably lived about 1250 A.D.[7]

877. Saradatanaya was the son of Bhatta Gopāla of Kāśyapa-gotra. "His great grandfather lived in a village called Mātarapūjya in Merūttara-Janapada. He performed thirty Vedic sacrifices to please the god Viṣṇu, and wrote a commentary entitled the Vedabhūṣaṇa on the Vedas. His son Kṛṣṇa, the grandfather of Śāradātanaya, was also equally well-versed in the Vedas and in the Śāstras. He worshipped Mahādeva in Benares and obtained a son by name Bhattagopāla the father of Śāradātanaya through the god's favour. Bhattagopāla was likewise well-versed in eighteen sciences (Vidyas); he propitiated Śāradā the goddess of learning and obtained through her favour a son whom he named after the goddess as Śāradātanaya." He studied theatrics under Divākara,[8] who was prificient in the art and kept up a theatre (nāṭyaśālā). "He was a follower of the Pratyabhijnā School of Philosophy which had its origin in Kāshmir and was elaborated by

1. Weber, 1728; *PR*, IV. xxxvii; Klatt's *Onomasticon*. His Guru Jinasimha founded Laghu-Kharataragaccha in 1275 A.D.

2. *CC*, I. 573.

3. *CC*, I. 574; II. 185; III. 121. For other works, see *CC*, I. 229.

4. *CC*, I. 573.

5. *CC*, II. 135; *SKC*, 274.

6. *CC*, II. 135; III. 121; *PR*, IV. 36.

7. The rare works he quotes from are the plays Māricavancana, Vālivadha, Udāttarāghava, Nalavijaya, Deviparinaya. The first five chapters were edited at Calcutta with English translasion. *DC*, XXII. 8604, and *CC*, I. 29, contain only 5 chapters. The copy in the Gautami Library of Rajamundry and *TC*, III. 2980 contain all the nine chapters.

8. Probably he is the same as Divākara, quoted by Pūrṇasarasvati in his commentary on Meghasandeśa. The teaching is this described:

प्रीतस्सोऽपि सदाशिवस्य शिवयोर्गौर्या मतं वासुके-
र्देव्या अपि नारदस्य च मुनेः कुम्भोद्भवव्यासयोः ।
शिष्याणां भरतस्य यानि च मतान्यध्याप्य तान्यञ्जना-
सूनोरप्यथ नाट्यवेदमखिलं सम्यक्तमध्यापयत् ॥

the great Abhinavagupta. While describing the origin of Music on page 181, our author deals with the 36 Taṭṭvas in accordance with the tenets of the Pratyabhijna system, and defines the functions of Paramāṭman, Jīva and Prakṛṭi in the beginning of Creation. Following the principles of the same philosophy, he has introduced in his work a very interesting simile for the enjoyment of dramatic Rasas by the audience, and refers to a few early works of Śivāgama in this connection. This enjoyment, he said, is similar to Jīva's enjoyment of worldly pleasures. In the course of his arguments he also defines certain Taṭṭvas of the Praṭyabhijnā philosophy such as Rāga, Viḍyā and Kalā."[1] He has summarised chapters of Bhoja's Śṛngāraprakāśa. He is quoted by many writers of the 13th century and must have flourished in the 12-13th century A.D.

Śāraḍāṭanaya wrote a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa[2] and a work on music Śaradiya.[3]

In his Bhavaprakasanam,[4] a treatise of extra ordinary merit in 10 adhīkāras, Śāraḍāṭanaya summarises the views of earlier writers like Saḍāsiva, Drauhiṇi, Vāsuki, Vyāsa, Nārada, Śrī Harsa etc. In generality he follows the plan of Bharaṭa's Nāṭyāśāsṭra and notices the deviations of later authors from Bharaṭa's views. He reiterates Abhinavagupṭa's theory that rasa is the soul of poetry, but differs from him on occasions. " For instance, he differs from Abhinava on the point that Rasas must always be Vyangya in the best poetry and not Vacya. Here Saradatanaya following the Dasarupaka opens a new path by suggesting that Rasas are the soul of poetry whether they are expressed or suggested by the poems. In the same way he does not want to

1. Int. to Edn. *GOS*, Baroda, pp. 10 11 by Yadugiri Yaṭirājaswamin.
2. मयापि शारदीयाख्ये प्रबन्धे सुष्ठु दर्शितम् ॥ (*l. c.* p. 194)
3. *l. c.* pp. 14-15.

कृतश्श्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यैः परिकरावधिः ।
प्रबन्धः पूरितश्शेषो विधायाल्लटसूरिणा ॥

4. Among rare authors and works he quotes are plays:
अब्धिमथनम्, अमृतमन्थनम्, इन्दुलेखा, उदात्तकुंजरम्, कलिकेलिः, कुसुमशेखर,: कृत्यारावणम्, गंगातरंगिका, गंगाभागीरथम्, गौडविजयः, तरंगदत्ता, त्रिपुरमर्दनम्, तारशोद्धरणम्, केळिरैवतकम्, त्रिपुरदाहः, कुंदमाला, देवीपरिणयम्, देवीसहादेवम्, नलविक्रमम्, नृसिंहविजयः, पद्मवतीपारिणयः, मदलेखा, महानाटकम्, माणिक्यवल्लिका, मारीचवञ्चितम्, मेनकानहुषम्, वीणावती, वृत्रोद्धरणम्, शारदचंद्रिका, शृंगारातिलकम्, सैरन्ध्रिका, स्तंभितरंभकम्, वालिवधः, रामाराधा, स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्, सौमद्रिका.

give altogether a separate existence to the suggestive capacity (Vyanjana) of the words from their Tatparya Vrtti, and brings the Dhvani also under the Tatparya-sakti. He holds that if at all there must be some difference between these two-Dhvani and Tatparya—it is just like that of the Brahmana and the Brahmacarin; or in other words, that Dhvani occupies a less important position under the wider scope of Tatparya. There are two other important points where Saradatanaya differs from Abhinava. There is difference of opinion as to the exact mode in which the enjoyment of Rasa is brought about, amongst the authors Lollata, Sankuka, Bhattanayaka and Abhinava-nupta. Most of the later writers followed Abhinava on this point but Saradatanaya, strange as it may seem, follows the original view of Bhattanayaka as developed and modified by Dhanika in his Dasarupa-kavaloka. He approves of the theory as formulated by them that the connection between the poetry and the Rasa, is Bhavya-Bhavaka-Bhava and not Vyangya-Vyanjaka-Bhava. The Vrttis such as the Abhidha, Laksana, and Tatparya help the audience to understand the Kavyartha or the Rasa, and the audience through the Bhavana Vrtti get the Bhoga of the Rasa, which is similar to Brahmananda. In the same way, Poetry and Rasa are also connected with each other as cause and effect. Because, when poetry is presented before the audience, the necessary Vibhava, etc. create the sense of enjoyment in the mind of the audience. The second point where Saradatanaya criticises the views of other writers on Dramaturgy, especially Abhinava, is about the nature of Santa Rasa. Udbhata was the first writer to include Santa as one of the Rasas; it was approved by Anandavardhana, and Abhinava gave it a place of unique importance amongst the different Rasas. Rudrata or Rudrabhatta not only accepted Santa as an important Rasa but included Preyas also as a Rasa, and boldly declared that the Vyabhicari and the Sattvika Bhavas such as Nirveda, Harsa etc. also when properly developed contribute to the pleasure in the same way as Srngara or Karuna, and therefore, they should also deserve to be admitted as additional Rasas. Saradatanaya, who follows Dhananjaya in this respect, condemns the views of all these thinkers and opines that Santa Rasa cannot be enacted on the stage, for no Vibhava, Anubhava and Sattvika can be produced by the Sama, the Sthayibhava of the Santa. But unlike Dhananjaya our author thinks that it is the chief among the Rasas and it can be realized in the form of poetry except in the Dramas. Thus the scope of this work is to collect as far as possible all theories existing before and after the time of Bharata

and to examine and state them in a final form with certain modifications. Being a firm believer in the theory of Rasa as promulgated by Bharata, Saradatanaya has mainly dveloped the Srngara Rasa on the lines suggested by Bhoja in his Srangaraprakasa."

Kāvyakamadhenu is on the same lines as Bhāvaprakāśa and treats of rasa, bhāva and śabdavyāpara elaborately.

878. Sobhakara was the son of Trayīśvaramiśra. His Alankāra-ratnākara[1] is in the form of a commentāry on aphorisms that had been extracted by YASASKARA of which his Devīstotra is meant as an illustration. He probably lived about the 13th century A.D.[2]

879. Singabhupala was the son of Ananta or Anapota[3] and Annamāmbā and was the seventh in descent from Vetala Naidu[4] (Beti Reddi), the original founder of Kingdom the Rajas of Venkatagiri. Vasantarāya was his brother. Singabhūpāla had six sons and ruled over a vast extent of territory between Vindhya and Śrīśaila (in the Kurnool District) about the year 1400 A.D. from his capital Rājācalā (Racakonda).[5] He was a great literate and patron of letters. He bore the title of Sarvajna In his court flourished Viśveśvara and Appayācārya. The latter wrote a commentary on Amarakośa.

It was in his Court that Nārāyanācārya alias Kumāra Vedānta Deśika, the son of the famous Vedāntadeśika, vānquished Śākalyamalla, the opponent of the Vaiṣṇava religion in disputation and then it was

1. BKR Ap. XXVIII.

2. For these sutras, see *PR*, I. 12, 77-81. *CC*. I. 32, II. 6.

3. Anapota wrote a drama Abhirāma-Rāghava, quoted in Rāsarṇavasudhākara. There is a drama of that name written by Maṇika in Nepal in 1390 A.D. (*Levi*, 268).

4. *The Biographical Sckctches of the Rajas of Venkatagiri* published by the Venkatagiri State Singabhupati is given as the tenth in descent. In our manuscript the name is given as Śivabhūpati. Venkatagiri is a flourishing Zamindari in the Nellore District.

5. Śingabhupāla, the present author, was the son of Anapota who was the son of Śingabhupala I. It was the latter who bore the title Sarvajna and Śrīnātha was the poet of his Court. Śrīnātha refers to him by the title Sarvajna. In the *Velugotivari Vamsacaritram* (in Telugu) the author of Rasarṇavasudhakara is given as Singabhupala I. That seems to be incorrect. There are inscriptions there given of Anapota dated Śaka 1302 and of the wife of Mādhava, the last of Śingabhupāla II. dated Saka 1351. Another inscription dated Śaka 1291, also printed there, was composed by Nāganātha son of Paśupati. Nāganātha wrote a bhāṇa Madanavilāsa mentioning Anapota and was a pupil of Viśveśwara, author of Camatkāracandrikā, in which Viśveśvara eulogised Śingabhupāla. It will be seen presently that Viśveśvara was the real author of Rasārṇavasudhākara.

(See Veturi Prabhakarasastri's Śṛngāra Śrīnātham, 196 *et seq.*

that a commentary on Vedāntadeśika's Subhāṣitanīvī, called Ratnapeṭikā, was composed and presented to the king.

His Nāṭakaparibhāṣā appears to be a work on dramaturgy.[1] His RASARNAVASUDHAKARA[2] presents in three chapters a vivid and elaborate treatment of the canons of dramaturgy inclusive of the governing Rasas and is probably the most comprehensive work on the subject so far available. Its importance is enhanced in literary history by the several works and authors quoted in it, and so far it forms a landmark for historical research.[3]

Viṣveśvara, the author of Camatkāracandrikā, was a poet of his Court and in this work which is a treatise on rhetoric the illustrations are in praise of Singabhūpāla. Here and in Rasārṇavasudhākara (page 151), his work Kandarpasambhava is quoted. In many places in Camatkāracandrikā the reader is referred for details to Rasārṇavasudhākara. From these references it is inferred that the real author of Rasārṇavasudhākara was Viśveśvara.[4]

880. Visvanatha was the son of Candraśekhara.[5] a Mahāpatra brahmin of Kalinga. They were Sāndhivigrahika, that is a high official in the royal Court. Candīdāsa the commentator on Kāvyaprakāśa was his grand uncle. He quotes Gītagovinda and Naiṣadha and mentions Allauddin.[6] Jayanta wrote his Prakāśadipikā in 1324 A.D. and Allauddin, the famous Khilji marauder, was assassinated in 1315 A.D.[7]

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1. *CC*, I. 284 791.
2. Ed. T. S. S. No. 50 and Ed. Venkatagiri.
3. Among the works and authors quoted are:

अभिरामराघवम्, अमोघराघवम्, आनन्दकोशप्रहसनम्, कलिकेलिप्रहसनम्, करुणाकंदलम्, पयोधिमथनम्, भगवदज्जुकम्, महेश्वरानंदः, मायाकुरङ्गिका, माधवी, वीरभद्रविजृंभणम् ।

4. We have several instances in Rāmābhyudaya of Sālva Narasimharāya and in Mahānāṭakasudhānidhi of Immadi Devarāya, where the real author was Aruṇagirinātha.

See Veturi Prabhakara Sastri's Singarasrinatham, 203–4.

5. सन्धौ सर्वस्वहरणं विग्रहे प्राणनिग्रहः ।
अलावद्दीननृपतौ न सन्धिर्न च विग्रहः ॥

6. His works Puṣpamāla and Bhāṣārṇava and verses his are quoted in Sāhityadarpaṇa.

7. S.K. De, *SP*, I. 233 gives the date 1300–1350 A.D. See also Kane, (Int. to Edn. VI ; Cakravarti, *JASB*, lxxii. 146 and II (n. s) 167 n ; Keith, *JRAS* (1911), 848.

VISVANATHAS, authors of (i) Śṛngāravāpikanaṭikā (ii) of Sangīta Raghunandana (iii) of Vṛttakautuka (iv) of poem Jagatprakāśa and Satruśalyacarita (v) of poem Amṛtalahari (vii) of Śivastuti, of Śtavāmṛtalahari (x) of Bhāgavatasārasangraha (xi) of poem Śambhuvilāsa, [mentioned in *CC*, I. 583–6, II. 123] are different.

Viśvanāṭha mentions Saugandhikāharaṇa of his namesake of the Court of King Praṭaparudrendra who ceased to reign in 1323 A.D. It is said in Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa that Nārāyaṇa, grand-father of Viśvanāṭha, vanquished a poet Ḍharmaḍaṭṭa[1] in the Court of King Narasimha of Kālinga. Viśvanāṭha himself composed a poem Narasimhavijayam, apparently in praise of a king of that name of Kalinga. These two Narasimhas must be different. There are four Kings (Narasimhas) of the East Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, of whom Narasimha II ruled between 1268-1302 A.D.,[2] Narasimha III ruled between 1326-1350 A.D. and Narasimha IV began to rule in 1376 A.D. A manuscript of Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa is dated Samvat 1440, (1384 A.D).[3] Sahiṭyaḍarpaṇa could not therefore have been composed after 1376 A.D., if we allow an interval for a manuscript to pass from Kalinga to Kāśmir. We may infer safely that Viśvanāṭha was in the Crurt of King Narasimha III (1326-1350 A.D.) and that of his son Bhānuḍeva (1350-1376), and Nārāyaṇa his ancestor in the Court of King Narasimha II (1268-1302 A.D.)

881. SAHITYADARPANA[4] is an exhaustive treatise on the plan of Kāvyaprakāśa, on which also Viśnanāṭha wrote a commentary. In ten chapters, it traverses the whole field of poetics and his treatment is lucid and impressive.[5]

There are commentaries on it by Maṭhurānaṭha Śukla[6], by Ananṭaḍāsa,[7] by Gopīnāṭha,[8] and by Rāmacaraṇa Ṭarkavāgīśa.[9]

1. Dharmaḍaṭṭa is cited in Prabhākara's Rasapraḍipa (composed 1585 A.D) in which Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa is also quoted.

2. *EI*, V, app. 53; VIII. app. 17. See JASB (1903), 29.

3. *SKC*. 64. It is therefore seen that Weber (*SL*, 231, 244-n), Eggeling (*IOC*, III, 337) and Harichand (Kālidāsa, 115) were wrong in their assumption of 15th century A.D.

4. Among rare works mentioned in it are:

लटकमेलकम्, हयग्रीववधम्, पुष्पमाला, उदात्तराघवम्, कुंदमाला, रामाभिनन्दम्, बालचरितम्, जानकीराघवम्, रामाभ्युदयम्, ययातिविजयम्, राघवाभ्युदयम्, पुष्पभूषितकम्, लीलामधुकरम्, कुसुमशेखरविजयम्, समुद्रमथनम्, शर्मिष्ठाययाति, छलितरामम्, धूर्तचरितम्, स्तंभितरंभम्, रैवतमदनिका, नर्मवती, विलासवती, शृङ्गारतिलकम्, देवीमहादेवम्, मेनकाहितम्, मायाकापालिकम्, क्रीडारसातलम्, कनकवल्लीमाधवम्, बिंदुमती, कर्णपराक्रमम्, भिक्षाटनम्, आर्याविलासम्, मुक्तावली, देशराजचरितम्, बिरुदमणिमाला.

5. *Ed*. Calcutta, Bombay, Calicut etc. Translated into English by Ballantine and P. D. Mitra, *Bib. Ind*. Calcutta. See S. K. De, *SP*.

6. *CC*, I, 715. He wrote a voluminous writer, see *CC*, I, 472. He wrote his Jyotissiḍhāntam in 1283 A.D. He also was a commentary on Kuvalayānanḍam

7. *CC*, II. 171. He was son of Viśvanāṭha. A manuscript is dated 1636 A D.

8. *CC*, I. 163.

9. *Ed*. Calcutta and Bombay. *DC*, XXII. 8710. He wrote his book in East Bengal in a Śāka 1622 (1701) A.D.

Alankāravādārtha discusses the views of Sāhityadarpaṇa.[1]

Among his other works, from which he quotes are the poems Rāghavavilāsam, Kuvalayāśvacaritam (in Prakrit) Nārasimhavijayam, and the plays Candrakalā and Prabhāvatīpariṇayam. His Prasastiratnāvalī is a Karambhaka in 16 languages, containing panegyrics.

882. **Visvanatha,** son of Trimala and grandson of Ananta of Dharasura city on the Godāvari, wrote Sāhityasudhāsindhu in 3 tarangas[2] and a play Mṛgānkalēkhā.[3]

883. **Rasaviveka** called Kāvyādarśa is an excellent treatise in three chapters on rasa probably of the 14th century A.D.[4] The author's name is not known, but he was the brother of Saujanyabhūṣaṇakavi and pupil of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. The illustrations are from ancient works,[5] of which the latest are Kṣemendra's Śilāśataka[6] till now unknown and Bilhaṇa's Vikramānkadevacarita (I. 14).

884. **Bhanudatta,** known also as Bhānukaramiśra[7] was the son of Gaṇanātha or Gaṇeśvara of Videha (Vidarbha?) His Gīta-Gaurīśam[8] is a lyric modelled on Jayadeva's Gīta-Govindam and the commentary on his Rasamanjarī by Gopāla is dated 1428 A.D. Bhānudatta's father wrote Rasaratnadīpikā from which quotations are found in Rasataranginī, and his great-grandfather Śankaramiśra who was the author of Upaskara and a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's Khandanakhādya lived about the year Śaka 1327 (1405 A.D.)[9] From these references it

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1. *HPS*, I. 12; *CC*, III. 7.

2. *SKC*. xxix, where the manuscript is dated 1602 A D. He cites Caṇḍīdāsa commentator on Mammata.

3. See para 710 *supra*.

4. *TC*, I. 804. Thus he begins discussion :

तत्रासौ रसः किमात्मा, किमधिकरणः कतिसङ्ख्यश्चेति त्रिविधो विचारः ।

5. An author Kāsmirādhipaṭi is quoted. Can he be Harṣa mentioned as a dramatic writer by Abhinavagupta?

6. " अलङ्कारजातस्य.......अनुपादेयत्वे च काव्यस्य तदुत्पत्तिहेतोः शक्तिनैपुण्याभ्यासरूपस्य क्षेमेन्द्रप्रणीतशिलाशतस्य वैयर्थ्यं स्यात् "

7. There is a poet Bhānukara who was patronised by a king Vīrabhānu, who according to Haradatta Sarma (*IHO*, X, 478) was contemporary of Sher Shah (1540–1545 A.D.) For a discussion, see Chapter on *Erotics* post under Vīrabhadra's Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi. See *COJ*, I. 197, II. 251. In Sabhyālankaraṇa, Govindāji quote distinctly from Bhānukara and Bhānupandita (*BR*, 1887-91, lxiii).

8. *CC*, I. 405, 793; *IOC*, VII. 1443–5.

9. Ananta Bhatta (17th century) commentator explains the verse तर्किं राजपथे निजामधरणीपालोऽयमालोकितः । as निजामाख्यो देवगिरिराजः ।

is inferred that Bhānudaṭṭa lived between 1350 to 1450 A.D.[1] His RASAMANJARI deals with the phases of love as embodied in poetry and illustrates the conditions of lovers of different ages and experiences. In delineation of character, in appreciation of psychology in and choice of illustration, it is unsurpassed in excellence.[2] The reader feels himself in a land of enchantment and it is in short a book of pleasure.[3]

885. HIS RASATARANGINI[4] is a similar work in eight chapters on rasas and refers to Rasamanjarī for elaboration. Among his other works are Alankāraṭilaka,[5] Śṛngāradīpikā[6] and probably the poem, Kumāra-Bhārgavīyam.[7]

"In the sixth chapter of the Rasatarangini, Bhanudatta excuses himself from giving details about certain points because he says they are given in the Rasamanjari. From this it is clear that the author of both was the same; but there is some question as to his native country. In Professor Aufrecht's copy of the Rasamanjarī it is spoken of as 'Vidarbhabhuh' or the land of the Vidarbhas, and the manuscript before me agrees with his. But Dr. Burnell in his catalogue of the

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Ahmed Nizam Shah obtained possession of Deogir (Doulatabad) between 1497-1507 A.D. and founded Nizam Shahi dynasty in Dekkan which continued in possession till 1637 A.D. Briggs, *Ferishta*, II. 200).

B. N. Bhattacharya (*Jl. of Dep. of Letters*, Calcutta, Vol. IX, 163) refers to a tradition that Bhānu's father wrote Rasaratnadīpikā and his grandfather Śankara wrote a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's Khandanakhādya (*Pandit*, XIII. 172), *CC*, I. 125, II. 149, III. 130.

In Kumārabhārgāvīya (*IOC*, VII. 1540) mention is made of one Sureśvara, son of Raṭneśvara, who was an ancestor of Bhānuḍaṭṭa, separated by 6 generations from himself and who wrote Śārirakabhaṣyavārṭika.

1. S. K. De (*SP*, I. 249) says he cannot be earlier than the middle of the 14th but later than the 12th century. See his paper on the date of Bhānuḍaṭṭa (*Pro. of Or. Confce.*, Allahabad, 1926).

2. Ed. Madras, Bombay, Benares and Calcutta.

3. For instance :

स्नातं वारिदवारिभिर्विरचितो वासो घने कानने
शीतैश्चन्दनशीकरैर्मनसिजो देवस्समाराधितः ।
नीता जागरणव्रतेण रजनी व्रीडा कृता दक्षिणा
तप्तं किं न तपस्तथापि स कथं नाद्यापि नेत्रातिथिः ॥

4. Ed. Granthamala and by Regnaud, Paris.

5. *CC*, I. 32; II. 66; III. 7; *Tanj*. IX. 4107; *PR*, VI. App. 29.

6. *OC*, I. 661.

7. *CASP*, 47, with com. of Gopālānanda, Bharaṭamallika and Navanitarāma.

Tanjore manuscripts calls him Maithila Bhanudatta, i.e., Bhanudatta, the native of Mithila, and the copy of the Rasamanjari purchased by me in 1879 and another procured since the close of the year have Videhabhuh instead of Vidarbhabhuh, i.e., the land of the Videhas of which Mithila was the capital. That Vidarbhabhuh is a mislection is shown by the fact that the author represents the river of the gods or the Ganges as flowing through his country; while the country of the Vidarbhas, which corresponds to the modern Berars, is situated to the South of the Narmada."

886. There are commentaries on Rasamanjarī by Mahādeva,[1] by Rangaśāyin,[2] by Anantapandiṭa,[3] by Nāgeśabhatta,[4] by Bopaḍeva alias Gopāla,[5] by Śeṣacinṭāmani,[6] by Gopālabhatta,[7] by Ananṭaśarman,[8] by Vrajarāja,[9] by Viśveśvara[10] and one anonymous.[11]

There are commentaries on Rasaṭarangiṇī by Gangārāma Jadi,[12] by

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1. *TC*, I. 936,

2. *DC*, XXII. 8084. He was also called Gurijālaśāyin. He was son of Dharmā-
cārya of Chilakamarti family of Gurjāla, Guntur District, Madras.

3. Ed. Benares. *DC*, XXII. 8685. He was son of Ṭryambaka and patronised by
King Ciṭrabhānu of Benares. Ciṭrabhānu was son of Virasimha and was called Svas-
ḍakhin. For particulars, see *IOC*, III. 356. His native place was Puṇyastamba on the
Godāvari. He wrote his commentary in 1636 A.D. at Benares.

4. *CC*, I. 495; II. 116, 120; III. 106; *Ulwar*, 1076. On Nāgoji, see para
supra.

5. *CC*, II. 116; *PR*, II. 36. When the date of composition is given as Saka 1494
but *SKC*, 273 gives the date as *Sam*. 1484. Bopaḍeva alias Gopāla Ācāya was son of
Nṛsimha of Kauṇḍinyagoṭra of Jabolagrama of Mahārāstra.

6. *CC*, I. 495; II. 116, 220; III. 106 where his other works are given. Śeṣa-
cinṭamaṇi was son of Śeṣanṛsimha of the 17th century. For Śeṣa family of Benares,
see para 692 *supra*.

7. *Ibid*. He was son of Harivamśabhatta Dravida. He commented on Śṛngāra-
ṭilaka and Kāvyaprakāśa. For his other works, see *CC*, I. 161.

8. *CC*, I. 495; II. 116. He also wrote Āryāsaptaśaṭi, in 1645 A.D.

9. *CNWP*, II. 120. He was son of Kāmarāja and Jivarāja was his son and wrote
a commentary on Rasaṭaranginī. See para 903 *post*.

10. *CC*, I. 495; II. 116; III. 106. For Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmidhara, see
para 312 *supra*.

11. *IOC*, 543.

12. *IOC*, III. 854; *DC*, XXII. 8680; *TC*, II. 1095. He was son of Nārāyaṇa
and wrote Rasamimāmsā (Ed. Benares). His commentary is dated 1733 A.D.

Jīvarāja,[1] by Mahādeva,[2] by Gaṇeśa,[3] by Ayodhyāprasāda,[4] by Bhagavadbhatta,[5] by Divākara,[6] by Nemisāha,[7] by Veṇidatta.[8]

Jīvarāja flouts Gangārāma's commentary Nāukā and praises his own Setu thus:

सेतुं परित्यज्य विमूढबुद्धयो नौकादिभिः क्षुद्रविसारसाधनैः ।
तर्तुं समिच्छन्ति यतन्ति चापि ये चक्षुष्मदन्धा इति तेऽपि मे मतिः ॥

इमां बत तरंगिणीं रसमयीं गभीरान्तरां
दुरन्तविषयाभिधैरथ तिमिंगिलैस्सङ्कुलाम् ।
वृतां विविधसंशयैर्विषधरैर्विना सेतुना
कथं बुधमतङ्गजाः प्रतितरन्तु नौकाशतैः ॥

887. **Jayadeva's Candraloka**[9] is almost a student's handbook in poetics. In ten Mayūkhas or chapters it describes the qualities of good poetry and illustrates the figures of speech. In the introductory verses, Jayadeva calls himself Pīyūṣavaṣa and in the concluding verses, gives the names of his parents as Mahādeva and Sumitrā. These references are conclusive on the identity of the authors of the Candrāloka and Prasannarāghava.[10] Besides Kuvalayānanda, there are commentaries on Candrāloka, by Venkatasūri,[11] by Payagunda Vaidyanātha,[12]

1. *CC*, 494; II. 229; III. 106. He was son of Vrajarāja and great-grandson of Sāmarāja Dikṣita who lived in the latter half of 17th century. Of Vrajarāja, see para 903 *post*.
2. *CC*, I. 494.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. He also wrote a commentary on Vṛttaratnākara.
5. Ibid.
6. *CC*, II. 118.
7. *CC*, I. 494; III. 106. He was son of Bhimasāna described as Mahārājadhirāja.
8. Ibid.; *Ulwar*, 1071. He was author of Alankāracandrodaya. His commentary is dated 1553 A.D.
9. Printed Venkateswar Press, Bombay and everywhere. There is another Candrāloka, *Ulwar*, 1058.

The identification of this author with the author of Gitagovinda, made in the Introduction to this Edition is wrong; likewise is the statement of Dayānanda that this Jayadeva was the same as the brother of Bopadeva, whose parents were Bhojadeva and Rādhā (see his Satyārthaprakāsā, 335).

10. See para 674 *supra*. Peterson, *Subh*. 39; *DC*, XXII. 8650, 8656; *SR*, 68.
11. Called Budharanjani. It embraces only the chapters on Arthālankāra. The author was patronised by Rāmabhupāla. Ed. Madras. *TC*, III. 1526; *DC*, XXII. 8651.
12. Called Rāmā. *DC*, XXII. 8652. He is different from Vaidyanatha Tatsat, the commentator on Kāvyaprakāsa.

by Viśveśvara alias Gāgābhatta,[1] by Pradyotanabhattācārya,[2] by Virūpākṣa,[3] by Vājacandra,[4] by Sūrya Balirama Caube,[5] and one anonymous.[6]

888. Sukhalalamisra was son of Bāburāya and grandson of Hṛdayarāma. He was pupil of Gangeśamiśra. His sixth ancestor Ḍamoḍara came to Kāśī from his native village Gharonda and having studied there became minister of Vairamaputra. Sukhalāla's Alankāramanjarī purports to follow Jayadeva's Kārikas. His Śṛngāramālā was written in Sam. 1801 (1745 A.D.)[7] The first verse imbeds the names of planets thus :—

अरुणिसरविनखचन्द्रं पावकभौमं बुधमणिभिः ।
सुरुचिसुमहिम कविवन्द्यं मन्दगमवतु पदपङ्कजं देव्याः ॥

Gangeśa's son Hariprasāda wrote Kāvyārṭhagumpha and Kāvyāloka in Sam. 1775 and 1784.[8]

Among Reddi Kings of Aḍḍanki, Prola Vema was a great patron of letters. Lolla Mahāḍeva Kavi adorned his Court. His grandson Kumāragiri or Vasanṭarāja wrote a work on dramaturgy Vasanṭarājīya.[9] From this work Kāṭayavema[10] who had married Komāragiri's sister Mallāmbikā, has quotations and so too do Mallināṭha, Kumāraswāmin and Nāḍindla Gopamanṭrin :

i. धृतातपत्रः शुभशुक्लवासाः पुष्पार्चितश्चन्दनचर्चिताङ्गः ।
विप्रश्शिखावान् कृतभोजनश्च ददाति दृष्टः पथि सर्वसिद्धिम् ॥

Commentary on *Vikramorvaśīyam.*

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1. Called Rākāgama or Suḍhā. He was also known as Viśveśvara alias Gāgabhatta, son of Dinakara and nephew of Kamalākara of the 17th century. *DC*, XXII, 8653 ; *PR*, II. 509

2. Called Śaradarāma. *DC*, XXII. 8655. This name was apparently suggested from the last verse of the Candrāloka. The author was the son of Balabhaḍra, and wrote at the instance of Prince Vīrabhaḍra son of King Rāmacandra and grandson of Virasimba of Vandella family (Vaghela ?). Virabhaḍra's commentary on Kāvyasuṭras is dated 1577 A.D.

3. Called Śaradaśārvari (*HR*, III. vii).

4. *CC*, I. 182.

5. Called Dipikā. Ibid.

6. Ed. Benares.

7. *Ulwar*, 1083 ; *SKC*, 74.

सुधांशुव्योमवस्विन्दौ वर्षे ज्येष्ठासिते रसे ।
शुभा शृङ्गारमालेयं रविपुष्ये सुगुंफिता ॥

8. *CC*, I. 103, II. 20 ; *PR*, III. 356 ; S. K. De, *SP*, II. 323.

9. See Essay on Vasanṭarājīyam in K.B. Pathak's Com. Vol. by N. Venkataramo

10. See para 620 *supra.*

ii. मदेन मदनेनापि प्रेरिता शिथिलत्रपा ।
योत्सुकाभिसरेत् कान्तं सा भवेदभिसारिका ॥

Commentary on *Māgha*, II. 8.

iii. यद्यप्यङ्गानि भूयांसि पूर्वरङ्गस्य नाटके ।
तेषामवश्यं कर्तव्या नान्दी नन्दीश्वरप्रिया ॥

Commentary on *Pratāparudrīyam*.

iv. तथोक्तं वसन्तराजीये—

सूचने पात्रभेदानां तत्स्वभावार्थसूचनी ।
या गीतिः सा ध्रुवा तुल्यसंविधानविशेषणे ॥
प्रावेशिक्याक्षेपिकी च तथा प्रासादिकीति च ।
नैष्क्रामक्यान्तरी चेति तासां लक्षणमुच्यते ॥
प्रवेशसूचकादौ तु ध्रुवा प्रावेशिकी मता ।
प्रसङ्गमध्येऽन्यार्थस्याक्षेपादाक्षेपिकी मता ॥
प्रासादिकी तु पात्राणां व्याकुलानां प्रसादनात् ।
निष्कामसूचिकायान्ते ध्रुवा नैष्कामिकी भवेत् ॥
विषादे विस्मृतौ क्रोधे प्रमादे संभ्रमे मदे ।
दोषप्रच्छादनादौ च गीयते या तु सान्तरी ॥ इति ॥

Commentary on *Prabodhacandrodaya*.

889. Vemabhupala[1] succeeded Komāragiri on the throne of Kondavidu in about 1403 A.D. as the nearest agnate in succession.

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1. On Vemabhupāla and his family, see Veturi Prabhākaraśāstri's Śṛṅgāranaiṣadham, 45; also *E.I* III. 288; III. 60.

The genealogy is as follows :—

Komati Prolaya (1320 A.D.)
(with capital Aḍḍanki)

- Māca
  - Peḍa Komati Vema (called Pallava, Trinetra &c., patron of Telugu poet Yerrapragada and Sanskrit poet Mahādeva the 7th ancestor of Lolla Lakṣmidhara, who lived about 1530 A. D.).
    - Rāca Vemana
      - Anapoṭa (till 1366 A.D.) (removed capital to Kondavidu ; Bālasarasvati was a poet of his Court).
      - Anavemareddi (till 1381 A. D.) called Dharma Vemana. Ṭrilocana was a poet of his Court.
        - Komāragiri (till 1403 A.D.)
- Prolaya Vema (1330 A.D.)

He is generally known as Peḍakomati Vemareddi. He was the grandson of Māca, the elder brother of Prolayavemana. A poet and scholar himself, he was a great patron of letters. He bore the title Vīranārāyaṇa. He gave away a portion of his kingdom to his brother's son Māca and installed him at Kondapalli. He claimed the territory of Rajahmundry which had been given away by his predecessor Komāragiri[1] to his wife's brother Kātayavema and had to wage war against the grandson of the latter and his adherents. His wife Sūramāmbā was known for her charity and some tanks and canals are associated with her name. He passed away about the year 1420 A.D. In his Court the great poets Śrīnāṭha and Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa flourished. Śrīnāṭha called him Sarvajnacakravarṭin[2] and Vāmana narrated his life in his romance Vīranārāyaṇacariṭa.

Besides his commentaries on Amaruka[3] and Sapṭaśaṭisāra,[4] he wrote Sāhiṭyacinṭāmaṇi[5] on poetics and Sangīṭacinṭāmaṇi[6] on music. The first is a learned treatise in 13 Paricchedas on the plan of Kāvyaprakāśa and criticises Mahimabhaṭṭa's theory of inference. Among the poets he quotes is one Kusumāyuḍha. The illustrations are sometimes in praise of himself and this leads to a doubt if the work was only a dedication by a poet of his Court, presumably Śrīnāṭha. Among the works quoted in these works, are his own Kāvya (or Bhāna) Vīranārāyaṇacariṭa[7] and Kāḍambarīnāṭaka[8] of Narasimha, a nephew of

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2. Komāragiri alias Vasanṭarāja was found of feast and pleasure and he was free to enjoy them, while his wife's brother Kātayavema a warrior and scholar administered the kingdom with ability. Lakuma, a celebrated actress, was in his Court. He wrote a work on Nāṭya, called Vasanṭarājīya and this is referred to by Kātayavema in his commentary on Śākunṭalā. At his instance Kātayavema wrote commentaries on the plays of Kālidāsa.

1. चूडामणिर्नृपाणां दुर्मदपरिपन्थि शिखरिदंभोळिः ।
सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती पेदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति ॥

2. Ed. Madras.

3. The manuscript in Oriental Mss. Library.

4. *DC*, XXII. 8708,

5. *Trav*. 80. This is a Sangīṭacinṭāmaṇi and Sangīṭāmṛta by Kamalalocana (*CC*, I. 79), and another anonymous in *Tanj*. XVI. 7265.

6. It is not known what this work was. For instance
यथा ममैव काव्ये वीरनारायणचरिते ।

7. For instance:

i. भुवनाय वितीर्णजीवनानां क्षितिभृद्धिशिरसोपलालितानाम् ।
अधिकं विमलश्रियां घनानां लघुतापि प्रबभूव गौरवाय ॥

ii. क्षणं कपोले स्तनमण्डले क्षणं क्षणं हृदीयं फलकं क्षणं दृशोः ।
नितंबिनी न्यस्य निमीलितेक्षणा दध्यौ विदग्धेव न वेद चान्तरम् ॥

Agastya. In learning and patronage, Vemabhūpāla and his family were vying with the contemporary kings of Racakonda, of whom Sarvajnasinga[1] and his grandson of that name attained fame.

890. Paundarika Ramesvara's Rasasindhu treats of rasas and bhāvas in 14 raṭnas (chapters). Among the works he mentions the latest is Viśvanātha's Sāhiṭyaḍarpaṇa and he must therefore have lived in the first half the 15th century.[2]

891. Anurathamandana or Raṭnamandanaguru was the pupil of the Jain priest Raṭnaśekhara,[3] suri of Tapagaccha who died in 1861 A.D. His Jalpakalpalaṭā[4] in 3 parts is an instructor in poetic composition and Mugḍhameḍhākara[5] maily deals with figures of speech.

892. Punjaraja was the son of Jīvana and Maku of Śrīmāla family. Jīvaṇa and his brother Megha were ministers of Khalaci Sahi Garjasa of Mālva who ruled about 1475 A.D.[6] Of his two sons, Punja, who became king, abdicated in favour of his brother Munja. Punjaraja's Ḍhvanipraḍīpa is a treatise on Ḍhvani and Śiśuprabodhālankāra is an introductory work on figures of speech.[7]

893. Haridasa was son of Purusoṭṭama of Karaṇa family. His Prastāvaraṭnākāra deals with enigmatic composition and was composed in 1557 A.D.[8]

894. Vitthalesvara or **Vitthaladiksita** called also Agnikumāra was the son of Vallabhācārya the reformer and was born in 1515 A.D. His brother was Gopīnāṭha. He wrote Rīṭivṛṭṭilakṣaṇa on literary style and Śṛngārarasamandāna[9] on the sentiment of love.

895. Kesavabhatta was the son of Harivamṣabhatta and disciple of Vitthaleśvara, the son of Vallabhācārya. His Rasikasanjīvanī in three chapters deals with heroines and their relation to the amorous sentiment.[10]

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1. See para 120 *supra*.
2. *CC*, III. 106; *BORI*, Poona, Ms. No. 595; P. K. Gode, *COJ*, II. 30.
3. *BR*, (1883-84) 156-7; *PR*, IV. cii; *IA*, XI. 256.
4. *Weber*, 1722, II. 279-80.
5. *PR*, VI. xv, 31.
6. See *BR*, (1882-3), 12.
7. *PR*, V. xliii, 168-9; *PR*, V. 169.
8. *CC*, I. 360; II, 212; III. 77.
9. *CC*, I. 661; II. 158; III. 137. For other works, see *CC*, I. 572; III. 121.
10. *CC*, I. 127, 497.

896. Appayyadīksita has a venerable place in poetics.[1] He composed KUVALAYANANDA, a treatise original in itself, but designed as a commentary on Jayadeva's Candrāloka.[2] In Āśādhara's commentary on Kuvalayānanda, we have the story of its composition :

किं च "काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृते" इत्यादिकप्रामाणिकपण्डितोक्तं राजप्रसादादिकमभिहितम् । एवं हि श्रूयते । अप्पय्यदीक्षितो नाम चन्द्रालोकं नाम ग्रन्थं चिकीर्षुः पण्डितो रङ्गराजसूनुः स पितुराज्ञया वेङ्कटाद्रिराजमुपजगाम । स च राज्ञाभ्यर्थितश्चन्द्रालोकं नाम ग्रन्थं चकार । राज्ञा वर्षाशनं दत्वा प्रहितोऽलङ्कारविवेचनाय प्रार्थितश्चेमाः कारिकाः कुवलयानन्दं च कृत्वा वेङ्कटेशं प्रसादयामास ।

It is said that Appayya who wished to compose a work on Alankāras was sent by his father to go to the king Venkaṭādri. The king induced him to compose the work and settled on him an annual allowance in consideration of his scholarship. Appayyadīkṣiṭa returned with the boon and wrote the kārikās on the subject under the name of Candrālōka and wrote also a commentary called Kuvalayānanda.

The name of the king is given at the end of the work :

अमुं कुवलयानन्दमकरोदप्पदीक्षितः ।
नियोगाद्वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधेः ॥

" Appayyadīkṣita composed the Kuvalayānanda by the command of Vēnkaṭapati who was the mine of disinterested mercy."

"From the steatement of Appayyadiksita in the beginning of the work, it appears, however, that he did not compose the whole original work, but adopted the work of Jayadeva (5th chapter) and added definitions of new alankaras and their illustrations. This perhaps roused the indignation of Jayadeva, the author of Candraloka and was referred to by him in his drama of the Prasannaraghava as an unworthy plagiarism. In the introduction, it is said that the manager had a brother named Gunarama; that he objected to being called भरताधिराज 'prince of players' owing to the fact that his elder brothher was living; that the title should be conferred on the latter; that he wrote a drama called Haracaparopana which was acted at the court of a king called Ratijanaka and obtained a great fame as an actor. A contemptible player stealthily assumed the title of Gunarama and misappropriated

1. For his life and works see paras 142-3 *supra*. In a discussion in *JOR*, P. P. S. Sastri fixes his date as 1520–1593. A.D. विक्रमे भूतलं प्राप्य विजये स्वर्गमाययौ ! by Kuravi Rāma (HR. I. xi.)

2. For commentaries on it, see *l.c.* and also

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the fame to himself. Having heard this, the real Gunarama went to the south and secured the alliance of a singer named Sukantha and began to fight against his enemy at the courts of the kings of southern India. While we can clearly see in the above statements, an allusion to the story of Ravana carrying Sita, the wife of Rama, and the latter allying himself with the monkey leader, Sugriva and fighting with Ravana to recover his wife, we cannot help thinking of the probability of a reference to Appayyadiksita's modification of the Candraloka and commenting upon the work. Jayadeva might have considered this to be a plagiarism and resorted perhaps to the courts of king of Southern India where Appayyadiksita was living to expose the plagiarism before the king and the people assembled."[1]

897. His Citramīmāmsa, also a treatise on alankāra is supposed to have been left unfinished, and Vaidyanātha in his commentary on Kuvalāyananda thus supports the general tradition: "Citramīmāmsā is not seen anywhere beyond the Utpreksālankāra." Jagannātha made a ruthless criticism of this work in Citramīmāmsākhandana,[2] and this was in its turn answered by Nīlakantha and Candamārutācārya.[3]

898. Gangananda was a protige of Mahārāja Karna of Bikaneer (1506-1527 A.D.) and belonged to Mithila (Tīrabhukta). His Kāvyadākinī is divided into 5 dristis and deals with poetrical blemishes (dosa) "In the last chapter there appears also a discussion whether a dosa is regarded as a guna when it does not involve any defect at all or when it is neutral, so that it cannot be treated as a guna or a dosa."[4] Gangānanda also wrote Karnabhūsana[5] a treatise on rasa, a poem Bhrngadūta[6] and a play Mandāramanjarī.[7]

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1. *HR*, II. 68.
2. Ed. Bombay, along with Citramimāmsā. For instance on the verse:

निश्शेषच्युतचन्दनं स्तनतटं निर्मृष्टरागोऽधरः
नेत्रे दूरमनञ्जने पुलकिता तन्वी तवेयं तनुः ।
मिथ्यावादिनि दूति बान्धवजनस्याज्ञातपीडागमे
वापीं स्नातुमितो गतासि न पुनस्तस्याधमस्यान्तिकम् ॥

3. *HR*, II. viii. The latter manuscript is with S. A. T. Śingaracārya. Triplicane. Madras.
4. Ed. *Sar. Bhav. Series*, Benares by P. Jagannatha Sastri.
5. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay.
6. *CC*, III. 30.
7. Mentioned in Kāvyadākinī, p. 44.

899. Jagannatha.[1] His charming lyrics have already been described. His Rasagangāḍhara[2] testifies to his high culture in the appreciation of poetry. It stops with Uṭṭarālankāra, probably in imitation of Appayaḍīkṣiṭa's Ciṭramīmāmsā, whose views he criticises in his Ciṭramīmāmsākhandana.[3] In his disquisitions he is self-conscious and the language of his rhetorical works, particularly of Rasagangāḍhara is not lucid and a knowledge of dialectics will facilitate its appreciation. He declares that his illustrative verses are his own.[4]

900. Krsnasudhi was the son of Śivarāma and descendant of Jagannāṭha Pandiṭarāja of Upaḍrasṭṛ family. He lived in Uṭṭaramallur on the banks of the Seyyar near Kāncī. He wrote Kāvyakalāniḍhi,[5] a very comprehensive work on poetics, with illustrations in praise of his patron King Rāmavarman of Kollam.

In Alankāramīmāmsā, Śānṭalūri Kṛṣṇasūri, son of Gopalācārya of Tanuku, Krishna Dist., criticises the views expressed in Ṛasagangāḍhara. He also wrote Sāhiṭyakalpalaṭikā.[6]

Bhallaṭa was a poet of the Court of King Praṭāparuḍraḍeva, He was called Vīra Bhallata and was a proficient in Nāṭyaśāsṭra. He wrote Nāṭyaśekhara; so says Śṛngāraśekhara, author of Abhinayabhūṣaṇa.[7]

901. Krsnasarman was a pupil of Vāsuḍeva Yogīśvara of Guṇapura. His Manḍāramananḍacampū though so named is in fact a treatise on poetics and prosody of an encyclopædic variety. He copied his definitions from Appaya Ḍīkṣiṭa and might have probably lived in the 17th century A.D.[8] His Rasaprakāśa is a commentary on Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa.[9]

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1. See para 811 *supra*.
2. Ed. Bombay, with a commentary on Nageśabbatta. Views here expressed are criticised by Kṛṣṇasuḍhi in his Alankāramimāmsa (*TC*, III. 3852). There is also an anonymous commentary, *CC*, I. 4946.
3. Ed. Kāvyamāla, Bombay.
4. His stray verses have been collected and printed under the name Pandiṭarājaśaṭakam in Arsha Press, Vizagapatam.
5. *TC*, IV. 4209.
6. *TC*, III. 3852, 3733. His son Jayajaya Rāmānujācārya is a scholar and poet.
7. *Andhrapatrika*, Annual number, 1917-8, 225.
8. Ed. Bombay, with a commentary Māḍhuryarañjanī.
9. See para 863-A *supra*.

902. Prabhakara was the son of Māḍhavabhatta and grandson of Rāmeśvara of Viśvāmiṭragoṭra.[1] His Rasapraḍīpa[2] in which Alankārarahasya is quoted was composed in 1583 A.D. In three chapters it deals with the essentials of poetry, rasa and dhvani. He wrote an epitome of Ḍevīmāhāṭmyam in 1629 A.D. called Laghusapṭaśaṭikāsṭava, Ekāvalīprakāśa and commentaries on Kumārasambhava and on Vāsavaḍaṭṭā.

Rāmeśvarabhatta has three sons, Nārāyaṇa, Śrīḍhara and Māḍhava. Nārāyaṇa was born in 1513 A.D. and was a favourite of Todarmal, the finance minister of Emperor Akbar. He wrote the commentary on Vṛṭṭaraṭnākara. Prabhākara's son Kṛṣṇa wrote Vāgīśvarīsamsṭava.

903. Samaraja Diksita son of Narahari of Bindu Puranḍara family composed his play Śrīḍāmacariṭa in 1681 A.D. He also wrote poems Ṭripurasunḍarīmānasapūjanasṭoṭra,[3] Akṣaragumpha and Āryāṭrīśaṭī[4] and in poetics Śṛṅgārāmṛṭalaharī.[5]

Samarāja's son KAMARAJA,[6] (or Kāmarūpa Śastrin) wrote the poem Śṛṅgarakalikā and on poetics Kāvyenḍuprakāśa[7] or Rasanirṇaya.

Kamarāja's son VRAJARAJA alias Haradaṭṭa wrote a commentary on Rasamanjarī, and poems Śṛṅgāraśataka, ṣadṛṭuvarṇana and Āryāṭriśaṭīmukṭaka or Rasikaranjanakāvya.[8] Vrajarāja's son JIVARAJA was in

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1. According to Hall (*Bibl.* 181) Prabhākara was born in 1564 A.D. For Prabhākara's works, see *CC*, I. 353 For the story of this family, see the poem Śankarabhatta's Cāḍhivamśavarṇana. Haraprasad Sastri, *IA*, (1912). S. K. De, *SP*, I. 302, Printed Mirzapur). In Kantanātha's Bhāttavamśakāvya Rāmeśvara is thus described :

गुणोन्मुखी श्रीश्च सरस्वती च निसर्गमात्सर्यमपीह हित्वा ।
तं भेजतुस्सख्यमिवोपयाते गुणैर्वरं वेदविदां वरिष्ठम् ॥
मीमांसयाऽभाजि यतश्चिरं श्रीश्चतुर्मुनिव्याकरणं च येन ।
आन्वीक्षिकी चक्षुरपि प्रपेदे वेदान्तविद्या जरती युवत्वम् ॥
कृतं मुदा येन च लीलयैव काव्यं प्रियं रामकुतूहलाख्यम् । I. 10-12.

2. Ed. *Sar. Bhav. Series*, Benares by Narayana Sastri Khiste, with a long introduction.
3. S. K. De, *SP*, II. 320.
4. *CC*, I. 708.
5. Printed Bombay. *Ulwar*, 1036.
6. There is a poet Kāmarāja quoted in *Sarng.* and another who wrote a gloss on Karpuramanjarī.
7. Printed, Bombay. *BR*, (1887-91) No. 601.
8. Printed, Bombay.

the Court of Maḍhavasena and he wrote Gopālacampū and a commentary *Setu* on Rasaṭarangiṇī.[1]

904. Caturbhuja wrote Rasakalpaḍruma to the delight of Saistakhan, who is described as son of Asakakhan, and grandson of Iṭamaddoula. It is an elaborate work in 1000 verses in 65 prasṭāvas covering the whole range of poetics and erotics. Saistakhan was himself a great Sanskrit poet and six of his verses are here quoted. The composition was in the year Sam. 1745 (1689 A.D.) Here is a fine verse:

यन्नादृतस्त्वमलिना मलिनाशयेन किं तेन चम्पक विषादमुरीकरोषि ।
विश्वाभिरामनवनीरदनीलवेषाः केशाः कुशेशयदृशां कुशलीभवन्तु ॥

Among rare authors and works mentioned are: Acalaruḍra, Aniruḍḍha, Avilamba, Īśvaraḍāsa, Ugragraha, Kamsanārāyaṇa, Kubjakutīra, Gauḍayaḍāva, Jaganmaṇirāja, Dhakkārava, Ḍaśāvaḍhāna, Navīnakavīnḍra, Nāṭhamiśra, Pancānana, Paraśurāma, Bhāraṭīkavi, Bhupaṭimiśra, Maṭi, *Maḍhuravallī*, Mahāmanuṣya, Mohanamiśra, Raghupaṭi, Ranṭideva, Rāmacanḍra Sarasvaṭi, Ruci, *Lakhya*, Vasanṭa, Vaṇīrasāla, Viśvambhara, Vahinīpaṭi, Sanjayakavirāja, Sarvaḍāsa, Svasṭhānamiśra, Haribhatta, and Harinḍra.[2]

905. Baladeva Viḍyābhūṣaṇa was a desciple of Ḍāmoḍaraḍāsa and a follower of Caiṭanya and a native of Bengal. He lived during the days of kiug Jayasimha of Jaipur who ruled in the 18th century. His Sāhiṭyakaumuḍī[3] is a commentary on the Sūṭras of Bharaṭa and is accompanied by a gloss of his own. These Sūṭras are the Kārikas, embraced in Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammata and in the colophon, it is explicitly stated that the name of the work comprising the Kārikas is Kāvyalakṣaṇa[4] composed by Bharaṭa, and that his commentary thereon was following several commentaries of old, such as that of Mammaṭa.[5]

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1. *Ulwar*, 1070. Here it is said 'Jivaraja says that his grandfather Samaraja obtained the name Kamaraja and was the author of Kavyenduprakasa, Rasanirnaya, and of Nrsimhavijaya and other natakas. Jivaraja says that his father Vrajaraja was also called Haradatta."

2. *Ulwar*, 1067.

3. See S. K. De, *SP*, I. 184-5. A pun in the first verse of Sāhiṭyakaumuḍī refers to Gajapaṭipraṭāparuḍra of Orissa. See Sterling. *As. Res.* XV. 284; and Aufrecht *Bod. Cat.* 148 notes.

4. Ed. Bombay. *PR*, II. 10.

5. There is Kavilakṣaṇa (*DC*, XXVI. 9909) which describes the attainments and character of a good poet.

This reference to several commentaries on the Kārikas other than Mammata precludes the idea that Mammata himself wrote the Kārikas.[1]

Vidyābhūṣaṇa is an eminent rhetorician. He illustrates his comments with verses of his own composition in praise of Kṛṣṇa of whom Caitanya was an incarnation. He adds a supplementary (last) chapter where he formulates rules on topics not touched upon by Bharata.[2]

An anonymous commentary on Śāhityakaumudī[3] is more explicit. It says that Bharata threw into concise Kārikas the science of poetry as developed in Agnipurāṇa and other works and to explain these is the object of the Sāhityakaumudī.[4]

Among other works of this author are Kāvykaustubha,[5] Padyāvalī,[6] and a commentary on Utkalikāvallarī.[7]

906. Visvesvara was the son of Lakṣmīdhara of Pande family of Almoda. His descendants of the ninth generation are now there.[8] He lived in the beginning of the 18th century. He was a literary genius and began writing when he was ten. Such men are rarely long-lived and he died at 34. In poetics, his writings are various, Alankārakaustubha,[9] Alankārakarṇābharaṇa,[10] Alankārakulapradipā,[11] Alankāramuktāvali,[12] Kāvyalilā and Kāvyaratna,[13] Rasacandrikā,[14] and a commentary on Bhānudatta's Rasamanjarī.[15] In Alankārakaustubha, he mentions his plays Rukminīpariṇaya and Śṛngāramanjarī (in prakrit).

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1. व्याख्यातमिदं संपूर्णं काव्यलक्षणम् ।
मम्मटाद्युक्तमाश्रित्य मितां साहित्यकौमुदीम् ॥
वृत्तं भरतसूत्राणां श्रीविद्याभूषणोऽभ्यधात् ।

In all editions of Kāvyaprakāśa the words संपूर्णमिदं काव्यलक्षणम् are found.

2. For a full discussion see *PR*, II. 10-12.
3. Peterson (*l.c.*) suspects that Vidyābhuṣaṇa was himself the author of it.
4. See *PR*, II. 99.
5. *SKC*, 58, 268.
6. *PR*, III. App. 395.
7. *PR*, IV. cxiii. Aufrecht says that this work was written in 1765 A.D.
8. See para 812 *supra*. S. K. De, *SP*, 31.
9. Printed Bombay.
10. Ed. Bombay.
11. *CC*, I. 31; II. 187. Printed Benares.
12. *DC*, XXIII. 8603. Printed Benares.
13. See Kāvyamāla, VII. 51-52 *f.n.*
14. Printed Benares. *DC*, XXII. 8679.
15. *DC*, XXI. 8411.

907. **Vasudeva Paro** of Karaṇa family was a poet and doctor in the Court of Gajapaṭi Jagannāṭha Nārāyanaḍeva of Khimundi State, Orissa. His KAVICINTAMANI is large treatise in 24 Kiraṇas and deals particularly on Kavisamaya and Samasyāpūraṇa, and Saṅgīṭa also in the last three.[1]

908. **Gauranarya** was son of Ayaluprabhu, brother of Miṭarāya, minister of King Śingaya Māḍhava of Recarla family, probably of the 18th century A.D. His Lakṣaṇaḍīpikā or Prabanḍhaḍīpikā is a general treatise on poetics probably in 10 prakāśas.[2]

909. **Ramadeva Ciranjiva Battacarya** or Ciranjīva was the son of Rāghavendra. His Kāvyavilāsa[3] in two parts deals with Rasa and Alankāra. His Śṛṅgāraṭaṭinī[4] is a collection of erotic verses and Vṛṭṭaraṭnāvali[5] is an illustrative work on prosody meant as a panegyric of Yasvanṭasimha who was Naib Dewan of Deccan about 1731 A.D. His Viḍvanmoḍaṭaringiṇi has been noticed.[6]

910. **Tirumala Bukkapatham Venkatacarya** wrote Alankārakausṭubha.[7] He was son of Aṇṇayācārya, a poet of the court of the Zamindar of Surapuram in Nizam's dominions and lived about 1770 A.D. His brother's son Śrīnivāsācārya wrote Rasamanjarī[8] and the celebrated work Ṭaṭṭvamārṭānda.

911. **Acyudaraya Modaka** was the pupil of Nārāyaṇaśasṭrin and probably son of Nārāyaṇa. His Sāhiṭyasāra[9] in 12 chapters describes the topics as taken from the "*ocean of poetics*", so that the chapters are called Ḍhanvanṭariraṭna, Airāvaṭaraṭna etc. He wrote also a commentary on Bhaminīvilāsa[10] and probably also Bhāgiraṭhīcampū composed on 1815.[11]

912. **Rajasekhara** son of Venkateśa of Kolluru family and of Gouṭamagoṭra lived in Peruru (Somaṇāṭhapura) on the banks of the

1. *TC*, IV. 4225.
2. *DC*, XXII. 8692, 8694; *Tanj.* IX. 4029. He quotes from Alankārasangraha and Kavikanthapāśa, Camaṭkāracanḍrikā, Sāhiṭyacanḍroḍaya etc.
3. *CC*. I. 102; II. 20; III. 22.
4. *CC*, I. 660.
5. *HR*, III. No. 280.
6 See para 768 *supra*.
7. *DC*, XXII. 8600.
8. *TC*, I. R. No. 369.
9. Ed. Bombay with commentary Sarasāmoda.
10. Ed. Bombay.
11. *CC*, I. 770. See also S. K. De, *SP*, I. 282-3.

river Kauśikī in the Godavari Konasīma about 1840 A.D.[1] His Sāhiṭyakalpadruma is a work on poetics in 81 stabakas. He also wrote Śivaśaṭaka, Śrīśacampū and Alankāramakaranda.[2]

913. **Ratnabhusana** belonged to a Vaidya family of East Bengal. In his Kāvyakaumudī composed in 1859 A. D., he deals with poetics in general, but in the first three chapters with nouns, genders and verbal suffixes.[3]

914. **Bhaskaracarya** was a descendent of Varadaguru of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra and lived at Śriperumbudur, Chingleput District, probably in the 19th century. His Sāhiṭyakallolinī embraces the whole topic of poetics and dancing.[4]

915. **Srisaila Nrsimhacarya** was son of Ḍāsāmacārya. On Lakṣaṇamālikā of unknown authorship he wrote a commentary Alankārenduśekhara, dealing lucidly with all topics of poetics. He also wrote a commentary on Śānṭavilāsa, which is a work on music by Subrahmaṇyasuḍhi or Hariśābakavīndra. He refers to his work Campū-Jānakāpariṇaya and to Gīṭamanjarī of Hariśāba.[5]

916. **Venkatanarayana** was the son of Lakṣmī and Kameśvara Ḍīkṣiṭa of Godavarṭi family. He says he composed works in eight languages. His Śṛngārasāra in 6 ullāsas treats of heros and heroines, rasas and rūpakas. He refers the reader to another work of his, Śṛngārasārāvali, for fuller treatment.[6]

917. **Ramasubramanya Sastrin** was son of Rāmaśankara and grandson of Aśvaṭṭhanārāyaṇa and desciple of Śivarāma. He was an authority on Śasṭras and lived at Ṭiruvasanallur, Tanjore Dt. He was born in the last thirties and died in 1922 A.D. His works on several Śāsṭras are numerous and his commentaries on the Upaniṣads are very much respected.[7] In his Alankāraśāsṭravilāsa he criticises Viḍyānāṭha's definition of poetry.[8] His Bhakṭyānanḍaprakāśa is a treatise on Bhakṭi or devotion to God.[9]

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1. *TC*, III. 2895. First four Sṭabakas are printed. Bhāgavaṭacampu is partly printed.
2. Kuppusāmi Śāsṭri's I. Rep.
3. *BR*, II, vii. and No. 35.
4. *DC*, XXII. 8706.
5. *DC*, XXII. 8696, 8715; *SR*, I. 11, 98.
6. *DC*, XXII. 8699.
7. See *TC*, II, 2528, 2532, 2541. He was ordinarily known as Rāmasubbāśasṭrin.
8. *TC*, II. 2520.
9. *TC*, II. 2546.

In Sāhiṭyakanṭakoḍḍhāra in two chapters Maḍhusūḍana, son of Nārāyaṇa of Śrīvaṭsagoṭra, has a running criticism of works of well-known authors, such as Śrī Harṣa, Bilhaṇa and Bhāravi in regard to the use of certain nouns, verbs and euphony.[1]

918. **Sundaradeva Vaidya,** son of Govinḍaḍeva, wrote Rāmasunḍara-mahākāvya to illustrate particular poetic conceptions.[2]

Kavikanthapāśa is a treatise on a poet's personal appearance, on the effects of the initial letters of a poem and of the time of composition etc. It is said to be based on Pingala's work.[3]

919. **Mudumbai Narasimha Acarya** flourished in the Courts of Vijiarāma Gajapaṭi and Ānanḍa Gajapaṭi, Māhārājās of Vizianagaram (Vizagapatam District). Besides the works already mentioned (in para-356 supra) he wrote the poems Ḍaivopālambha, Narasimhāttahāsa, Jayasimhāśvameḍhīya, Victoriapraśasṭi and Yuḍḍha-proṭsāhana, and in the field of poetics, Kāvyopoṭghāṭa, Kāvyaprayoga-viḍhi, Kāvyasūṭravṛṭṭi and Alankāramālā and the following Sṭuṭis:[4]

क्षमार्पणस्तव, अस्वतंत्रस्तव, अर्चाभगवद्ध्यानयोग, कूर्मनाथस्तव, कूर्मनाथस्तवरोमन्थ, केशवस्तव, कुवं:स्तव, ज्वालानरसिंहस्तव, नाथस्तव, मंदहासस्तव; अवताररोमन्थ, ब्रह्मसमाधि-स्तव, पुरुषोत्तमस्तव, प्रसादस्तव, भगवद्ध्यानयोग, दिव्यलीलावतारस्तव, मार्गस्तव, योगनिद्रा-प्रबोध, योगनिद्रास्तव, रामानुजचतुस्सप्तति, सिंहाद्रिनाथस्तव, राधास्तव, वासुदेवस्तवरोमन्थ, श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वर-विशिष्टध्यानयोग, वेङ्कटेश्वरत्रिक, लक्ष्मीवेङ्कटेश्वरस्तव, वेदान्तदशक, वृत्तिशोधन, प्रपत्ति, रंगेंद्रस्तव, कृष्णस्तवरोमन्थ, सूर्यस्तव, दुर्गास्तव, श्रीस्तव, प्राबोधकीस्तव, गायत्रीमाला, नवनिधिमहालक्ष्मीस्तव, भगवदौदार्यस्तव, पुमर्थश्रमनिवृत्तिस्तव, निष्ठुरोक्तिस्तव, निरहंकारस्तव, निर्वेदस्तव, कामहरस्तव, निस्संदेहस्तव, संकीर्णचमत्कारस्तव, द्वयमंत्रस्तव, प्राशिगद्य, नैच्यानुसंधानस्तव, आराधनस्तव, भगवद्विग्रहध्यान.

920. **Other Works.** Kāvyālankārasūtra by Yāskamuni with the commentary of Akhiṇḍaśarmaṇ; Abhinavaśṛngārarasamanjarī by Bukkapatnam Venkatācārya (*Mys*, 639); Alankāravicāra (*Tanj.* IX. 3978); Alankāraprakāśikā (*DC*, XXII. 3602); Alankāraśekhara by Jīvanāṭha (*CC*, I. 32); Alankāraśirobhūṣaṇa by Kanḍālayārya (*Mys*, 296;

1. *TC*, III. 3199, 3714.
2. *CC*, I. 725. See for his other works para 767 *supra*.
3. *DC*, XXII. 3611; *TC*, III. 3771.
4. In the Introduction to Rāmacanḍrakaṭhāmṛṭa, an extensive poem on Rāmāyaṇa (printed, Vizianagaram), M. Venkataramanacharya gives a long history of the poet's family and of the royal patrons of the ruling house of Vizianagaram.

Adyar, II. 33); Alankārakramamālā by Ḍamodarabhatta (*CC*, I. 32, 250); Alankārakaumudī by Vallabhabhatta (Ed, Granthāratnamala, Bombay, II. 1189); Alankārasāra by Nṛsimha (*Mys*. 297); Alankāramanjarī by Nirmala (?) (*CC*, I. 32); Alankārakaustubha (i) by Venkatācārya (*Adyar*, II. 33; *DC*, XXII. 8599; *Mys*. 295) and (ii) by Śrīnivāsa (*CC*, I. 103); [Alankārasūtra by Candrakānta Tarkālankāra (Printed, Calcutta, 19th century A.D.); Alankāracandrikā, Alankārakārikā, Alankārakaumudī (*DC*, XXII. 8599: *Mys*. 295); Alankāramayūkha, Alankārānukramaṇikā, Alankāraprakaraṇa (*SR*, I. No. 52); Alankāraprakāśikā (*DC*, XXII. 8602); Śaṭālankāranukramaṇikā (*Adyar*, II. 38); Alankārasangraha (*DC*, XXII. 8606; *Adyar*, II. 33); Alankāragranṭha (*Adyar*, II. 33; *TC*, III. 3907); Alankāravāḍārṭha[1]; Alankārasāra ky Bālakṛṣṇa.][2]

Alankārasangraha by Amṛṭananḍayogin (Ed. Calcutta, Trans. into English (*DC*, XXII. 8604); Alankāramukṭāvali by Rāma, son of Nṛsimha (Printed, Vizagapatam): Alankāramaṇidarpaṇa by Venkappayapraḍhāna (*CC*, I. 32; *Mys*, 296) and by Sampatkumara Venkatācārya (*Gough*, 189); Alankāralakṣaṇa by Śambhunāṭha (*CC*, III. 7); Alankāracinṭāmaṇi by Sanṭaraja; Alankāraṭilaka (i) by Śrīkaramiśra (*CC*, I. 32); and (ii) by Bhānūḍaṭṭa (*Tanj*. IX, 4107; *Mys*. 295); Alankārasarvasva by Ḍevarakonda Aubalarya Kṛṣṇa (*TC*, VI. 7186).

Alankāraprakaraṇa (*CC*, III. 7); Alankāranikāṣa by Suḍhinḍrayogin (*DC*, XXII. 8713); Alankāraviṣaya (*Ibid*. 8714); Alankāramanjarī (i) by Trimallabhatta and (ii) by Sukhalāla (*PR*, IV. 25; *CC*, II. 6); [Alankārapariṣkāra by Viśvanāṭha, Alankāramanjūṣa by Ḍevaśankara, Alankāraraṭnākara by Śobhākaramiśra, Alankārarahasya by Prabhākara, Alankāravṛṭṭi (*PR*, IV. 25); Alankārasamuḍgaka by Śivarāma],[3] Kāvyasaraṇi[4]

921. [Kāvyakalāpa, Kavikalpalaṭikā and Kāvyaḍīpikā (*DC*, XXII. 8618); Kāvyakaumuḍī, Kāvyakausṭūbha and Kāvyalakṣaṇa (*DC*, XXII. 8630); Kāvyalakṣaṇavicāra (*DC*, XXII. 8716; *Trav*. 76); Kāvyāmṛṭaṭaranginī, Kāvyaparicche̤da, Kāvyaraṭna, Kāvyopaḍeśa].[5] Kāvivibhāga (*Trav*, 70); Kāvikanthapāśa (*Adyar*, II. 33); Kāvikalpalaṭā by Ḍeveśvara (Printed, Calcutta; *Tanj*. IX. 3985; *DC*, XXII. 8612; *SR*, II. 80); Kāvikauṭūhala (i) by Viṣṇuḍāsa[6] and (ii) by

1. Cited in Śrīnivāsa's commentary on Vāsavaḍaṭṭā.
2. *CC*, I. 31-2.
3. *CC*, II. 6.
4. Quoted by Appayaḍīkṣiṭa in Vṛṭṭivārṭika.
5. *CC*, I, 101-3.
6. He was probably ṭhe auṭhor of Manoḍuṭa, *IO*, 1184. See para 323 *supra*

Kānticandramukhopādhyāya (Ed. Calcutta, 19th century); Kāvyatatva-vicāra by Haladhara (*HPR* (1895-1900), p. 16); Kāvyacandrikā (i) by Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgīśa and (ii) by Kāvicandra, son of Kāvi-karṇapūra[1]; Kāvyavṛttaratnāvalī by Nārāyaṇa (*Tanj*, IX. 4012); Kavi-sanjivīnī (*TC*, VI. 7172).

Kāvyollāsa by Nīlakantha[2] (*TC*, III. 3348); Kāvyasārasangrahatraya by Śrīnivāsa (*Tanj.* IX. 4014; *Mys.* 298); Kāvikarpatikā[3] by Śankhadhara (*CC*, I. 86); Kāvitāvatāra by Puruṣottamasudhī (*Tanj.* IX. 5992; *Adyar*, II. 34); Kāvyalakṣanasangraha by Śrinivāsa (*Adyar*, II. 34);[4] Vyanjananirṇaya by Nāgeśabhatta (Ed. Bombay); Kāvyakantakodhāra by Narasimhaśāstrin of the Circars (14th century); Kāvyarasāyana by Samasandarbha (Ed. Calcutta).

922. Rasabindu, Rasagrandha, Rasāmṛtasindhu and Rasasamuccaya (*CC*, I. 494); Rasaviveka (*Trav.* 72); Rasikarasāyana (*Adyar*, I. 36); Rasakalpadruma by Jagannāthamiśra, son of Ānandamiśra (1600-1700 A.D.) (*Adyar*, II. 37; *TC*, IV. 5619); Rasārṇavālankāra by Prakāśavarṣa[5] (*TC*, IV. 5566); Rasikarasāyana (*TC*, VI. 7223); Rasataranginī by Rāmānanda (*TC*, III. 31; Rasaratnadīpikā by Lallarāja (*Tanj*, IX, 4073); Rasaratnāvali by Vīreśvara (*IO*, II. 359); Rasakaumudi (i) by Śrīkantha (*CC*, I. 494, early 17th century) and (ii) by Ghāsīrāma (*DC*, XXII. 8877); Rasamīmāmsā by Gangārāmajadin (*IC*, 176, 290); Rasacandra by Ghāsīrāma (*IO*, II. 351; 1696 A.D.); Rasasindhu by Paundarīkarāmeśvara (*CC*, III. 106); Rasapadmākara by Gangādhara (*CC*, II. 30); Rasikaprakāśa by Devanātha (*CC*, I. 497); Rasikajīvana by Gangādhara (*CC*, I. 497, II. 116); Rasikamohana by Raghunāthabhatta (1745 A.D.); Rasikapriyā by Indrajit (*PR*, VI. No. 379); Rasasarvasva by Bhimeśvara (*Tanj.* IX. 4078); Rasadīrghikā by Vidyārāma (*PR*, III. No. 336); Rasasudhānidhi by Sonthi Mārabhattāraka (*TC*, IV. 4769); Rasamādhava by Daji Śivājipradhāna; Rasāmṛtasudhā (*CC*, III. 106); Rasaratnahara by Śivarāma (*CC*, II. 116); Rasakalikā (*TC*, III. 3055).

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1. *IOC*, III. 844. He quotes from his own poem Raunāvali, Rāmacandracampu, Stavāvali, Sānticandrikā and also verses of his own sons Śrikavivallabha and Śrikavibhuṣaṇa.
2. He was the author of the play Kalyāṇasaugandhika.
3. There is a poem Kavikarpatikā by Vādīndra (*CC*, I. 86; *Tanj*. VI. 2711).
4. He is different from Raṭuakhota. S. K. De's identification (*SP*, I. 319) is not correct.
5. He is mentioned by his disciple Vallabha in his commentary on Māgha and quoted by Mallināṭha in his commentary on Bhāravi.

Śṛngārarasamandana by Viṭṭhaleśvara and Śṛngārasārodadhi by Sudhākara Pundarīkayajvan (*CC*, III. 137).

Bhāratībhūṣaṇa by Giridharadasa (1875 A,D.); Padmābharaṇa by Padmākara (1875 A.D.); Nāvikānuvarṇana by Rāmaśarman (*DC*, XXII. 8678); Utprekṣāmanjarī by Varadācārya (*Mys.* 297); Kankaṇabandha by Sudarśanācārya (*Ibid.*); Vṛttālankāra by Chavilal Suri of Nepal (1901 A.D.); Kākatālavādārtha by Śambhudāsa (*Ibid.*); Citramanjarī by Ranganātha (*Ibid.* 300); Lakṣmīlakṣaṇamālikā by Nṛsimha (*Ibid.* 303); Vṛttādīpikā Venkateśa (*Ibid*, 303):

Daśarūpakapaddhati of Kuravi Rāma[1] and Daśarūpakavivaraṇam[2] (anonymous).

923. Sāhityābdhi by Venīdatta (*Tanj.* IX. 4105); Sāhityavicāra by Kṛṣṇatarkālankāra (*CC*, I. 716); Sāhityavicāra by Ananta (*CC*, I. 13); Sāhityatarangiṇī by Kṛṣṇa (*CC*, II. 171): Sāhityakaumudī (*IO*, III. 33) and Sāhityakautūhala by Yaśasvin (*CC*, I. 715) Sāhityasūcī by Haradattasimha (*CC*, I. 716); Sāhityakallolinī by Bhāśyakarācārya of Bhūtapurī (*DC*, XXIII. 8706); Sāhityasāra (i) by Sureśvarayati (*TC*, III 3368; *Trav.* 72) (ii) by Mānasimha (*CC*, I. 716), and by (iii) Acyutaśarmamodak (Ed. Bombay; *Mys.* 304; composed in Saka 1753-(1831 A.D.); Sāhityamīmamsā (*Tanj.* IX. 4104); [Sāhityasaraṇī, (*Mys.* 304); Sāhityasūkṣmasaraṇī by Śrīnivāsa, Sāhityacūdāmaṇi and Sāhityabodha by Ṭīganara Seturāma (*TC*, III. 3593); Sāhityaśārngadhara by Śārngdhara, Sāhityasangraha (i) by Kāla and (ii) by Śambhudāsa] (*CC*, I. 716).

Sāhityacandrikā, Sāhityamuktāmaṇi, and Sāhityaratnamāla (*CC*, I. 7156); Sarojakalikā by Kaviratna (*CC*, I. 87); Upamāsudhānidhi (*CC*, I. 68); Ekaṣaṣtyalankāraprakāśā (*CC*, I. 74); Kiraṇāvali by Śaśadhara (*Opp.* II. 4531); Karpūrarasamanjarī by Bālakavi (*Rice*, 282); Kāvyarthacūdāmaṇi (*TC*, I. 792); Nāṭakāvatāra (*CBod.* 142); Bhāvaviveka (*TC*, VI. 7151);

[Śṛngāracandrodaya,[3] Śṛngārakaustubha, Śṛngāramanjarī (*SR*, II. 23); Śṛngārapavana, Śṛngārataranginī, Śṛngārarasa, Śṛngāravidhi][4]; Śṛngāradiviṣaya (*DC*, XXII. 8701); Śṛngārarasavilāsa by Devadatta (*CC*, I. 258); Śṛngārahāra by Baladeva (*BKR*, 1880-12, 71);

1. *TC*. II. 1097.
2. *DC*, XXII. 8664. It is conjectured to be the nāṭaka chapter of bigger treatise.
3. Cited in Prastavacintāmaṇi, *Weber*, I. 229.
4. *CC*, I. 660-1.

Śṛngārasarasī by Bhāvanmiśra (*CC*, I. 681; II. 158, 230); Śṛngāraśāra by Venkatanārāyaṇa Dīkṣiṭa (*DC*, XXII. 8899): Śṛngāralaṭā by Sukhadevamiśra (*PR*, IV. app. 29); Śṛngārasāroḍadhi by Suḍhākara Puṇdarīkayajvan (*CC*, III. 131); Śṛngārāmṛṭalaharī by Śamarājadīkṣiṭa (*DC*, XXII. 8702),

Kāvyopadeśa,[1] Rasākara,[2] Rasaratnākara,[3] Rasasāgara,[4] Rasasuḍhākara,[5] Rājakandarpa,[6] Rasikasarvasva,[7] Rasakalikā,[8] Angahāralakṣana (*Trav.* 75); Sāṭvikāngikabhāvarasaviveka (*Ibid.* 172); Tṛtīyapuruṣārṭhasaraṇi.[9]

924. Halayudha's Kavirahasya is really a guide to poets. It is called Kaviguhya or Āpaśabdābhāsakavya by the commentator Ravidharma.[10]

कविगुह्यं प्रसक्त्यादिमात्रगम्यमनेकधा ।
यस्य येनोपसर्गेण धातोः कविपदं च यत् ॥
अर्थतश्शब्दतो वापि समान् धातून्निबध्नता ।
तथा हलायुधेनेदं कृतं कविरहस्यकम् ॥
आभासन्ति पदान्यत्र प्रचुराण्यपशब्दवत् ।
तद्विषमं स्वभावेन निबन्धनमपेक्षते ॥

* * * *

अपशब्दाभासेऽस्मिन् काव्ये टीकाशतानि चतुर्दशानि ।
रचितानि कविरहस्यं नाम काव्यं समाप्तमिति ॥

"According to a Gujarat copy of the work its hero was one of the Krishnas of the Rashtrakuta line, possibly the first of that name (A.D. 760-80)."[11]

1. Cited by Hemāḍri on Raghu (*CC*, I. 103).
2. ,, by Mallināṭha in commentary on Meghaḍuṭa.
3. ,, ,, ,, on Kirāta IX. 71.
4. ,, ,, ,, on Māgha, XV. 89.
5. ,, ,, ,, on Raghu, VI. 12.
6. ,, ,, ,, on Kum, VI. 40.
7. ,, by Nārāyaṇa in commentary on Giṭagovinda, V. 2.
8. ,, by Vāsuḍeva in commentary on Karpuramañjari (*TC*, III. 3055).
9. It is about 400 years old and quotes several mediæval poets of 900-1300 A.D.
10. See Int. to Kāvyamīmāmsā (*GOS*), 1934 Edn, ix-x. Ed. with commentary, Bombay.
11. Bhandarkar inclines to identify the author of the Kavirahasya with the Halāyuḍha who wrote the Abhiḍhānaraṭnamālā, but Weber places the latter about the end of the eleventh century. *PR*, 1883-4, p. 9.

SECTION 2.

Yasobhusana.

925. A mode of composition, which may be styled Yaśobhūṣaṇa, was directly designed by Viḍyānāṭha, in which was attained a double purpose of a treatise on poetics and a eulogy of the poet's patron or deity of devotion. Uḍbhata inaugurated it in a way, when he imbedded the story of Pārvaṭi's wedding in illustration of his tenets of Alankāra.

But it was Viḍyāṇāṭha that developed the idea and called his work PRATAPARUDRA-YASOBHUSANA.

926. Vidyanatha was a poet of the Court of King Praṭāparuḍraḍeva of Ekaśilānagara of the Kākaṭīya dynasty (Warrangal),[1] who ruled between 1268 and (1319?) 1328 A.D.[2] The term Viḍyānāṭha appears now to be a mere appellation granted or assumed for proficiency in arts and behind that appellation is the name of AGASTYA[3]

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1. For this word see Sewell's *Sketches of the Dynasties of Southern India*, 82.

2. Praṭāparuḍra also called Vīraruḍra or Rudra was the son of Mahāḍeva and Mummidiamba. He had a boar as a sign in his flag and he bore the title of Chalamartiganda. He was a patron of letters and it is said there were 200 poets in his Court. Among them was Mallikārjunabhatta who wrote Niroṣṭhya-Rāmāyaṇa. Sewell (*l.c.*) gives dates 1295 to 1323 A.D. Seshagiri Sastri (*SR*, II. 82) gives dates 1268 to 1319 A.D. For inscriptions referring to him and Kakaṭiyas, see *EI*, III. 84, 94; V. 148; VII. 128-32; VIII. 166-7; *IA*, XI, 9-20; XXI. 197; Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, II. 114, 172. K. P. Trivedi gives the following genealogy as made up from these inscriptions and from Praṭāpaṛudrīya; —

Betma (Ṭribhuvanamalla)
- Prola (Jagatikesarin)
  - Ruḍra (1182 A.D.)
  - Mahāḍeva
    - Ganapaṭi (1231, 1250 A.D.)
    - Ganapambā (1250 A.D.)
    - Ruḍramba (known as Ruḍra)
    - Mummadambā (Mahadeva)
    - Prataparuḍra (A.D. 1298, 1299, 1315, 1316, 1317).

For the later history of the dynasty, see Sewell (*l. c.* 82). W. W. Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* XIII. 521 and new edition XXIV. 358. For a general account of Kākaṭiyas by Seshadri and Ramana, see Andhra Patrika Annual No. (1921-22) 163-8 and Jl. of Andhra History Society.

3. This is inferred from the following verse in the Praṭāparuḍrīyam (Bombay Edn. p. 91).

औचसं etc., quoted in para 126 *supra*.

who is known as the author of several works and as having been honcured by the Kings of Vijayanagar.

927. His PRATAPARUDRAYASOBHUSANAM shortly called Praṭapa-rudrīyam is an elaborate treatise on poetics with illustrations in praise of his patron. This mode of panegyric imbedded in a work of instruction is a new device of Viḍyanāṭha's creation. In dealing with the canons of dramaturgy hẹ has ingeniously interposed a model play known as Praṭāparuḍrakalyānam, which performs at once the functions of apt illustration of the technique of the Sanskrit play and of giving a description of the goodnesses and exploits of Praṭāparuḍraḍeva. The object of the work is avowedly to show how the importance of composition depends on the apt characterisation of the merits of the hero. Accordingly the first Prakaraṇa classifies heroes and heroines and describes their qualities. The second Prakaraṇa propounds the nature of poetry and the several species of poetic composition. The third Prakaraṇa contains the model drama, ḍescribing the coronation of Praṭāparuḍra and his glorious rule and conquests. The fourth Prakaraṇa deals with Rasas, the next two with the faults and merits of composition and the last three with figures of speech.

This treatise has been very popular among later writers and is specially in Southern India never missed as a text book in rhetorical study. It is profusely quoted by Mallināṭha and it was apparently that appeciation by Mallināṭha that made his son Kumāraswāmin write a commentary on it. Appaya Ḍīkṣiṭa criticised some of these views in his Ciṭrmīmāmsā, but these criticisms were answered by Viśveśvara in his Alankārakausṭubha.

There are two commentaries[1] on it now extant, Raṭnaśāṇa and Ratnāpaṇa. Raṭnaśāṇa[2] is the work of Ṭirumalācārya of Sukavāta (Cilakamarṭi) family. He was the son of Rāmānujācārya and lived at Rāmaṭīrṭha near Koṭipalli in Godavari District in the 18th century A.D. He mentions another work of his Hemanṭaṭilakabhāṇa[3] and he

1. Ed. *BSS*, by K. P. Trivedi and at Madras.

2. The first two prakaraṇams have been published in *BSS*, (l. c.). The rest is in Ms. *TC*, II. 8650.

3. The following verse is quoted at page 521 *l. c.*

शुद्धमर्थमर्थचित्रं तु मदीये हेमन्ततिलकभाणे :—

आहृतवसुः प्रतीच्या भानुः क्षिप्तोऽपराब्धिजलमध्ये ।
कथमपि पूर्वाब्धिगतो भु..........मुद्रो भुवनानाम् ॥

wrote a commentary on the Kuvalayānanda also.[1] Raṭnāpaṇa of Kumāraswāmi, son of Mallināṭha,[2] is replete with illustrative quotations.

928. Vidyadhara wrote Ekavali[3] on the lines of the Kāvyaprakāśa, with Kārikas followed by an explanation in eight parts called Unmeṣas. Viḍyāḍhara mentions Harihara and the prince Arjuna, from whom he got amazing wealth, who must have been the King of Malwa of that name who ruled early in 13th century A.D. Harihara, a Jaina poet named Maḍanakīrṭi, and Someśvara the author of the Kīrṭikaumuḍī and Vasṭupāla were contemporaries and Vasṭupāla died in 1242 A.D. The illustrative verses are in praise of Narasimha, a King of Utkala and Kalinga, which means the modern Orissa and the province bordering on it to the south called Kalinga.[4]

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1. *TC*, II. 2695. Is his name Umāmaheśvara ? (*Mys*, 297).

2. Printed Madras. On Mallināṭha, see para. 31 *supra*. In a commentary on the Campurāmāyaṇa called Paḍayojana (*DC*, XXI. 8212) by Venkatanārāyaṇa, Kumāraswāmin is described as the son of Peddibhatta, brother of Mallināṭha. Venkatanārāyaṇa was a descendant of the family and gives the genealogy thus:

Mallināṭha (honored by Vīraruḍra)
|
Kaparḍin (author of Śrauṭakārikas)
|
Mallināṭha — Peddubhatta (Mahopādhyāya commentator on Naiṣaḍha)
|
Kumāraswāmin.

For further information see K. P. Trivedi, (*l. c.*) xxii-v. While Kumāraswāmi says in his preface to Raṭnāpaṇa that he was son of Mallināṭha, his word must be preferred to that of Venkatanārāyaṇa, a descendant of several generations from Kumāraswāmi.

3. Ed. by K. V. Trivedi, *BSS*, Bombay with a valuable introduction.

4. Beginning:

प्रालेयाचलकन्यकाकुचतटीपत्रावलीशिल्पिना प्रेङ्खत्फालविलोचनानलशिखानिष्पीतचेतोभुवः ।
देवस्येन्दुविभूषणस्य रुचिरं पादारविन्दद्वयं युष्मान् पातु सुरासुरेश्वरशिरोरत्नांशुकिञ्जल्कितम् ॥

End: प्रतिभटटङ्काभुजतटमकरीलुण्टाकचापटङ्कारः ।
वीरनृसिंह इवाजौ वीरनृसिंहश्चिरं जयति ॥

अत्र लाटानुप्रासेन सहानन्वयस्य एकवचनानुप्रवेशेन सङ्करः ॥

Colophon: इति श्रीमतो महामहेश्वरस्य कवेर्विद्याधरस्य कृतौ एकावलीनाम्न्यलङ्कारशास्त्रेऽर्थालङ्कारनिरूपणं नामाष्टमोन्मेषः ॥

Śrī Vaidya Viḍyāḍhara, author of Kelirahasya (*CC*, I. 125) is a different author. There are poets Viḍyāḍhara, son of Lulla and Viḍyāḍhara, son of Śuṣkatasukhavarman quoted in Subhāṣiṭāvali.

929. Vidyādhara calls Narasimha Hammira-mada-mardana i.e., to have humbled the pride of Hammīra. "Of Hamiras, three are known. The first belonged to the Haranti branch of the Chohan family and appears not to have been a person of note. He was a dependant of Prithviraja and was killed in 1193 A.D. As the terminus ad quo for Vidyadhara who must have been a protege of Narasimha, as no poet bestows such fulsome praise on a deceased prince, is, as shown above, the early decades of the 13th century, this Hammira cannot have been Narasimha's contemporary. Besides, Orissa was not ruled over by a king of that name from 1024 to 1237 A.D. Another Hammira was the prince who belonged to the Gehlote family and was, as stated in the introduction to the Rasikapriya, an ancestor of Kumbhakarna, king of Medapata or Mewar and reigned from 1301 A.D. to 1365 A.D. A third was the king of Sakambari of the race of Chahuvana mentioned by Sarngadhara in the beginning of his anthology and represented by him to have been famous for his bravery which equalled that of Arjuna. He is the hero of the Hammira Mahakavya of Nayachandrasuri and is represented to have begun to reign in 1339 of Vikrama Saṁvat, i.e., 1283 A.D. It was this Hammira who defended the fortress of Ranthambhor (Ranastambapura) with bravery against Allauddin Khilji for more than a year and fell at last when it was taken in the year 1301 A.D. Both these princes bearing the name of Hammira were famous. But as the Chohan prince is represented by Nayachandra as having attempted the conquest of southern countries, he was probably the Hammira alluded to by Vidyadhara.

From the last of the kings of Orissa given by Sir W. W. Hunter and copied by Mr. Sewell in his Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, it appears that there was a Narasimha who ruled over the country from 1282 A.D. to 1307 A.D.[1] If the Hammira alluded to was the Mewar prince of that name, our Narasimha may have been the one who reigned from 1307 to 1327. There were two more Narasimhas after 1327, but they reigned for only 2 years and 1 year respectively, and therefore neither can have been the hero panegyrised by Vidyadhara. There was another still, who reigned from 1257 to 1282. But he has been excluded by the whole trend of our argument. Thus then the Ekavali was written about the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century of the Christian era."

1. On Narasimhadeva, see *JASB*, LXIV. 133; LXV. 232. There were according to Sewell (i) Kesari Narasimha, 1282-1307 A.D. (ii) Pratāpa Narasimha, 1307-1327 A.D. and Nrsimha II of the inscriptions 1280-1314 A.D.

930. Ekāvali is quoted by Appayya Dīkṣiṭa by Jagannāṭha and Singabhūpāla.

'The commentary called Tarala, or central gem, of Ekavāli, or one-stringed necklace, is by Mallināṭha, the celebrated commentator on the Kāvyas. In the sixth of the verses given below, which has a double sense, the commentator says that 'this Ekavali, though a work of merit and an ornament, was because it had not a commentary, (this Ṭarala), kept or secreted in treasure-houses as a necklace is, because it has not the central gem. Now that Ekāvali necklace has a bright central gem in the shape of an elucidatory commentary (Ṭarala), may blessed persons wear it round the neck and on the bosom, that is, get the work by heart and commit it to memory! It would thus appear that the Ekavali was not for some time studied and the work was neglected because it had no commentary; from which it is to be concluded that Mallinatha wrote the Tarala after a certain period had elapsed since the composition of the original."

Viḍyāḍhara was therefore almost a contemporary of Viḍyānāṭha and not improbably a rival on the field. It looks as if the name Viḍyāḍhara was assumed to vie with the name Viḍyānāṭha. It is noteworthy that while Mallināṭha commented on Ekavali, his son Kumāraswāmin commented on Praṭāparuḍrayaśobhūṣaṇa.

931. This mode of composition of rhetorical panegyrics has been fruitful in later imitations. The idea of flattering patrons was by some rhetoricians considered too vulgar and temporal and while adopting this mode of composition they used it in praise of deities of their particular devotion.[1]

932. Dharma or Dharmasudhi or Ḍharmabhatta was born at Pedapulivarru on the Kṛṣṇa.[2] He was a Telugu Brahmin of Velanati sect of Hariṭagoṭra and son of Parvaṭanāṭha and Yellamāmbā. He lived at Benares and his descendants are known as of Vāraṇāsi family. In his later days he became an ascetic and took the name of Rāmānanḍa or Goviṇḍānanḍasarasvaṭī. He was a devotee of Rāma and in his

1. In Rupa's Ujjvalanīlamaṇi and Bhakṭirasāmṛṭisinḍhu (*TC*, IV. 4434) and in Lakṣmipati's Kṛṣṇālankāraḍarpaṇa and in the anonymous Bhakṭirasarāt (*TC*, IV. 4339) (*Mys.* 639) the illustrations are in praise of Śrikṛṣṇa; in Raghupaṭirahasyaḍipikā (*Adyar*, II. 37); the verses adore Rāma.

2. See article by Srirangam Somesvarasastri in *Andhrapatrika*, Annual Number (1926-7.) and by V. Prabhakarasastri, *Bharati* (1931), 192. Aufrecht (*CC*, I. 269) mentions another work Pancaṭanṭrakāvya.

philosophical writings understands Rāma as the Supreme Being. His brother Nārāyaṇa was a vedic scholar and his grandfather of all-round literary merit.[1] He lived in the 16th century A.D. He was particularly great in nyāya, but the attraction of nyāya did not affect his love of poetry and rhetoric. In his Sāhityaratnākara, an extensive treatise on rhetoric, he expressed his devotion by illustrations in praise of Rāma. He blamed poets like Vidyānatha and Vidyādhara who for mercenary motives extolled kings in their writings on poetics and himself illustrated his precepts by the story of Rāma. He wrote a gloss on Śankarabhāṣya, Ratnaprabhā. His Kṛṣṇāstuti eulogises the river Kṛṣṇā. His Hamsa-sandeśa is a prakrit poem. His vyāyoga, Narakāsuravadha, describes the heroic story of the slaying of Narakāsura. His Bālabhāgavata is a poem on the early life of Kṛṣna. There are commentaries on Sāhitya-ratnākara,[2] Naukā by Carla Venkatasāstrin,[3] Mandara by Malladi Lakṣmaṇasūri,[4] and Naukā by Madhusūdanamiśra Śarmā.[5]

933. In Alankāramaṇihāra, Śri Kṛṣṇa (Parakālaswāmi) has illustrations in praise of God Śrīnivāsa of Tirupati. So is his Locanollāsa.[6]

Śathakopālankāraparicaryā[7] is anonymous and describes various figures of speech with illustrations in praise of Śathakopa known as Nammālwar, the Vaiṣṇava Saint.[8] So is Śathavairivaibhavadivākaram by Maranganti Narasimhācārya.[9]

934. **Sudhindrayogin's** Alankāranikaṣa is a short work on Arthālankaras with examples in praise of Sudhīndrayogin, a Madhwa

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1. In *BR*, I. No. 297 the geneology thus given.

Tripurāri of Benares
|
Dharma;
|
Nārayana — Parvateśa; — Rāma
|
Dharmasuri

2. See paper by E. Veeraraghavacharyulu in *JASSP*, VI. 291.
3. Printed, Ellore; *DC*, XXII. 8712.
4. Printed, Benares, Orissa. He was patronised by Balabhadradeva (Ganga) Chief of Orissa. He also wrote poems Māyāśabarīvilāsa and Hanumat-sandeśa-tārāvali.
5. Printed, Madras and Nellore. He died just before 1900 in Godavari District. He also wrote a commentaries on Campubhārata and Kāvyaprakāśa (Printed, Madras.).
6. See para 211 *supra*. His Locanollāsa is printed *Jl. Mys. Sans. College*, 1935.
7. *TC*, II. 2310.
8. See para 211, supra.
9. *Mys*, 303. He lived in Vizagapatam district, probably at Śimhācalam.

ascetic, disciple of Vijayinḍrayaṭi.[1] Suḍhinḍra wrote also the play Subhaḍrāpariṇayam while his master wrote the play Subhaḍrāḍhananjayam.[2] He lived in 17th century in Tanjore and was honored by king Raghunāṭha Naik.

VISVESVARA'S CAMATKARACANDRIKA is a similar work in which the illustrations are in praise of Śingabhūpāla who ruled at Rājācala about 1330 A.D.[3] Nāganāṭha was pupil of Viśveśvara. He wrote the play Maḍanavilāsa in honour of Māca, son of Sarvagna Singa of Recarla family.[4] He was the author of an inscription dated Saka 1291 (1369) during the reign of Anapoṭa.

In his Kaviṭāvaṭāra[5] composed about 1425 A.D. Puruṣoṭṭamasuḍhi has illustrations in praise of Nāgābhūpāla. Nāga was the grandson of Māca, the ruler of Gangāpura of about 1400 A.D.

935. Sahityacudamani is ascribed to Vīranārāyaṇa but was is in fact composed by some poet of his Court in 7 chapters and the illustrations are addressed to Vīranārāyaṇa. Vīranārāyaṇa or Peda Komati Vema lived in the beginning of the 15th century A.D.[6]

936. Bhairavosahanavarasaratna contains 41 verses depicting the nine Rasas, The hero is a prince named Bhairavasāha, son of Praṭāpa of the Raṣtraudha or Ṛāthor race, whose capital was Mayūrāḍri.[7]

937. KRSNAYAJVAN'S Raghunāṭhabhūpālīyam as a similar work illustrating the greatness of Raghunāṭha Naik who ruled at Tanjore at

1. *DC.* XXII. 8713. There is Alaṅkāramaňjāri by Suḍhinḍrayaṭi, (*Tanj*. IX. 3971).

2. *DC.* XXI. 8560. 8561. Vijayenḍra commented on Ṭrimalabhatta's Alankāramanjari, *Tanj*, IX. 3973.

3. *TC.* III. 3813. Eggoling, *Cat*. VII. 1507–8. He was the disciple of Kāśīviśramiśra, the author of Rasamīmāmsa. See para 906 *supra*.

4. *TC.* II. 2619. See para 889 *suyra*.

5. *TC.* III. 3037 ; *Tanj*. IX. 3992.

6. *CC.* I. 715. See para 482 *supra*. It is called Sāhiṭyacinṭāmāṇi in *DC*. XXII. 8708 ; *Mys*. 301.

7. "In the Kirtikaumudi, a Pratapamalla of the Rashtrakuta race is mentioned as a dependent of the Chaulukyas of Anahilapattana. Rashtrakuta is the sanskrit form of Rashtraudha or Rathor, but whether this Pratapamalla was the same as the father of our hero cannot be determined with certainty. Bhairavasaha is in some of the verses called Bahirammasaha which looks like a thoroughly Mahomedan name. But it is not impossible that a Rajput may have adopted it."

the end of the 17th century. There is commentary by Sudhīndra.[1] Likewise are Sāhityaratnākara and Alankāraratnākara of Yagnanārāyaṇa.[2]

Yajneśvara[3] was the son of Kondubhatta and nephew of Lakṣmīdhara of Cerukūri family. He wrote Alankārarāghava, Alankārasūryodaya[4] and a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa[5] and lived about 1600 A.D.

Kāśīlakṣmaṇa's Sāharajīyam[6] illustrates the merits of King Shahji of Tanjore (1684-1711). So is Guṇaratnakara of Narasimha in praise of king Sārabhoji of Tanjore (1712-1727).[7]

Devaśankara Purohita's Alankāramanjūṣa illustrates Alankāras with the glories of Peshwas Madhava Rao I and his uncle Raghunātha Rao (17 -1768 A.D.)[8] He was the son of Natanabhai and lived at Uratpattana near Surat.

938. In Kṛṣṇarājajayaśodindima, Anantārya, son of Singayārya, illustrates the greatness of Kṛṣṇarāja of Mysore (1714-1731 A.D.) It is quoted in his work on poetic conventions, Kavisamayakallola.[9]

Mangaleśa's Vibhaktivilāsam[10] with a commentary on it Darpaṇa, is a small poem in 31 verses eulogising a Vijayaramanṛpāla of the Pusapāti race, Zamindar of Vizianagaram. The verses illustrate the rules of poetics as well as the grammatical sūtras of Pāṇini.

In his NANJARAJAYASODHUSANAM[11] in seven Ullāsas Nṛsimhakavi illustrates the greatness of Nanjarājā,[12] son of Vīrabhūpa of the family of Kaluve.

Nṛsimha was the son of Śivarāma and friend of Alur Tirumalakavi.[13] He bore the title of Abhinavakālidāsa while his friend

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1. *TC*, I. 896: *Mys. Sup.* 14. There is a commentary on it by Sudhīndrayati. See paras 146 and 150 *supra*. *TC*, III. 4037.

2. See para 150 *supra*. It is a poem in 16 cantos. Ed. Madras. *Tanj*. IX. 3974.

3. *Tanj*. IX. 3975; *Mys*. 296; *CC*, I. 32, II. 171.

4. *Tanj*. IX. 3981; *SR*, II. 65. He commented on his son Venkateśvara's Citrabandharāyaṇa. *Tanj*, VI. 2728-31. See para 341 *supra*.

5. *DC*, XXII. 8628. Lakṣmidhara commented on Gitagovinda and lived about 1570 A.D.

6. *Tanj*. IX 4094; *Mys*. 304.

7. *Tanj*, IX. 4028. See para 164 *supra*.

8. *CC*, II. 6; *BR*, (1887-91), lxiii (b).

9. There is his Kṛṣṇarājakalodaya, *Mys*. 299; *DC*, XXII. 8613.

10. *TC*, IV. 4324. He belonged to Nidrminti family of Vizagspātam District.

11. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda. *DC*, XXII. 8668; *Trav*. 71; *CC*, I. 275; *TC*, I. 30.

12. He wrote Hālāsymāhatyam in Telugu prose.

13. *SR*, I. 5, 82.

Tirumalakavi was called Abhinava-Bhavabhūṭi. He also wrote a drama Candrakalāpariṇaya. Nanjarāja was minister and commander of the Mysore forces and was practically the king-maker of Mysore from 1734 to 1770 A.D.[1]

939. In Alankārasūṭrasangaṭi, a pupil of Mankha, the illustrations are in praise of King Ravivarman, who wrote Pradyumnābhyudaya.

In Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇam[2] Sadāsivamakhin describes the greatness of Rāmavarma Kulaśekhara Vancipāla (Karṭika Tirunal) who ruled in Ṭravancore in 1758–1798 A.D..[3] The author was the son of Cokkanātha[4] and Mīnākṣī of Bhāradvājagoṭra. In the chapter on drama a model drama Vāsulakśmīkalyanam is imbedded describing the

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1. On Nanjarāja, see Sewel's *FE*, 236-267; S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's *Ancient India*, 305-308.

2. See *Trav. Arch. Series*, V. 18. Called Bālarāmavamayaśobhuṣaṇa in *Trav.* 71.

3. He was the nephew of king Mārṭandavarman and author of the dramatic treatise Bālarāmabharaṭam. See *Trav, Arch. Series*, IV. III; V. 18. It was his nephew and successor Rāmavarman who wrote Rukmiṇīpariṇayam.

4. "We know of three different persons bearing the name of Chokkanatha at the end of the 17th century; *viz.*,

(i) the author of *Sevantikaparinayam* who was the son of Tippādhvarin and who mentions a certain Basavakshitindra, in his drama.

(ii) the author of the commentary of *Yudhishthiravijayam* of Vāsudeva, which is in manuscript in the Palace Library and in which is mentioned that he was the son of Sundarsana-Bhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvājagotra and a native of Sattanur; and

(iii) the father-in-law of Rāmabhadra-Dikshita (1693).

Of these No. i refers to Nilakantha-Makhin and was the author of कान्तिमतीपरिणयम् composed at the instance of Shājirāja and belongs therefore to the beginning of the 18th centry. It may also be noted that there was a Basavappa-Nāyaka of Ikkeri (1697 1714) and a chief named Basavarajendra (*c.* 1700 A.D.) either of whom may have been the patron mentioned by the author. (*JMy*. X. p. 257); but we do not know if he was of the Bhāradvāja-gotra to identify him with Sadāsiva's father.

No. ii is of that *gotra* and says in his commentary that he completed it in the cyclic year Vikrama, month Nabhas (Sravana), Revati, Monday, *ba.* tritiya, and as these details are correct for both the Kollam year 875 and 936 in all particulars except the weekday it may be presumed that he was Sadāsiva's father. Sadāsiva must have composed his *Yasobhushanam* in the early part of his patron's reign." See para 161 supra.

marriage of Rāmavarma with Vasulakṣmi, the daughter of the king of Sindhu.[1] Sadāśiva also wrote a drama Lakṣmīkalyāṇam.[2]

In praise of the same king Sadāśiva wrote thus;[3]

यदृच्छासल्लापैः समधिगतषट्तन्त्रविभवैः
चमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सपदि रसभावप्रकटनैः ।
कवीन् धिन्वन् नाम्नक्रमविवरणाद्गायकवरान्
परिष्कुर्वन् वञ्चिक्षितिपतिलकोऽयं विजयते ॥

In the Court of the same king Bālarāma Varman, Maharaja of

1. This is the plot:

"The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakshmi and had set his heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore, Ramavarma-Kulaśekhara, whose accomplishment were much noised abroad. But the queen who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Simhala, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset the queen's calculations and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in the jurisdiction of the frontier-captain (*antardurgapala*) Vasumadraja, the brother of the king's consort, Vasumati. The ship-wrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of king Ramavarman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigue culminates in a clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior then attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pāndya king. But this scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidushaka, who in the disguise of the Pandya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, the Sindhuraja learns of the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nītisagara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort confirms the betrothal of King Ramavaman with Vasulakshmi which huppuy coincides with his own inclinations.

2. अस्ति खलु भारद्वाजकुलकलशजलधिहिमकरस्य सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रस्य चोक्कनाथयज्वनः तनूजस्य मीनाक्षीगर्भशुक्तिमुक्तामणेः सदाशिवयज्वनः कृतिः अभिनवं लक्ष्मीकल्याणं नाम नाटकम् ।

सतां मार्गे स्थित्वा सकलशुभमाधाय जगतां
विपक्षक्षोणीभृत्तिमिरहरतेजस्विनि विधेः ।
गतेऽस्तं मार्त्तण्डे विधुरिव जनानन्दजनकः
कलासिन्धू राजा ह्युदयमधिरूढो विजयते ॥

This describes the late king Martāndavarman.

3. See on this author chapter on SANGITA *post*,

Travancore (1758-1798 A.D.)[1] flourished KALYANA or KALYANA SUBRAHMANYA. He was the son of Subrahmanya and grandson of Gopāla. "He was a Smarta Brahmin of Paritalam in Central Travancore and was popularly known as Paritalam Subrahmanya Sastri. After education under the Rajas of Paritalam, went over to Trivandrum and composed ALANKARAKAUSTUBHA,[2] on the model of the great Appayya Dikshita's Kuvalayananda and Visvesvara's Alankarasarvasva and deals, like them, with Arthalankaras alone. He illustrates the figures of speech by verses in praise of the sovereign or his family deity, Sri Padmanabha. In the troublous times that followed the death of the illustrious patron, Kalyana Subrahmanya went over to Cranganore to teach Sanskrit to the young princes there and lived under the patronage of the Cranganore Rajas till peace returned to Travancore with the accession of Rani Lakshmi to the masnad. He was then invited to Trivandrum and passed his remaining years as the court pandit of Travancore. In 1814 he was directed by the Darbar to translate Vyavaharamala, a well-known Sanskrit work on law into Malayalam." He passed away somewhere about 1820.

Kalyāṇa also wrote Padmanābhavijaya. Here is a verse from Alankārakaustubha:

राराजन्मधुराधरां प्रविलसच्चोळां कनत्कुन्तलां
काश्मीरांगविभूषणातिललितां काञ्चीगुणालंकृताम् ।
क्षोणीं श्रीरघुरामवन्निरुपमां रत्नाकरोरूर्मिकां
जालां तामानुरञ्जयत्वनुदिनं श्रीरामवर्मप्रभुः ॥

This King Rāmavarman was thus praised by the youngest brother of Edavettikattu Nambūḍri in his poem Rukmiṇīpariṇaya:

राजा किमिन्दुरपि नार्यभिमानहारी राजा परं विजयते भुवि रामवर्मा ।
नालीकभङ्गकृदतीव नदीनबन्धुर्निक्षत्रपो नवसुधाविभवैकहेतुः ॥

Among his friends and poets at the same court were Ḍevarāja and Rāmāpaṇivaḍa. Their works have been noticed.[3] They were

1. BALA is ordinarily added to the name of every ruler of Travancore and that the two predecessors of the sovereign referred to by the author were known as Bāla Mārṭāṇḍa Varma (Vide Travancore Archeological Series, Vol. I, pages 27 and 40) and Bālārama Varma (Vide the Kakkur grant). See Travancore State Manual, I. 417.

2. *SR*, 1. 89, 231; *DC*, XXII. 8601; *Trav.* 70. There are other works of this name by Viśveśvara (*CC*, I. 81) and by Śriśaila Venkata (*Mys.* 298) by Śrīnivāsa and by Kavikarṇapura (*CC*, I. 81) and Alankārakausṭubha (*Rice*, 280).

3. He was of Mārār caste and not of Warior caste as stated in para 177 *supra*.

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940. **Krsnasudhi** was son of Śivarāma and grandson of Upadrastṛ Pandita Nārāyaṇa Sāstrin, probably a descendant of Jagannātha Panditarāja. He lived at Uttaramerur near Conjeevaram. He wrote Kāvyakalānidhi in Kali 4957 (1855 A.D.) with illustrations in praise of king Rāmavarman of Kollam.[1]

ARUNAGIRI KAVI wrote Godāvarmayaśobhūṣaṇam with verses in praise of king Godāvarman of Travancore.[2]

941. Alankāramanjarī of unknown authorship contains illustrations in praise of Rāmacandra, a Zamindar of Kākarlapūdi family, Vizagapatam District, of the 18th century A.D.[3]

In RAMACANDRAYASOBHUSANA, Kachapeśvara Dīkṣita eulogises Bommarāja, Zamindar of Karvetnagar, Madras, who lived in the first part of the 19th century A.D. In three chapters he deals with Śṛngāra, rasa and bhāva. He was the son of Vāsudeva and lived at Brahmadeśa, a village in the N. Arcot District.[4]

In ALANKARAMAKARANDA, Kolluri Rājaśekhara treats of poetics (called a Kāvya) with illustrations in praise of Rāmeśvara, ruler of Manna and son of Kāmākṣī and Viśveśa of Anapindi family, Guntur District.[5]

RAMAKRSNA'S Yaśavantayaśobhūṣaṇa is an eulogy of Yaśvanta, a prince of Rājaputāna.[6]

Alankārasarvasva of unknown authorship as available is incomplete and refers to a rhetorical work by the author's teacher in praise of king Gopāladeva.[7]

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1. *TC*, IV. 4209.
2. *Trav.* 24.
3. *TC*, III. 2935.
4. *DC*, XXII. 8690. In that court was the poet Kuravi Rāma.
5. *TC*, III. 3130. The author quotes from Camatkāracandrikā. He is also the author of Sāhityakalpadru; see *Ibid*, III. 2895.
6. In praise of the Rajās of Ulwar, Māṇikyamaiṭhila wrote Vakhāteśvarakāvya and Gargadina wrote Vinayasimhakirtiratna.
7. *Ulwar*, 964, 970.

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Cavali RAMASASTRIN'S KUVALAYAMODA is a similar work with illustrations in favour of the poet's patron Raja Simhādri Jagapaṭi Rao of Peddapur, who lived in 1853-1911 A.D.

942. **Venkata Sastrin** was the son of Ānivilla Yajnanārāyaṇa of Kākaraparṭi agrahāram,[1] in West Godavari District. Proficient in all sāsṭras he was honoured by valuable gifts by the Jagapaṭi Mahārāja of Peddāpuram and Nīlāḍri Mahārāja of Ḍārlapūdi. Besides Māheśvaramahākāyam, Saṭīśaṭakam, Bhāskarapraśasṭi and Rukmiṇīpariṇayam (poems) and Alankārasuḍhāsinḍhu and Rasaprapanca, he wrote APPARAYAYASASCANDRODAYAM with illustrations in praise of Meka Venkata Narasimha Apparao, Zamindar of Nuzvid,[2] and was presented with the agrahāram of Vallurūmalli in 1745 A.D. There he performed Somayāga and wrote glosses on Śrauṭasūṭra. His son NARAYANA wrote a similar work Sāhiṭyakalpaḍrumam and dedicated it to the Zamindar Jagannāṭha Appārao of Nuzvid.[3] Nārāyaṇa's son VENKATA known as Bālakāliḍāsa dedicated his Ciṭracamaṭkāramanjarī to Sri Vaṭsavāyi Ṭimma Jagapaṭi Mahārāja of Peddapur and wrote also Sūryasṭava, full of ciṭra: Ānivilla Venkataśāsṭrin's pupil, Carla Venkataśāstrin, son of Lakṣmaṇa, wrote a similar work, Venkaṭāḍrīyam, as also Naukā, the commentary as Sāhiṭyaraṭnākara.

943. **Carla Bhasyakara Sastrin** of Lohiṭyagoṭra also lives at Kākaraparti Agrahāram in West Godavari, Madras. He is a unique relic of old-day Sanskrit scholarship and in the mastery of grammar, lexicons and poetics he is probably without an equal. Venkataśāsṭrin who was the donee of the agraharam aforesaid was his maternal ancestor. In grateful recollection of that munificent gift, Bhāṣyakāra has now composed a similar work on Alankāra, Mekāḍhīśa-śabḍārṭhakalpaṭaru.

His Mekāḍīśa-Rāmāyaṇa is a hemistich of 16 letters (śloka) which is interpreted by the separation and combination of the letters, so as to

1. To the same place belonged another Venkata Śāsṭri, who lived about 60 years ago and wrote a commentary on Lakṣmīsahasram; and also another Venkata Śāsṭri (1860-1918 A.D.) who wrote Siṭārāmacampu on Rāmāyaṇa and Buḍhamānasollāsa on Bhāgavaṭa.

2. See V. Krishnarao's *History of Nuzvid.* (Andhra Patrika Annual number, 1914, p. 208). Narasimha Apparao lived about 1700 A D. He was son of Venkaṭāḍri and Venkaṭāḍri's father built Nuzvid Fort in 1675 A.D. Among the friends of Venkaṭaśāsṭri was Māḍabhuṣi Vāḍimaṭṭebhakanthirava Rāmānujācāryā who wrote a poem Śrīnivāsakāvya.

3. Printed, Nuzvid.

cover the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa. His Kankaṇabanḍha-Rāmāyaṇa, has been noticed.[1] His Vināyakacaritra narrates the story of Syamanṭopākhyāna on the birth of Vināyaka, which is read ceremoniously on Vināyakacaṭurṭhi day.

By an ingenious and intricate splitting up of the letters, consonants and vowels, that are embraced in the term मेकाधीशा (Me-kā-ḍhī-śā), thousands of meanings are made out, so as to illustrate various topics of poetics as dealt with in Pratāparuḍra-Yaśobhūṣaṇa and this is Mekāḍhīśaśabdārthakalpaṭaru. The commentary rightly describes his versatile learning in these words:—

ये शब्दार्थविचारतत्परधियो ये वा गुणालंक्रिया-
दोषासक्तहृदो विचित्रकवने ये वा ध्वनावुत्सुकाः ।
ये वा भावरसादरास्सुमनसो ये नाटके रागिणः
मेकाधीशपदे तमर्थविषयं पश्यन्तु नन्दन्तु च ॥

ये साहित्यविशारदास्सुमनसो ये शाब्दिकास्तार्किकाः
ये वा चित्रकवित्वपाटवविदः कार्तांतिकास्तांत्रिकाः ।
येऽलङ्कारविचक्षणास्सुमनसो ये वैद्यका गायकाः
मेकाधीशपदे स्वशास्त्रविषयान् पश्यन्तु नन्दन्तु च ॥

अथ शृङ्गाररसस्यांकुरितत्वपल्लवितत्वकुसुमितत्वफलितत्वहेतवो द्वादशावस्थाः कथ्यन्ते । ताश्च परिगणिता विद्यानाथेन—

चक्षुःप्रीतिर्मनस्सङ्गस्सङ्कल्पोऽथ प्रलापिता ।
जागरः कार्श्यमरतिर्लज्जा त्यागोऽथ संज्वरः ॥

उन्मादो मूर्छनं चैव मरणं चरमं विदुः ।
अवस्था द्वादश मताः कामशास्त्रानुसारतः ॥

केचित्तु प्रतापज्वरौ त्यक्त्वा दशावस्था इति वदन्ति ।

तत्र चक्षुःप्रीतिर्यथा—

आदरादीक्षणं चक्षुःप्रीतिमाहुर्मनीषिणः ।

मू ॥ मेकाधीशामेकाधीशा

पद ॥ मा-इ-का-आधीशा-मे-काधीशा

1. See para 97 supra.

व्या ॥ इ इति संबोधने मेव मा रमासमाना काचिन्नायिका कर्त्री आधीशा आदृष्टाः आधीशाः मेकाधीशाः यया सा आधीशा मेकाधीशदर्शनवतीत्यर्थः मे ममका भाग्यवत्ता केत्यर्थः इति इतेस्सामर्थ्यलभ्यत्वादप्रयोगः काधीशा कस्य आनन्दस्य आधीशा काधीशा आनन्दवतीत्यर्थः रमासमाना काचिन्नायिका चित्रादौ मेकाधीशान्दृष्ट्वा मदीया भाग्यवत्ता महतीति आनन्दपरवशा बभूवेत्यनेन चक्षुःप्रीतिः ।

मनस्सङ्गो यथा

प्रियैकप्रवणत्वं यन्मनस्सङ्गः प्रकीर्त्यते ।

मू ॥ मेकाधीशामेकाधीशा

पद ॥ मा-इ-का-धीशा-मेकाधीशा

व्या. इ इति संबोधने मेकाधीश मेकाधीशाविषयकमनोव्यथावती व्याख्यातमेतत् मेव रमासमाना का काचिन्नायिका धीशा धियि मनसि धीशब्देन धींद्रियं मनो लक्ष्यते ईशाः मेकाधीशाः यस्यास्सा तथोक्ता, मेकाधीशविषयकमनोव्यथाग्रस्ता, रमासमाना काचिन्नायिका मनसाध्यातमेकाधीशेत्यनेन मनस्सङ्गः ।

944. **Sri Yatirajaswami,** more fully known as Śrī Yaḍugiri-Yaṭirāja-Sampaṭkumāra-Rāmānuja, is the present head of the Yaṭirāja Mutt at Melkote, Mysore. Before he became a Sanyāsin his name was Anantācārya and he was an official of the Mysore Archælogical Department. He is a great rhetorician and his dissertations on Bhāmaha etc., are very original. He discovered the first copy of Svapnavāsavadaṭṭa and to him likewise is due the credit of the printed edition of a few chapters on Śṛngāraprakāśa prefixed with a learned introduction.

[In Kalidasa et l'art poetique de l'inde (Alankara Sastra) [pp. XIV. 360. (Paris 1917)], P. Hari Chand, Sastri accomplished the collossal task of tracing the verses of Kāliḍāsa in works attributed to him to quotations in several works on Alaṇkāra and has expressed an opinion on their comparative authenticity thus :

"Six works are by universal consent considered the authentic productions of the great poet : the three dramas *Śakuntalā*, *Vikramorvaśi* and *Malavikagnimitra*, the two epics *Raghuvamśa* and *Kumarasambhava*, and the lyric *Meghadūta*. All these are frequently quoted in Alankara works. The *Rtusamhara* is also commonly attributed to Kāliḍāsa, but a strong argument adduced by our author against this attribution is the fact that the treatises on Alankara ignore this poem

completely with a striking unanimity. He has not found a single stanza quoted from it in the whole Alankara literature, though as he justly remarks, descriptions of the seasons would naturally lend themselves to quotation. But when the occasion for such quotation arises, only the undoubted works of Kālidāsa, such as the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Vikramorvaśi*, are drawn upon (pp. 241-2). Dr. Hari Chand further points out that no commentary on the *Rtusamhara* appears till the eighteenth century while the *Meghadūta*, the *Raghuvamśa*, and the *Kumarasambhava* were already commented upon in the tenth century. An anthology of the fifteenth century is the first work to cite stanzas from the *Rtusamhara*, two under the name of Kālidāsa.]

CHAPTER XXV.

Bharata.

945. **Bharata's Natyasastra** is probably the earliest extant work in music and dancing. The name of Bharaṭa appears in two forms Vṛḍḍha Bharaṭa[1] or Āḍibharaṭa and Bharaṭa merely. There are two works Nāṭyaveḍāgama and Nāṭyaśāsṭra. The former is called Ḍvāḍaśasāhasrī[2] and the latter Satsāhasrī,[3] about half the former in volume. Ḍvāḍaśasāhasrī is likely the work of Vṛḍḍhabharaṭa and as only sixty-three chapters of it are available now, it is not possible to verify quotations as from Vṛḍḍhabharaṭa from the manuscript.

"Satsahasri and Dvadasasahasri" says Śāraḍāṭanaya "were simultaneous compositions, the former being meant as an epitome of the latter":

एकं द्वादशसाहस्रैश्श्लोकैरेकं तदर्धतः ।
षड्भिश्श्लोकसहस्रैर्यो नाट्यवेदस्य संग्रहः ॥ (*Bhav*. 287).

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1. Bharaṭa Vṛḍḍha is quoted by Śāraḍāṭanaya thus:

एवं हि नाट्यवेदेऽस्मिन् भरतेनोच्यते रसः ।
तथा भरतवृद्धेन कथितं गद्यमीदृशम् ॥

"यथा नानाप्रकारैर्व्यञ्जनौषधैः पाकविशेषैश्च संस्कृतानि व्यञ्जनानि मधुरादिरसानामन्यतमेनात्मना परिणमन्ति तद्भोक्तृणां मनोभिस्तादृशात्मतया स्वाद्यन्ते तथा नानाप्रकारैर्विभावादिभावैरभिनवैस्सह यथार्हमभिवर्धिताः स्थायिनो भावाः सामाजिकानां मनसिरूसात्मना परिणमन्तस्तेषां तादात्विकमनोवृत्तभेदभिन्नास्तत्तद्रूपेन तैरस्यन्ते (*Bhav*. 36.)

Says Bahurupamiśra in his commentary on Daśarupa (I. 62):

समाप्यमानमेकस्मिन्नङ्केऽन्यार्थत्वसूचनम् ।
समाप्यति हि नाट्यज्ञैरङ्कावतार इष्यते ॥

इति द्वादशसहस्रीकारः—

2. *Trav*, VI. 12; *Tanj*. XVI. 7223. The book called Bharaṭarasaprakāśanam published in Madras with Telugu meaning deals with Rasa and Bhāva and it is attributed to Bharaṭa. While Nāṭyaśāsṭra deals with eight rasas, that book refers to nine rasas including Śānṭa. This portion may have formed part of Dvāḍaśasāhasrī.

3. Bahurupamiśra (Daś. I. 61) has: सूत्राणां सकलाङ्काणां ज्ञेयमङ्कमुखं बुधैः । इति षट्सहस्रीकारः ।

Dhanika (IV. 2) has; षट्सहस्रीकृताप्युक्तम् ।

Abinavagupṭa (Baroda Edn. p. 8) has: आपि तु यथावसरं महावाक्यात्मना षट्सहस्रीरूपेण प्रधानतया......निरूप्यते ॥

Even as it is extant, the Nāṭyaśastra, is a very ancient work. It quotes from Aindravyākaraṇa and Yāska and not Pāṇini. It frequently quotes from earlier literature verses and sūtras prefaced thus :

अत्रानुवंश्ये आर्ये भवतः । तत्र श्लोकः । etc.

In language and in its treatment of the subject it has the archaic tenor and it is natural that Bharaṭa has come to be mentioned as Bharaṭamuni with divine veneration.

The extant work has itself been called sūṭra, meaning by it a terse and authoritative composition :

Nānyaḍeva has कलानामानि सूत्रकृदुक्तानि यथा—

Abhinavagupṭa says

षट्त्रिंशकं भरतसूत्रमिदं विवृण्वन् वन्दे शिवं तितदर्थविवेकि धाम ।

According to the chronology of the Purāṇas, therefore, the antiquity of Bharaṭa would be very great. Fearing that the tendency of modern scholarship is towards a distrust in anything traditional, it may be sufficient to state that barring the epics it is the earliest available literature in Sanskrit of the period when the sciences came to be restated in the garb of poetry, explanatory of sūṭra literature that preceded it.[1]

1. Ed. M. R. Kavi, *GOS*, Baroda, with Abhinavabhāraṭī : by Sivadatta and in parts by J. Grosset, with a pereface by P. Regnaud, Paris ; and by Hall, Calcutta and by Regnaud, Paris. " The words printed in the end समासश्चायं नन्दिभरतसङ्गीतपुस्तकम् (See S. K. De, *SP*, 24) which have led to much misapprehension are not found in any of the manuscripts I have examined and on the face of it was written by some scribe who knew no grammar."

On this work generally, see S. K. De. *SP*. 80, 23-44 ; H. H. Dhruva, *Natyasastra or Indian Dramatics*, *As. Quar*. II. 349–59 ; H. A. Popley, *The Music of India*, 12 ; Pischel, *Gg. A*, (1885) 763 ; P. R. Bhandarkar, *JA*, XLI, 157 ; H. P. Sastri, *JASB*, V. 352 ; Sten Konow, *Indian Drama*, 2 ; Rapson, *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, tit- *Indian Drama*, V. 886 ; T. Ganapati Sastri (Int. to Pratimanataka xxi–iii (says Natya. śāsṭra was posterior to Bhāsa). These scholars assign this work variously to the period, 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. S.K. De (l.c. 26) says that the work assumed its present shape after several modifications by the end of the 8th century A.D. and this extraordinary conclusion is reached in spite of the admission that before Abhinavagupṭa there were several commentators whose works are now known only from quotations. In another place (l. c. 32) he places the chapter on music and the rest too in the 4th century A. D. (See also IA. XII, 158). Pischel's (l.c.) argument based on reference in the text to Pahlavas comes to be of no value. On Bharaṭa's Rāgāḍhyāya see Andhrapatrika, Annual Number, VII. 155.

"The present work consists of 37 according to the northern or later recension but only 36 according to the southern or earlier texts. The difference lies in the numbering of the chapters, as the southern or older texts combined the 37th with the 36th. Abhinava, the commentator, appears to be the author of this numerical extension of the text, though he himself states that the work consists of 36 chapters. He actually comments upon the 37th chapter also. Should one be tempted to call the excess a copyist's error, it would be an error: for the commentator begins each chapter with a verse in praise of Siva as incorporate of one of the 36 *tattvas* of the *Saiva Siddhanta* in some order while the 37th chapter is headed with a verse indicating *anuttarah* (nothing beyond) a doctrine in Kashmirian Saivaism propounded by Utpaladeva, the commentator's *paramaguru* (teacher's teacher). The reason for this extension of the text is not a mere fanciful device for introducing his Saiva *tattvas*. The subject-matter thus separated from the rest was probably composed by one of the *Vartikakaras*, either Rahulaka, Sini, or Sriharsa. But he himself says in two places that Bharata's work consists of 36 chapters and hence the 37th must be according to him an interpolation by one of the *Vartikakaras*.

Bharata divides the work broadly into four sections based on *abhinayas* or modes of conveyance of the theatrical pleasure to the audience, which pleasure, called *rasa*, is pure and differs from the pleasure we derive from the actual contact with the objects of the world which is always mingled with pain. These modes or *abhinayas* are four, viz. *Sattvika* (conveyed) by the effort of the mind, *Angika* or the natural movement of the organs when any thought is expressed or conveyed, *Vacika*, the delivery through expression and *Aharya*, the dress, deportment, and *Mise-en-scene*. The sage attaches great importance to the first of these modes and deals with it in chapters 6 and 7. Expression of feeling is conveyed to a stranger only by gestures or through the orga ns of speech. Hence *Angika-abhinaya* comes next and is dealt with in chapters 8th to 13th. Then delivery of *vacika* is taken up which extends over chapters 14 to 20. Then comes *aharya*, i.e. dress and scenic appliances and mutual conduct or movements on the stage along with the musical auxiliaries behind the stage to intensify the emotional effect produced on the stage. To this four-fold division of the subject are added chapters on the origin and greatness of the theatrics, the forms of the stage and rules for their construction, and the auspicious ceremonial of the foundation and the opening days. The fourth and fifth chapters treat of *purvaranga*, preliminaries

before the commencement of the actual drama. These include music and dancing in praise of Gods and in averting the evil influence of the demons. The postures recommended in dancing to please the *daityas* are numberless and a selected list of 108 of them called *Karanas*[1] or single postures and 32 selected *Angaharas*, (combinations of two or more of the these *Karanas*) are fully described in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter gives details about the preliminaries. Chapters 35 and 36 are supplementary and deal with the qualifications and behaviour of the actors and actresses on the stage and how the theatrics descended from Heaven to the earth. Thus excluding the preliminary and supplementary chapters the subject proper is dealt with in 29 sections (6 to 34).'

"From time immemorial Bharata's work is considered authoritative on the science of Natya. In spite of the fact that Bharata treated dramaturgy in extenso, he had to summarise the general principles of gita and nrtya in order to add an element of grace in dhruvagāna and purvarangavidhi. Though the two latter subjects are only auxiliaries to Natya, Bharata gave them such a comprehensive shape that the writers on those sister sciences had looked upon him as their authority. Bharata has not dealt with ragas. For, in his exhaustive enumeration of jatis where any of the 63 svaras can be chosen as *amsa svara* he has made the field of ragas so wide that it covers almost every raga in the world :—

यत्किंचित् गीयते लोके तत्सर्वं जप्तिषु स्थितम् ।

He left the choice of a particular raga to the sutradhara himself as befits the occasion. The case is similar in nrtya also. For he has enumerated the general and natural movements of the hand. eye, etc., but their combinations which produce endless variety in each sort are left to the actors to frame new poses without detriment to *rasa* and which have possibility of use in actual life. Bharata has condemned

1. M. R. Kavi says, *l. c* ;—

"In the compartments of the east and west gopuras in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram in South India *karanas* were cut on rocks with appropriate verses from the Natyasastra underneath each of the postures. But unhappily only 93 of the postures were recovered ; the remaining fifteen were either damaged or the compartments altered during the repairs. These postures are found in Bharata's order for about 60 numbers and then owing to masons' or supervisors' ignorance or on account of some subsequent alteration in the construction the remaining 48 are not in the order followed by Bharata. Koppesunjingadeva (Rajasimhadeva, the Great ?) who set up an independent kingdom against the Cholas between 1243 and 1278 A.D. was the patron of the above decorative sculptures."

the use of angikabhinaya for actors of *uttama* or great *sattvic* type. Angika is intended for *adhama* characters and to some extent it is tolerated in the *madhyama* also. So the stand point of Bharata makes him reject much of the technical side of sangita and nrtya."[1]

"There are two main recensions with greater difference purely on exegetic principles. The older recension, so called because the older commentators have used it, was followed by Udbhata and Lollata. The later recension seems to have been adopted by Sankuka, Kirtidhara and was actually used by Abhinavagupta. Undoubtedly, the merit decides the question in favour of the later version. For Abhinavagupta's sole aim is to make the work of Bharata completely based upon the principle of *rasa*; while Nandin and Kohala have imported greater conventions from gita and nrtya into natya i.e., in ordinary parlance they have made the science of stage rather unnatural or more conventional. Both of these recensions have on the other hand longer and shorter versions. Udbhata seems to have followed a shorter version, while Lollata appears to have used the longer or the older recension. Similarly Kirtidhara appears to have followed the longest of the later recension, while Ghantaka seems to have used the shortest. These are only tentative theories based upon certain remarks made in the Abhinavabharati, other commentaries and various works on sangita and natya.

Abhinava's text ends with Chapter XXXVII while most of the others end in XXXVI. The apparent reason for extension of the number, seems to be the introduction of the 36 *tattvas* one for each Chapter by Abhinava and the commentary of the 37th is headed by the verse indicating *anuttaram dhama* of the Pratyabhijna school.

आकाङ्क्षाणां प्रशमनविधेः पूर्वभावावधीनां
धाराप्रासस्तुतिगुरुगिरां गुह्यतत्त्वप्रतिष्ठा ।
ऊर्ध्वादन्यः परभुवि न वान्यत्समानं चकास्ति
प्रौढानन्तं तदहमधुनानुत्तरं धाम वन्दे ॥

It may be added that Bharata looks upon the science of Natya as an anga to vedic rites allowing all its æsthetic profundity. His treatment of purvaranga (Chs. 4, 5, 29, 31, 32, 34) and of saptagitas (Ch. 31) amply illustrates his conception. Nandin sees an agamic vein in nrtya, gita and natya. Abhinava maintains in a high degree the vedic and æsthetic aspects of natya viewing it from a psychological

1. M. R. Kavi, *l. c.*

perspective, while others mix them up to produce only the pictorial effect."[1]

Abhinavagupta represents the three *matas* or schools of Sadāśiva, Brahma and Bharata and answers an objection that the Bharata-Nātya-śāstra was the work of some pupil of Bharāta embodying the views of Bharata.

यत्तु प्रयोगप्रश्ने प्रत्यक्षेण प्रयोगप्रकटनमुत्तरं स्यादित्याशङ्कां परिहर्तुं कथाग्रहणमिति, तत्त्वसत् । वक्तुमर्हसीत्युक्ते तस्याः कोऽवसरः ? एवं भरतमुनिः परवदात्मानं प्रकल्प्येयन्तं ग्रन्थमभिहितवान् ।

अन्ये त्वियन्तं ग्रन्थं कश्चिच्छिष्यो व्यरीरचत् । तत्र ब्रह्मणेति भरतमुनिः प्रथमश्लोके निर्दिष्टः, कथं ब्रह्मन्नुत्पन्न इत्येतदेवमेकवाक्यत्वेन निर्वहति । तदनन्तरन्तु भवद्भिः शुचिभिरित्यादिभिर्भरतमुनिरचितो ग्रन्थो, मध्येऽत्र षट्त्रिंशदध्याय्यां यानि प्रश्नप्रतिवचनप्रयोजनवचनानि तानि तच्छिष्यवचनान्येवेत्याहुः । तच्चासत् । एकस्य ग्रन्थस्यानेकवक्तृवचनसन्दर्भमयत्वे प्रमाणाभावात्, स्वपरव्यवहारेण पूर्वपक्षोत्तरपक्षादीनां श्रुतिस्मृतिव्याकरणतर्कादिशास्त्रेष्वेकविरचितेष्वपि दर्शनात् । एतेन सदाशिवब्रह्मभरतमतत्रयविवेचनेन ब्रह्ममतसारताप्रतिपादनाय मतत्रयीसारासारविवेचनं तद्ग्रन्थखण्डप्रक्षेपेण विहितमिदं शास्त्रम्, न तु मुनिरचितमिति यदाहुर्नास्तिकधुर्योपाध्यायास्तत्प्रत्युक्तम्, सर्वोपह्नवनीयाबाधितशब्दलोकप्रसिद्धिविरोधाच्च ॥

946. In the Gopura of the temple of Śivakāmī at Chidambaram inside the prākāra there are the sculptured figures of various dancing postures as mentioned in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra. This Gopura was built by the Cola king, Kulottunga III (1178-1216 A.D.). These sculptures are of exquisite beauty and photographs have been printed in Epigraphica Indica and in the Baroda Edn. of Bharata's Nātyaśāstra Vol. I.[2]

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1. M. R. Kavi, *l. c.*
"Even in the commentary Abhinava is strictly scrupulous in offering additional explanations from the practical side to many of the definitions of Bharata which do not place a practitioner in possession of all details required. The sage-like commentator draws his extra material from vartikas and not from the current practice of his day. For it is possible that time may bring upon alterations though imperceptibly in certain movements. Bharata's purvaranga bestows upon the audience both drsta and adrsta phala (pleasure and religious merit). In the latter case injunction (vidhi) should be strictly followed. This applies to *karanas* and *angaharas* which find prominent place in the various *angas* of purvaranga."

2. The pedigree of Cola kings is thus:—
Rājendra I (1013-1045 A.D.); (son) Rājādhirāja I (1018-1054); (brother) Rājendra II (1053-1062); (brother) Vīrarājendra (1062-1070); (son) Adhirājendra. He was murdered by Eastern Cālukya, Kulottunga I (1070-1118) or Rājendra Cola (who was the daughter's son of Rājendra I; Vikrama (1116-1135); Kulottunga II (1133-1143);

947. **Bharatatika** appears to be the earliest commentary. The author's name is unknown, but he was a pupil of Śrīpāḍa.[1] Abhinavagupṭa quotes the criticisms of Bharaṭaṭīkā, mostly in the chapters on music, on Bharaṭa's views and Abhinavagupṭa attempts a justification and at times his language is scathing :

" अत्र उपदेशातिदेशयोः उपमानस्य च साहित्यविषये तार्किकमीमांसकविषये विशेषप्रतिपादनं यत् टीकाकारैः कृतम्, तत्सुकुमारमनोमोहनं वृथाभ्रमणिकामात्रम्, प्रकृतानुपयोगादिह उपेक्ष्यमेव ।" Vol. III, p. 48.

948. **Harsa** is another glossator. His gloss is in the form of verses and is known by the name of Harṣa-vārṭika. He is frequently quoted by Abhinavagupṭa in his commentary and mentioned by Bhoja and Śārāḍāṭanaya as an authority. The following quotations from Abhinavabhāraṭī will elucidate some of his views :

वार्तिककृताप्युक्तम्—

" वाच्यानुगतेऽभिनये प्रतिपाद्येऽर्थे च गात्रविक्षेपैः ।
उभयोरपि हि समाने को भेदो नृत्तनाट्यगतः ॥"

" 'रसभा * * * * यद्यङ्गं पूर्णं वा अपूर्णं वा कृत एव नाट्यनृत्तयोर्भेदः तुल्यानुकारत्वे' इति हर्षवार्तिकम् । "

"यदाह श्रीहर्षः, 'अंत एव हासो नाम (कविः) कस्मिंश्चिन्नाटके 'दिवं यातश्चित्तज्वरेण कलिरित एवाभिवर्तते । अशक्यमस्य पुरोऽवस्थातुम्' इत्यादि ।"

From these references, and others we can infer that he differed in his interpretation of Bharaṭa's work from other commentators in the description of Pūrvaranga and the species of dramas. Bahurūpamiśra calls him Śrīharṣaḍeva and probably therefore considers him the author of the dramas, Raṭnāvali, Nāgānanḍa and Priyaḍarśikā.

949. **Rahulaka's** (Rāhula or Ṛāhala) commentary is in verse. He was a very early writer, and he is mentioned in the Tamil epic Maṇimekalai which is now generally assigned to a date not later than 4th century B.C., though it was probably a much earlier composition. Abhinavagupṭa calls him Śākyācārya Rāhulaka, implying thereby that he was a Buddhist and does not accept his criticism of Bharaṭa, for instance on Alankaras of damsels.

Rajarāja II (1146-1164) ; Rājāḍhirāja Kārikkāla (1172-1178) ; Kuloṭṭunga III (1178-1216) : Rājarāja III (1216-1257) ; Rājendra III (1246-1268). Th n Pāndyas overcame the Cola kings.

"तेन मौग्ध्यमदमाविकत्वपरितपनादीनामपि गत्वा(शाक्या ?)चार्यराहुलादिभिरभिधानं विरुद्धमित्यलं बहुना ।"

This is also mentioned by Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana (p. 316).

"शाक्याचार्यराहुलादयस्तु मौग्ध्यमदशाविकत्वपरितपनादीनप्यलङ्कारानाचक्षते । तेऽस्माभिः भरतमतानुसारिभिरुपेक्षिताः ।

Śārngadhara quotes this verse as Rahulaka's :[1]

उन्निद्रकन्दलदलान्तरलीयमानगुञ्जन्मदान्धमधुपाञ्चितमेघकाले ।
स्वप्नेऽपि यः प्रवसति प्रविहाय कान्तां तस्मै विषाणरहिताय नमो वृषाय ॥

There is a manuscript of a Vārṭika, got by M. R. Kavi from the Cen-tral Provinces. The beginning and end are missing, but as it is it extends to 2000 granthas and the author's name is not known. It is expected to be published as an appendix to Natyasastra Edn. of Baroda.

950 **Nakhakutta** was an ancient author. Bahurūpamiśra writes
तथा तोटकस्यापि नखकुट्टादिभिर्नाटकान्तर्भावेनैवं लक्षणमुक्तम्,
दिव्यमानुषसंयोगस्तोटकं नाटकानुगम् ॥ इति नखकुट्टः ॥

But Śāradāṭanaya attributies this to Harṣa

दिव्यमानुषसंयोगो यत्राङ्करविदूषकैः ।
तदेव तोटकं भेदो नाटकस्येति हर्षवाक् ॥

Are Harṣa and Nakhakutta identical ?

951. **Matrgupta** was a very early writer, probably of about the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier. In Rājaṭarangiṇi (III. 129-229) Kalhaṇa gives a long account of the poet Mātṛgupṭa and his relations with king Vikramāḍiṭya Harṣavarḍhana of Kāsmir:

Harṣavarḍhana, alias Vikramāḍitya, had in his court a poet by name Mātṛgupṭa. He was very conservative and consequently was not prepared to push himself up to royal favour of his own accord. The king was not unaware of the high poetic talents and deep culture of his protege; but he intentionally ignored him. In absolute poverty, without proper food, decent clothing, and timely sleep, the poet continued to serve his master with diligence. He knew no comfort.

At last the time came when his stars began to exert their influence, being in the ascendant. On a particular night it happened by chance

1. So does Vallabhadeva, *Subh.* 2900.

that all the guards were asleep ; the lamp which was dimly burning in the apartments of the king was put out by a strong wind ; the king wanted the lamp to be re-lit, but there was no servant to do it. He shouted at the top of his voice, but there was no response from any of the guards. Mātṛgupta who was waiting at the gate entered and did the needful. While he was about to retire, the king wanted to know his exact position in life and asked him how he alone was awake at that dead hour of night. The poet composed the following verse on the spur of the moment :

शीतेनोद्धूषितस्य माषशिमिवच्चिन्तार्णवे मज्जतः
शान्ताग्निं स्फुटिताधरस्य धमतः क्षुत्क्षामकण्ठस्य मे ।
निद्रा क्वाप्यवमानितेव दयिता संत्यज्य दूरं गता
सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥

Rājataraṅgiṇī III—181.

On hearing this verse, the king realised the sin he had committed by neglecting his duty in not having recognised the merits of the poor, needy and eminent poet and began to contemplate as to how best he could expiate the sin.

At dawn he rose, having already come to a conclusion with regard to Mātṛgupta. The kingdom of Kāśmir was then without a ruler. That kingdom was his vassalage and the responsibility of finding a suitable ruler to that country devolved upon him. Now he called upon Mātṛgupta and handed over to him a note in which there was an order to his ministers at Kāśmir that Mātṛgupta should be anointed their king, and bade Mātṛgupta deliver it unto the hands of his ministers at Kāśmir and do as they required. The poet was unaware of what the king had written and did as ordered. He marched along to Kāśmir with many auspicious omens at every step. And as soon as he delivered the Royal message, he was anointed king of that country.

We also learn from Kalhaṇa that he was not of the same place to which Harṣavardhana belonged. Probably he was a southerner.

Mentha displayed his Hayagrīvavadha before Mātṛgupta and received appreciation.[1]

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1. See para 37, *supra*. Hemacandra calls it a kāvya, but Vamanācārya (p. 249) says it was a Nāṭaka on the authority of Candrikā of Vaidyanātha etc. There is a quotation from it by Mammata (*KP*, I. 5).

विनिर्गतं मानदमात्ममन्दिराद्भवत्युपश्रुत्य यदृच्छयापि किम् ।
ससम्भ्रमेन्द्रद्रुतपातितार्गळं निमीलिताक्षीव भियामरावती ॥

Mātṛgupṭa very probably wrote a commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra. This appears from a reference to Sundaramiśra's Nāṭyapradīpa on Nāndī.

अत्र च भरतः

आशीर्वचनसंयुक्ता

..................प्यलंकृता.

अस्य व्याख्याने मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः षोडशांघ्रिपदान्विता इयं उदाहृता ।

His opinions on Nāṭya, Alankāra and Sangīṭa have been quoted profusely[1] by Abhinavagupṭa,[2] Kunṭaka,[3] Bahurūpamiśra, Śāradāṭanaya and in the commentaries by Vāsuḍeva (on Karpūramanjarī), by Ranganāṭha (on Vikramorvaśīya), by Sarvānanḍa (on Nāmalingānuśasana) and his verses by Kṣemenḍra[4] and Vallabhaḍeva.

952. **Kirtidhara** is mentioned by Śārngaḍeva as a commentator on Bharaṭa. There are references io Kīrṭiḍhara's views in Abhinavabhāraṭī :

(i) एतदुक्तम्—'प्राह्ममेककलं साम द्विकलं वह्निजं तथा ।
चन्त्रन्तु (?) त्रिकलं शुष्कं पूर्वयोः सार्थकं * * ॥'

इति कीर्तिधराचार्यः ।

(ii) 'ननु चत्वारि यथा कीर्तिधरोऽभ्यधात् इति ।'

The reading of the last quotation is doubtful. Is it possible that the original work of Nanḍikeśvara was not available to Abhinavagupṭa? The latter quotes Nanḍimaṭa largely in Chapter XXVIII, for instance:

यत्तत् कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरतन्मात्रगामित्वेन (?) दर्शितं तदन्यामिः (तदस्माभिः) न दृष्टम्, तत्प्रत्ययात्तु लिख्यते ।

1. See T. R. Chintamani, FRAGMENTS OF MATRGUPTACARYA, *JOR*, II. 118.

2. यथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन—
पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वितः ।

3. अनुसरणदिक्प्रदर्शनं पुनः क्रियते । यथा मातृगुप्तः—मञ्जीरप्रभृतीनां सौकुमार्यवैचित्र्यसंवलितपरिस्पन्दस्यन्दीनि काव्यानि सम्भवन्ति ।

4. नायं निशामुखसरोरुहराजहंसः कीरीकपोलतलकान्ततनुश्शशाङ्कः ।
आभाति नाथ तदिदं दिवि दुग्धसिन्धुडिण्डीरपिण्डपरिपाण्डु यशस्त्वदीयम् ॥
Aucityavicāracarcā, 142.

953. Udbhata is mentioned by Śārngadeva as a commentator on Natyaśastra, next to LOLLATA and Aghinavagupta contrasts the views of Udbhata and Lollata. These commentaries are not available.

954. Sakaligarbha came after Udbhata and before Lollata. Unlike Udbhata who rejected four vṛttis of Bharata and substituted two of his own, Śakalīgarbha added one to Bharata's four. Abhinavagupta thus critisises it:

शकलीगर्भमतानुसारिणो मूर्छांदौ आत्मसंवित्तिलक्षणां पञ्चमीं वृत्तिम्............ आत्मव्यापाररूपां मन्यन्ते । तन्मतं भावानां बाह्यग्रहणस्वभावमुपपादयद्भिः भट्टलोल्लटप्रभृतिभिः पराकृतमिति न फलवृत्तिर्वा(आत्मसंवित्तिर्वा)काचिदिति चतस्र एव वृत्तयः ।

955. Abhinavagupta's Abhinavabharati is a commentary on Bharata's Nātyasāstra of Bharata, and an extensive and erudite treatise on dancing and histrionics. The manuscripts now available cover the first thirty-two chapters except the seventh and the eighth. Abhinava recites and criticises the views of Śriharṣa (the Vartikakara of Bharata-sūtra), Rāhulaka, Śankūka, Bhatta Nāyaka, Lollata, Ghantaka etc. He refers to the following rare authors and works in the course of the commentary :—In Chapter I to Bhatta Tota (his preceptor) Kāvyakautuka, Svapnavāsavadattā (by Bhāsa); in Ch. IV to Cūdāmaṇi Dombika (a lyrical play), Rāghavavijaya, Guṇamāla (a lyrical play), Mārīcavadha (a lyrical poem), Rāṇaka (a poet, probably the author of the Maricavadha), Viśākhila (a writer on music), Dattila (music), Parameśvaracarita (Parameśvara), Battayantra and Lollata (commentators on Nātyaśāstra), Kīrtidhara (a writer on music), Śankuka; in Ch. V to Hejjala (author of Rādhāvipralambha); Kāśyapa (a writer on music); in Ch. VI to Tāpasavatsarāja (of Māyuraja), Draupadīsvayamvara (probably a drama), Bhāsa, Rāmāyaṇa-nātaka; in Ch. IX to Udbhata (as a writer on Nātya), Bhīma (author of Pratijnācāṇakya); in Ch. XIII to Māyāpuṣpaka (a drama), in Ch. XIV to Jayadeva (as a writer on music, also on metrics), Bhatta Nāyaka, Pādatāditaka; in Ch. XVIII to Kṛtyārāvaṇa, Vāsavadattanātyadhāra by Subandhu, Samudradattacestita, Puṣpabhūṣitaka, Mudrārākṣasa, Devīcandragupta (a drama); in Ch. XIX to Pāndavānanda (a drama), Rāmābhyudaya (a drama), Daridracarudatta, Pratimāniruddha by Bhīma, Udāttarāghava (by Mayurāja), Candraka (a playwright); and in Ch. XXI to Abhisārikāvancitaka (a drama).[1]

" Abhinavagupta under the sublime teachings of his master, Bhatta Tota, has fixed the limits of Natya and rejected such matter as strictly

1. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda by M. R. Kavi with introduction [Vol. III is in press].

belongs to the province of music and dancing arts. He criticises his previous commentators in the light of his own theory whenever they had overstepped the boundaries of natya and fallen into the allied grounds. His conception of natya is very liberal and æsthetic, but it rejects all musical dramas: for Bharata in his opinion has recognised only ten kinds of dramatic compositions. In accordance with his theory such passages which were said to possess wider significance to include graces and flourishes in gita and nrtya by authors like Matanga and earlier commentators, are explained by Abhinava to apply only to Natya. Thus his text slightly differs from that of the others which he points out or criticises. It is the difference in interpretation that gave rise to various recensions. Variants in the text are also created by various other causes, viz., wrong deciphering, scholars filling up the omissions if letters are lost, scholars correcting the clerical errors, etc. Though every copy of Bharata's text abounds in errors of this description, interpretative differences alone constitute the difference in recension. Besides the two above influences the readers or commentators have added a number of slokas from Kohala and other writers wherever they are explanatory to Bharata's cryptic and terse expression. Such additions are plenty in the Taladhyaya (Ch, 31) and Avanaddha (Ch. 34)."[1]

956. About Bhattasumanas, Bhatta Vṛddhi, Bhattayantra and Bhatta Gopāla who are quoted in Abhinavabhārati, nothing more is known except that they were writers on music. Vṛddhi's verses are quoted profusely in Subhāṣitāvali. For instance:

अस्थिरमनेकरागं गुणरहितं नित्यवक्रदुष्प्रापम् ।
प्रावृषि सुरेन्द्रचापं विभाव्यते युवतिचित्तमिव ॥—1734.

उपलक्षवर्णसंकरमपगतगुणयोगमुज्झितस्थैर्यम् ।
पथिकास्समुद्विजन्ते कुदेशमिव वीक्ष्य शक्रधनुः ॥

आविरळधारानिकरं जलदैर्जलमुत्सृजद्भिरातिमात्रम् ।
मानिवधूहृदयेभ्यः कालुष्यमशेषतो मृष्टम् ॥

दयितभुजगेन सम्प्रति नृत्यच्चलचारुचन्द्रकिरणेन ।
वल्लभगृहेन कामः प्रदीपितो नीलकण्ठेन ॥

अपगतरजोविकारा घनपटलाक्रान्ततारकालोका ।
लम्बपयोधरभारा प्रावृडियं वृद्धवनितेव ॥—1734-8

1. M. R. Kavi, *Int. to AB.*

Bhattayanṭra is quoted by Abhinavagupṭa for his definition of Nṛṭṭa (p. 208).

शिक्षार्हास्विच्छान्यनृत्तकतिपयनाट्याङ्गकृतं नृत्तमभ्यासफलम्, इति भट्टयन्त्रः

Bhaṭṭagopāla wrote Ṭāladīpikā and was different from the author of the same name of a commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa and from the father of Śāradāṭanaya of the same name. This is the reference:

अत एवैतदनुसारेण भट्टलोल्लटगोपालादिभङ्गिसर्वभङ्ग......तालदीपिकादौ चिरन्तनमतो ध्रुवताळानां विनियोगः प्रपञ्चतो दूषितः ।

957. Dattila. Among the immediate desciples of Bharaṭa, of whom hundred are mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāsṭra, Ḍaṭṭila[1] and Kohala have written separate treatises. Ḍaṭṭila was a devout follower of Bharaṭa and never differed from him in his expositions, so that, when later writers wanted anything to support Bharaṭa, they invariably invoked Ḍaṭṭila. Ḍaṭṭila's work embraced music and dancing,[2] and its merit is seen from the existence of a commentary on it called Prayogasṭabaka.[3]

958. Kohala was the immediate desciple of Bharaṭa and comes next to Bharaṭa himself in merit of composition. While the Nāṭyaśāsṭra of Bharaṭa comprised 11 subjects, Kohala enlarged them into 13. Even according to Nāṭyaśāsṭra, Kohala was to write a treatise on Prasṭāraṭanṭram.[4] He is frequently cited by later writers, and largely by Abhinavagupṭa and commentators on Śārngaḍeva. But Kohala's work is lost, but for a fragment that is available, Ṭālāḍhyāya.[5] A study of the citations[6] there indicates that Kohala, though he followed Bharaṭa in the main, improved upon Nāṭyaśāsṭra in details of classification.[7]

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1. The name appears also in the form of Daṭṭila.
2. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum.
3. Simharāja quotes from Prayogasṭabaka in his commentary on Śārngaḍeva:—

   विवृतं चैतत् प्रयोगस्तबकाख्यायां दत्तिलटीकायाम् ।

4. आत्मोपदशसिद्धं हि नाट्यं प्रोक्तं स्वयम्भुवा ।
   शेषं प्रस्तारतन्त्रेण कोहलः कथयिष्यते ॥ XXVIII. 18.
5. *CC*, I. 130; *IOC*, 3025, 3089; *DC*, XXII. 8725 (with Telugu commentary).
6. For quotations from Kohala, see *PR*, IV. 43 and *Cat. Bod*. 199, 201.
7. For instance in the case of *Cāri* (dance). See Kallināṭha's commentary on Śārngaḍeva, pages 770-3.

Abhinayasāstram attributed to Kohala may be a part of Kohala's work or any later abridgment of it.[1] Daṭṭila-Kohalīyam purports to be a narration by Kohala to Daṭṭila[2] and Kohalarahasya by Kohala to Maṭanga[3] and these are epitomes of Kohala's work.

Kohala's work appears also to have been a narration by Kohala to Śārḍūla, and this is seen from Kallināṭha's long quotation.[4]

959. Maṭanga wrote Brihaḍḍeśi.[5] Though apparently meant to deal primarily with Ḍeśī music, the extant portion in six chapters embraces Śruṭis and Svaras. He mentions Bharaṭa[6] but differs from him in several places and particularly in the introduction of 12 Svaras in Mūrchana. Maṭanga is referred to by later writers as the originator of a new school and Maṭangamaṭa is quoted profusely, for instance, by Abhinavaguptạ and Śārngaḍhara. Among Prabanḍhas he is said to have introduced the form Harivilāsa[7] and among dances, a species called Zakkinī, and when speaking of the latter Kālī is described as

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1. *DC*, XXII. 8722, 8725 (with Telugu commentary); *IOC*, 320.

2. *BTC*, 60. I am informed that the book is now missing from the library.

3. *TC*, I. 1039. This manuscript contains only 13th chapter. but I am told the whole book is available in Vadakkuttirumaligiri in Alvantirunagari, Tinnevelly District.

4. In commentary on Sārngaḍova, pp, 675-89. A similar mention is made by Raghunāṭha in his Sangīṭasuḍhā.

5. Ed. *TSS*, Trivandrum. The manuscript so far available and printed contains chapters on Nāḍotpaṭhi, Śruṭinirṇaya, Svaraṇirnaya, Murchana, Ṭāna, Varṇa, 33 Alankāras, Jāṭi, Rāgalakṣaṇa, Bhāṣālakṣaṇa, Prabanḍha and ends with the line.

इदानीं कथयिष्यामि वाद्यस्य निर्णयो यथा ।

The name Bṛhaḍḍeśī suggests the existence of a smaller work called Laghuḍeśī. S. K. De (*SP*, 246) speaks of a work called Maṭangabharaṭa by Lakṣmaṇa Bhāskara but does not give any reference. In a manuscript (*BTC*, No. 11526), the manuscript though labelled Maṭangabharaṭam, is really Lakṣmaṇabharaṭam by Bhāskara Lakṣmaṇa of which there is a good copy there No. 11546. Lakṣmaṇabharaṭam, consisting of Abhinaya only, was composed by some later writer and had nothing to do with Maṭanga.

6. यथाह मतङ्गः, नन्वेते रागाः, ग्रामविशेषसम्बन्धात्, कुतोयं विशेषलाभः ? उच्यते, भरतवचनादेव । तथा चाह भरतः, जातिसम्भवत्वाद्रागाणामिति । यत्किञ्चिद्गीयते लोके तत्सर्वं जातिषुस्थितमितिवचनाच्च, इति ।

(Kallināṭha commentary on Sangīṭaratnākara, p. 860),

7. It is so stated in Yāṣṭikamaṭam, Manuscript No. 12 of 745 Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

मतङ्गमुनिना प्रोक्तो नाम्ना हरिविलासकः ।

having requested her Maṭangamuni to create the new device.[1] In the Tamil epic Silappadhikaram[2] now generally assigned not later than 4th century B.C., Maṭanga as a writer on music and dancing is mentioned and the commentary frequently quotes from his work. Considering that Maṭanga was thus mentioned as a Muni and father of Kalī (and so called Maṭangı) and that his views are quoted with reverence, we may say that his work could not have been composed far later than Bharaṭa's Nāṭyaśāsṭra.[3] Maṭanga quotes passages from Kohala and Śārḍūla.

960. There is a noteworthy tradition that Maṭanga's sons were Ḍaṭṭila and Kohala, that they married Śuklā and Kṛṣṇā, daughters of Jhillikā and that these damsels transformed themselves into rivers so as to be of incessant service to Yajnavarāha of Śrīmuṣṇam. In the Sṭhalapurāṇa of Śrīmuṣṇam (in South Arcot District), a shrine where Śrī Viṣṇu is worshipped in his Varāhāvaṭāra, there is this passage (VIII. 17-20):

शुक्ला कृष्णेति नद्यौ द्वे विमानादुत्तरे शुभे ।
झिल्लिकातनये पुण्ये मतङ्गस्य स्नुषे उभे ॥
तयोः पती च विख्यातौ दत्तिलः कोहलोऽपि च ।
मतङ्गस्य मुनेः पुत्रौ गीतशास्त्रविशारदौ ॥
तयोः पत्न्यौ च तौ नद्यौ झिल्लिकातनये उभे ।
कोलदेवस्य पूजार्थं नदीरूपमवापतुः ॥

961. Brahmabharatam[4] represents the work of Brahma of Piṭāmaha. The small portion that is now available in six chapters deals with Abhinaya. It embraces Mārga, Nāṭya and makes no reference to Ḍeśī at all. There is no mention in it of any earlier work and

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1. पुरा देवी महाकाली लासितुं शम्भुना सह
   जनकं प्रेक्ष्य पप्रच्छ मतङ्गं दीप्ततेजसम् ।
   ....
   कालिकायाः कृता पूर्वं मतङ्गनैव झङ्किणी ॥—B. T. O. No. 11536.

2. Chapter V, line 184.

3. In Kallināṭha's commentary on Sangiṭaraṭnākara (p. 82) there is the following passage: यथा गीतिषड्जमेवतारगतिर्मध्यमस्याप्यत्र संवादित्वादनाशित्वाच्च तारगती रुद्रटेन कृता मध्यमस्येति न दोष इति मतङ्गोक्तम्. This might mean that Maṭanga was later than Ruḍrata. It is presumed that there is some error here in the reading and that the sentence ends at न दोषः and a quotation from Maṭanga has then been missed.

4. The manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

from the scantiness of the details, the book forms probably the earliest record of the science. In his Kuttinīmaṭa Ḍāmoḍaragupṭa describes a character Bhattapuṭra as proficient in Brahma-Nātyaśasṭra.

ब्रह्मोक्तनाट्यशास्त्रे गीते मुरजादिवादने चैव ।
अभिभवति नारदादीन् प्रावीण्यं भट्टपुत्रस्य ॥

Paḍmabhū's (Brahma) view is mentioned by Sāraḍāṭanaya (*Bhav.* 47).

परिणेतुं न शक्नोति तस्माच्छान्तस्य नोद्भवः ।
तस्मान्नाट्यरसा अष्टाविति पद्मभुवो मतम् ॥

962. **Sadasivabharatam,**[1] ascribed to Saḍaśiva, deals, so far as it is now available, with Nātya. It may be placed on a line with Brahmabharaṭa for its merit and antiquity.

Saḍāśiva's views are quoted by Śaraḍāṭanaya thus :

प्रोक्तस्सदाशिवेनास्य स्वरूपाश्रयनिर्णयः ।
" रसस्स एव स्वाद्यत्वाद्रसिकस्यैव वर्तनात् ॥
नानुकार्यस्य वृत्तत्वात्काव्यस्यातत्परत्वतः ।
द्रष्टुः प्रमोदव्रीडेर्ष्यारागद्वेषप्रसङ्गतः ॥
लौकिकस्य स्वरमणीसंयुक्तस्यैव दर्शनात् ।"

963. **Nandikesvara**, or Nanḍin shortly, was the first to receive initiation into the science of music from Śiva. With his name are associated works on Kāmaśāsṭra[2] and Sangīṭa, and his views have been referred to by later writers as a school of musical thought alongside of Bharaṭa. While Bharaṭa confined himself to music in relation to drama, Nanḍikeśvara interested himself in the music requisite for ceremonials and festivals.

BHARATARNAVA,[3] in 4000 verses, purports to be a narration of the principles by Nanḍin to Sumaṭi, an actor of Inḍra's stage at Inḍra's recommentation. It is avowedly the work of Nanḍikeśvara. The manuscript in Tanjore Library has 5 to 14 chapters, that on Abhinaya only and is entitled Guheśabharaṭalakṣaṇa. The colophon reads thus:

1. *Mys*. 309, also Ms. No. 1298 noted at page 308 though catalogue as Āḍibharaṭam.

2. So says Vāṭsyāyana :—महादेवानुचरश्च नन्दी सहस्रेणाध्यायानां पृथक्कामसूत्रं प्रोवाच । The Tālādhyāyam is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

3. *DC*, XXII. 8795; *TC*, III. No. 2495; II. 1360. On Nanḍikeśvara, see S. K. De, *SP*, 24-26. (He is referred to Dāmodaramiśra in his Kuṭṭinīmaṭa (8th century A.D.) along with Bharaṭa as an ancient writer).

इति श्रीनन्दिकेश्वरविरचिते भरतार्णवे नाट्यार्णवे सुमतिबोधके ससलास्यप्रकरणं नाम चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः ॥

It is likely that the part of which this is a chapter is called Nātyārṇava.[1]

BHARATARTHACANDRIKA[2] is an epitome of Bharaṭarnavam and is in the form of a dialogue between Nandin and Pārvaṭī and deals so far as it is available with Abhinaya.

ABHINAYADARPAṆAM[3] in 13 sections deals with gesticulation, and the colophon says it is a part of Nandikeśvarabharaṭam. Its commencement presumes that there was a prior portion of which it is but a continuation.[4] It is also a narration by Nandin to Sumaṭī at Indra's instance; it is probable that it is a chapter in Bharaṭārṇavam and Nandibharaṭam is another name for Bharaṭārṇavam.

But later writers have expressed that Nandikesvara differed widely from Bharaṭa not only in his theories but also in the nomenclature. Abhinavagupṭa for instance quotes a verse as Nandimaṭa in connection with Mṛdanga.[5] Raghunāṭha is more explicit in that he says he referred to Nandīśvarasamhiṭā and that Aumāpāṭam does differ from Bharaṭa's Nāṭyaśāsṭra. Kallināṭha contrasts the views of Bharaṭa with those of Nandin and Maṭanga.[6]

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1. *DC*, XXII. 8735; *Tanj.* XVI. 7224. The manuscript of Ṭālalakṣaṇam (*Ibid.* 7312) begins with नन्दिकेश्वराय नमः

2. *DC*, XXII. 8737.

3. *Ibid.* 8717. Ed. Madras. Ed. Cambridge by A. K. Kumarasami.

4. अथेदानीं तु हस्तानां लक्षणं प्रोच्यते मया ।
असंयुतास्संयुताश्च हस्ता द्वेधा प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

5. यथोक्तं नन्दीश्वरमतेः—
षोडशस्वपि वर्णेषु भेदाः पञ्चदशोदिताः ।
ताडने ग्रहसन्धानमोक्षे मुखचतुष्टयम् ॥ (Chap. 34).

"The school of Nandikesvara seems to be older than Bharata's and from the available works bearing on Nandin, one is tempted to say that he has developed conventional side of natya, sangita and nrtya to a remarkable degree. Bharata seems to have rejected much of Nandin's technique and accepted only such forms as are really found in actual life or just to suit the theatrical conventions which he calls natya-dharmi. Kohala and Matanga seem to follow Bharata at the same time bringing in extraneous forms that are in vogue on the conventional side, of course basing their authority on Bharata himself as having given sanction by his expression." M. R. Kavi, *Int. to AB*. See V. Raghavan, *Nāṭyadharmi* and *Lokadharmi*, *JOR*, VII. 359.

6. Poona Edn. p. 47.

We have now therefore two sets of works, both going under the name of Nandin, the one agreeing with and the other differing from Bharata. Until the Samhitā mentioned by Raghunātha is discovered, for which there is yet hope, we cannot say whether Bharatārnavam is really the composition of Nandikeśvara.

964. Among Purāṇas, some have chapters on dancing and music, Vāyu (chap. 24-5), Mārkandeya (chap. 21) and Viṣṇudharmottara (chap. 16-14).

There are several names of the Hindu Pantheon of gods and demi-gods that are quoted for their views on music and dancing, Mādhava (Viṣṇu), Gaṇeśa, Sanmukha, Vāyu, Durgāśakti by Matanga, Viśvāvasu, Ānjaneya and Vyāsa by Śāradātanaya. Rāvaṇa, Rambhā, Kāmadeva, Dakṣa Prajāpati.

Nārada mentions Hari, Kamalāsya, Brahma, Candī, Sanmukha, Bhṛngin, Sarasvatī, Kubera, Bali, Viśvakarman, Kuśika, Angada, Guṇa, Samudra and Vikrama.

KAMADEVA

चरणनृत्यलक्षणं तु कामदेवेन—

उद्धता वाद्यवक्त्रेषु * * ।

सरसान्दोलनानानाप्रसादपदगुम्फनात् ।

* * * * ॥

करतालैरनुगतं पादन्यासैस्समुद्यतम् ।

भ्रमणैरपि लौहिलं शून्यं नृत्तं वितन्यते ॥

—Tālalakṣaṇa (*DC*, XXII. 8726).

VASUKI

नानाद्रव्यौषधैः पाकैर्व्यञ्जनं भाव्यते यथा ।

एवं भावा भावयन्ति रसानभिनयैस्सदा ॥

इति वासुकिनाप्युक्तो भावेभ्यो रससम्भवः ।

—Śāradātanaya (*Bhav.* 37).

[The verse is quoted in Nātyaśāstra, but omitted in *GOS* Edn.]

DAKSA PRAJAPATI

दक्षप्रजापतिरपि—

अवधानानि गान्धर्वे पश्चात्स्वरपदादयः ।

अवधानातिरेकेण त्रिविधं नोपपद्यते ॥

इत्याह—Simhabhūpāla's commentary on Sangītaratnākara.

Ḍhenuka

कीदृक्षो नयमार्गे धेनुकरचिते च ताळके कीदृक् ।
प्रेङ्खणकादावेवं पृच्छति नृत्तोपदेशकं यत्नात् ॥

—Kuttinīmața, 82.

Ḍrauhini

सात्वती वृत्तिरत्रस्यादिति द्रौहिणिरब्रवीत् ।
(on Praśānțanāțaka)—Śaradātanaya (*Bhāv.* 239).

965. **Kambala and Asvatara.** According to Mārkandeyapurāṇa (Chap. 21) Kambala and Aśvațara propitiated Sarasvațī and learnt music and sang Śiva's praise :

नादविद्यां परां लब्ध्वा सरस्वत्याः प्रसादतः ।
कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ शम्भोः कुण्डलतां गतौ ॥

—Ḍāmoḍara's Sangītaḍarpaṇa.

Swati played Bhāndavādya in the first drama in Indraḍhvaja festival enacted by Bharața, while Nāraḍa did the music. So says Bharața

स्वातिर्भाण्डनियुक्तस्तु सह शिष्यैस्स्वयम्भुवा ।
नारदाद्याश्च गन्धर्वा गानयोगे नियोजिताः ॥
स्वातिनारदसंयुक्तो वेदवेदाङ्गकारणम् ।
उपस्थितोऽहं लोकेशं प्रयोगार्थं कृताञ्जलिः ॥

—Nātyaśāsțra I.

and Abhinavagupța's commentary thus summarises Swāți's discovery of Puşkara :

स्वाती ऋषिविशेषः येन जलधरसमयनिपतत्सलिलधारावैचित्र्याभिहन्यमानपुष्करदळविलसितरचितविचित्रवर्णाद्गुहरणयोजनया यथास्वं वृत्तिनियमेन पुष्करवाद्यनिर्माणं कृतमित्यर्थः ।

as set out by Bharața in Nātyaśāsțra (XXXIII, 5-12).

Vyasa

अस्याङ्कमेकं भरतः द्वावङ्काविति कोहलः ।
व्यासाञ्जनेयगुरवः प्राहुरङ्कत्रयं यथा ॥

—(on Uțsritikānka) Sāradāțanaya (*Bhav.* 251).

966. **Kasyapa,** sage, is quoted by Abhinavagupța (and other writers) as an authority on Sangīța and he gives a long extract, on the tunes appropriate (viniyoga) to each rasa and bhāva. He says

'तत्र लक्ष्यप्रबन्धगाने प्रायोगिककश्यपाद्युद्दिष्टं (कश्यपाद्युद्दिष्टं)विनियोगजातं कथ्यते ।' इत्येष कश्यपाद्युक्तो विनियोगो निरूपितः ।

And Hṛdayangama, commentary on Ḍandin's Kāvyāḍarśa (Madras Edn. p. 3), mentions Kāśyapa and Vararuci as ancient writers on Alankāra.

पूर्वेषां काश्यपवररुचिप्रभृतीनामाचार्याणां लक्षणशास्त्राणि संहृत्य...

Nanyaḍeva often quotes from Kāśyapa, as also from a Bṛhat-Kāśyapa.

967. **Narada**[1] is according to Hindu mythology the divine bard and he is represented as playing on the Viṇā. So is Sarasvaṭī. Nāraḍa was the son of Brahma and was naturally the first to be initiated into the musical art. Besides being cited as an authority in the Ṭanṭras, Nāṭyaśāsṭra mentions that Bharaṭa took Nāraḍa and Swāṭi with him when he got leave of Brahma for his first performance at Nāraḍo-Ḍhvajamaha.[2] Nāraḍa was indebted for his views on music to Nāraḍopaniṣaṭ[3] and the principles therein enunciated were developed by him in his Śikṣā. Among the works that go under the name of Nāraḍa is Nāraḍīyaśikṣa.

968. **Naradasiksa**[4] deals with the music of the Sāma Veḍa. In the Śikṣas of Śaunaka, Āpiśali, Vyāsa, Vyāḍi etc., Nāraḍa is referred to as an authority. Bharaṭa follows the views of Nāraḍa on Sāmasvara and elsewhere quotes a verse from it.[5] Abhinavaguпṭa refers to it in several places.[6] The whole of Śikṣā was reproduced in Nāraḍīya-

1. Nāraḍasātaka by Vālmiki, Nāraḍasṭoṭra, Nāraḍapancarātra and Nāraḍavilāsa-kāvya by Ṭribhuvanalāla are noted in *CC*, I. 287.

2. स्वातिनारदसंयुक्तो वेदवेदाङ्गकारणम् ।
उपस्थितोऽयं ब्रह्माणं प्रयोगार्थं कृताञ्जलिः ॥ I. 49-50.
ध्रुवासंज्ञानि तानि स्युर्नारदप्रमुखैर्द्विजैः ।
गीताङ्गानीह सर्वाणि विनियुक्तान्यनेकशः ॥ XXXII. 1.

3. Ed. Bombay.

4. Ed. by S. Samasrami, Bombay.

5. आचार्याःसममिच्छन्ति पदच्छेदन्तु पण्डिताः ।
स्त्रियो मधुरमिच्छन्ति विक्रुष्टमितरे जनाः ॥ XXXIV. 119.

6. For instance:
अत्र नारदाद्या नामनिर्वचनमकार्षुः । नासां कण्ठमुरस्तालुं जिह्वां दन्तांश्च य......त् ।
षड्भ्यस्तज्जायते षड्जः—इत्यादि......XXVIII. 18.
अत एव सामवेदे ग्रामविभागाभावात् तदुपयोगिन्यां नारदीयशिक्षायां तदभिधान-मौत्तराधर्यमात्रमेवतूक्तम् ।— XXVIII. 25.

puraṇam. These references are sufficient to show that Śīkṣā is an ancient work entitled to priority over he extant Nāṭyaśāstra. As a special feature of Śīkṣā we may mention the recognition of Gāndhāra-grāma, a stage that cannot be reached by the human voice, and this therefore was ignored by Bharaṭa and his school.[1] Though the definitions and particulars of Śruṭis agree in Bharaṭa and Nārada, they differ in terminology. The opinions of Nārada were gradually departed from, and while Bharaṭa's differences were only limited, Maṭanga reached a very wide divergence.

Nāradaśikṣā is in two parts, each consisting of Khandas or chapters. It deals with the music of Sāman, generally and particularly as chanted at sacrifices. It furnishes the link between vedic and post-vedic music and is the earliest extant record of musical divisions and terminology. There is a commentary on it by Śubhankara,[2] who was the author of Sangīṭa-Ḍāmoḍara and lived before the 17th century A.D.

969. The other two works attributed to Nārada are Rāganīrūpaṇa[3] and Pancamasārasamhiṭa.[4] Ḍaṭṭila-Nāradasamvāda[5] in three chapters deals with Rāgas, Śruṭis and Svaras. Because there is a reference in it to the name of Śārngaḍeva, it must be said that it is a later compilation of Nārada's views, as expressed in earlier books; and many of the verses in it are quoted under Nārada's name by writers earlier than Śārngaḍeva.

970. Sangitamakaranda of Nārada is a later work. In two parts Sangīṭa and Nṛṭya, of four chapters each, the views of Nārada Ṛṣi

1. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that Śikṣā is a late work of the 10th or 12th century A.D. In Popley's *Music of India*, 14, it is said "It shows considerable development on the Natyasastra in its *raga* system and in a number of matters agrees with the Kudimiyamalai inscription where that disagrees with the next important treatise, the Sangitaratnakara." The imaginary development in the rāgas is due to difference in views between Nārada and Bharaṭa. The Kudimiyāmala, inscription has not yet been rightly interpreted.

Aufrecht (*CC*, I. 287) gives the name as Bhatta Śobhākara.

2. The full manuscript is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras and an incomplete copy in Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

3. Ed. by D. K. Joshi, Poona. It is a metrical description of 140 ragas. Quotations are given in Sangīṭanārāyaṇa of Nārāyaṇadeva: e.g., नारदसंहितायां चत्वारिंशच्छतरागानिरूपण./.......

4. *CC*, I. 287.

5. The manuscript is in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

are followed here and there is reference to him in the prefatory benediction. It mentions two divisions of rāgas, principals and their wives, and classifies musical sounds into five kinds according to the source of percussion.[1] It mentions Mahāmāhesvara,[2] that is, Abhinavagupta, in dealing with the faults of the singer and its definition of Gāndhāra is almost repeated by Śārngadeva. It may therefore be assigned to 11th century A.D.

971. **Veda's Sangitamakaranda**[3] is a large treatise on music and dancing and in it are mentioned the later forms of modern dancing as influenced by European and Mohamadan art. Veda was a poet of the Court of Shahji, father of famous Śivāji, who was known as Makarandabhūpa and was tutor to the king's son Śambhu, elder brother of Śivāji, early in 17th century A.D.

972. Āñjaneyabharatam[4] is a revelation of the science of music by Āñjaneya to Yāṣṭika. So says Raghunātha. Yāṣṭikamatam,[5] as is now available, deals only with music and seems to be only an epitome of it. Later writers speak of Yāṣṭikamatam synonymously with Āñjaneyamatam. According to Kallinātha, Yāṣṭika adopts the view of Matanga on rasas but with altered terminology.[6] Śāradātanaya and Kallinātha quote Āñjaneya's (Māruti) views:

i. ये भावा रागचिह्नानि स्त्रीणामुक्ताः पृथक् पृथक् ।
साधारणास्ते सर्वासां स्त्रीणमित्याह मारुतिः ॥

—Śāradātanaya (*Bhav.* 251).

ii. तथा चाह आञ्जनेयः—
येषां श्रुतिस्वरग्रामजात्यादिनियमो न हि ।
नानादेशगतिच्छाया: देशीरागास्तु ते स्मृताः ॥

—Kallinātha.

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1. Ed. M. R. Telang (*GOS*), Baroda with a preface and an appendix of works on music.
2. So does he call himself in the colophons to his works, particularly a commentary on Nātyaśāstra and Śaradātanaya says that Bhoja and Abhinavagupta were the only two writers who well dealt with Gītadoṣa.
3. *Tanj.* XVI 7268. The manuscript is dated 1650 A.D.
4. *Mys.* 309.
5. Ms. 12 of 745. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. Some verses attributed to Matanga and Kohala are also found in this book.
6. Poona Edition, page 858. Āñjaneya is quoted in Sangitadarpana (*CC*, I. 41.)

CHAPTER XXVI.

Sangita

(MUSIC AND DANCING)

973. **Sangita** comprehends Gīṭa, Nāṭya aad Narṭ na. So says Caṭura-Ḍāmoḍara :

गीतं वाद्यं नर्तनं च त्रयं सङ्गीतमुच्यते ।
मार्गदेशीविभागेन सङ्गीतं द्विविधं स्मृतम् ।
यत्पुरा ब्रह्मणोद्दिष्टं प्रयुक्तं भरतादिभिः ।
महादेवस्य पुरतस्तन्मार्गाख्यं विदुर्बुधाः ।
तत्तद्देशस्थया रीत्या यत्स्याल्लोकानुरञ्जनम् ।
देशे देशे तु सङ्गीतं यत्तद्देशीति गीयते ॥

Śṛṇgāraśekhara thus explains[1] भरत

भकारो भावनैर्युक्तो रेफो रागेण मिश्रितः ।
तकारस्तालमित्याहुर्भरतार्थविचक्षणाः ॥

The divine origin of Sangita is often referred to with veneration by several authors. In Bharaṭalakṣaṇa of unknown authorship, it is said :[2]

आङ्गिकं भुवनं यस्य वाचिकं सर्ववाङ्मयम् ।
आहार्यं चन्द्रतारादि तन्नुमः सात्विकं शिवम् ॥

वागीशो भरताय नाट्यनिगमं संदिष्टवान्प्रेमतो
गन्धर्वैः सममीश्वरस्य पुरतो नाट्यं ततानाशु सः ।
स्मृत्वा तण्डुमजिग्रहत्तदखिलं शम्भुर्मुनिभ्यः पुनः
सन्दिष्टं भरताय तेन भुवने प्रख्यापितं तैरिदम् ॥

Kohala in Ṭālalakṣaṇa says :[3]

तकारश्शङ्करः प्रोक्तो लकारश्शक्तिरुच्यते ।
शिवशक्तिसमायोगात्तालनामाभिधीयते ॥

1. *Tanj*, XVI. 7247.
2. *Tanj*, XVI. 7245.
3. *DC*, XXII. 8726.

In dealing with different kinds of Rāgas, forms and attributes, Rāgasagara records a discourse between Daṭṭila and Nārada giving Ṛṣī, Chandas and Dhyāna of each rāga and predicating that Sangīṭaśāsṭra conduces to bliss temporal and eternal:[1]

एतानि सर्वरागाणां ध्यानानि मुनिभिः पुरा ।
कथ्यन्ते सर्वशास्त्रेषु निश्चितानीति सर्वदा ।
एतत् सङ्गीतशास्त्रन्तु सर्वकामफलप्रदम् ॥
अनन्तहरिरूपाख्यां रागभासिताम् ।
तदाख्या(ख्या)यनमात्रेण भुक्तिमुक्तिफलं लभेत् ॥
पुत्रपौत्रकरं नृणां राज्ञां राज्यप्रदायकम् ।
एतच्छास्त्रं सदा विष्णुहरयोः प्रीतिदं भवेत् ॥

974. SARNGADEVA commences his work thus:

ब्रह्मग्रन्थिजमारुतानुगतिना चित्तेन हृत्पङ्कजे
सूरीणामनुरञ्जकं श्रुतिपदं योऽयं स्वयं राजते ।
यस्माद्ग्रामविभागवर्णरचनालंकारजातिक्रमो
वन्दे नादतनुं तमुद्धुरजगद्गीतं मुदे शंकरम् ॥

In his commentary on Sangīṭaratnākara Gangārāma thus describes Siṭa:

जीयाद्राघवसुन्दरी कुलपतिर्या नादभूमीश्वरी
या सादिस्वरनूपुरारणितयुक्ता नोभूवालापकीः (?) ।
ग्रामादित्रिकसप्तकावधिमयी मूर्छासमुच्छ्रायगा
सा श्रीचक्रमयीशितुः श्रुतिगुणीभूता विदेहात्मजा ॥

975. God Śiva in his well-known aspect of Naṭarāja is pre-eminently the Lord of Dances. Tradition attributes Nāṭyaśāsṭra in its earliest from to his divine authorship. It was the rattle of the drum (Dhakkā) played at the end of Śiva's dance that once gave ont 9 plus 5 sounds, which constituted the Māheśvarasūṭras forming the basis of Pāṇini's gramatical aphorisms.[2]

1. *DC*, XXII. 8748.
2. Definitions and particulars of varieties of Śiva's dances are given in T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.

The Aphorisms[1] are :

i	अइउ ण्	viiii	झभ ञ्
ii	ऋऌ क्	ix	घढध ष्
iii	एओ ङ्	x	जबगडद श्
iv	ऐऔ च्	xi	खफछठथचटत व्
v	हयवर ट्	xii	कप य्
iv	ल ण्	xiii	शषस र्
vii	ञमङणन म्	xiv	हल्

नृत्तावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढक्कां नवपञ्चवारम् ।
उद्धर्तुकामस्सनकादिसिद्धानेतद्विमर्शे शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥

Thus Nanḍikeśvara begins his Kārikas of 27 Ślokas on Māheśvara-sūṭras, and expounds their mystical singificance. Nāgeśa extracts this first verse in his Śabḍenḍuśekhara as from *Nanḍikeśvarakārikā*. There are some commentaries on the Kārikas, one of which is by Abhimanyu.[2]

Thus Śiva is the father of all that relates to *nāḍa* or sound, and so of the sciences of grammar and music. In Rudra-damarūḍbhava-sūṭra-vivaraṇa,[3] there is an elaboration of this tradition that those sounds are the origin of music. The Nepal Library has another work Bharaṭanāma-ḍīpakanāḍa-sāsṭra.[4]

"The dance represents Siva's five activities (*Panchakriya*), namely, *Srishti* (creation), *Sthiti* (preservation), *Samhara* (destruction), *Tirobhava* (illusion) and *Anugraha* (salvation), symbolished in the iconographic equivalents of the sounding drum, the hand of hope, the hand holding fire, the foot trampling on the demon Muyalaga, and the uplifted left foot. Its deepest significance is felt when it is realised that this dance takes place within the heart and the self. Everywhere is God and Everywhere is the heart. The essential significance of Siva's Dance is threefold : first, it is the image of Rhythmic Activity as the Source of all movement within the Cosmos which is represented by the Arch (or the *prabhamandala*) ; secondly, the purpose of his dance is to release the countless souls of men from the snare of illusion : thirdly, the place of the Dance, Chidambaram, the centre of the Universe, is within the

1. On the linguistic aspect of these aphorisms, see Introduction.
1. *CC*, I. 277 ; *BTC*, 41 ; *Oudh*, XIX. 54.
1. *Bik*. 519.
2. *Nepal*, 281.

heart.[1] Of all the impression which the pilgrims to the sacred shrines along the Western Ghats carried home with them, the most vivid must have been the gorgeous spectacle of the sun in its descent towards the ocean, illuminating tier after tier of the rocky precipices and the forest-clad ravines with its slanting rays of crimson and burnished gold, until at the time of evening prayer (*sandhya*) it touched the far off sea-horizon and began the sacred Dance in response to the ceaseless time-beat of the waves—the Dance of the Cosmic Rhythm which all the Rishis and all the Devas knew. In fair weather, it was only a gentle swaying moment like the fluttering of the falling leaves in the forest on a still autumn evening, for Siva then only manifested his benign aspect. But even the setting sun flashed fierce red rays through banks of purple cloud and Siva's mighty drum began its thundering beat along the shore, while the long snake-like rollers sowed their glittering teeth, the Great God revealed himself in his tremendous world-shaking dance, the *Tandavam* which sumed up the threefold processes of Nature, creation, preservation and destruction; and woe betide the the unhappy mariner who was whirled within the ambit of that awful Dance. The corpses strewn along the shore next day increased the unrelenting toll, which the Lord of Death always demands from his worshippers. Such was the constant mental stimulus which the brahman at his evening meditation on the Western Ghats received from the wonderful nature he saw around him; until the Sacred Dance of the Cedic ritual with which he responded to the prompting of his spiritual self became interwoven with his philosophy and took a permanent place among the temple icons of the Deccan and Southern India, the natural imagery being translated into metaphysical concepts, for the brahman like the Platonic philosopher, used the beauties of earth as steps by which he climbed upwards to the higher planes of thought."[2]

976. MRDANGALAKSANA, an anonymous work in Purāṇic style, thus gives a legendary origin to the musical drum, *muraja*;

पुरा मुरासुरो नाम देवानामन्तकों बली ।
वृत्रासुरस्तु बलवानितावु (भायु) तबलौ तथा ॥

सत्रयागप्रवृत्ते तं गङ्गातीरे मनोहरे ।
हिमवत्प्रान्तकान्तारे मुनिभिः कलिते पले ॥

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1. A. K. Coomaraswami's article in *Siddhantadipika* quoted by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *l. c.* II. 231.

2. E. Havell's Monograph on *The Hymalayas in Indian Art.*

पुरोडाशनिमित्तेषु देवैस्साकं नियं ध्यतः ।
तत्काले तु महाविष्णुस्सर्वलोकैकरक्षकः ॥
मुरासुरं प्रगृह्याशु हृत्प्रसादौ (हत्वा पादौ) (तथा शिरः) ॥
चर्मणा तच्छिरस्थेन वामपार्श्वद्वयं मिथः ॥

तत्पादचर्मणो वध्य चतुर्विंशतिसङ्ख्यया ।
तत्कुक्षिस्थेन पिण्डेन

* * * *

मुरस्य देहं हे नन्दिन् द्विमुखे कण्ठविष्टरे ।
मुखध्वनिर्महानासात् पृष्ठे धिमिधिमा इति ॥
एवं कृतं मया चाद्य तकादत्तं महारवम् ।

* * * *

तन्यतां भरतोक्तेन शास्त्रमार्गेण सद्ध्वनिः ।
महाप्रलयकालस्य ताण्डवस्य च सन्निधौ ।
मृदङ्गं वादयामास महानन्दी लयानुगम् ॥

977. Vedas are eternal and at the beginning of every cycle of creation after a deluge are only revealed. Such is the belief of the Hindu. Veḍās are self-contained in any branch of knowledge and to Veḍas therefore the Hindu looks to the original source of any science or art.[1]

" The first public use of music by every nation has been in religious rites and ceremonies. The ancient Egyptians celebrated their festival with hymns. The classic Greeks used music in rhapsodising the Iliad. The Chinese, the Tartars and even the Negroes solemnised their worship with songs and dances. The reason is obvious. By music alone such rites and ceremonies and such worship could be amplified and prolonged: and by music alone some state of feeling could be raised and sustained in a great crowd of people. Even in Italy, music —when it revived in 33 A.D.—was used only in connection with the

1. "MUSIC IS ETERNAL. In Greece, Pythogoras is said to have brought music under arithmetical rule and found that the seven planets were ever related to one another as the seven notes and as such, produced in their movements "the Music of the Spheres" which in India, the Siva's Dance or rather the mystic dance of Nataraja was perhaps intended to symbolise. One thing is certain that in both, Greece and India, music has come down from the beginning of the world and is deemed to be as eternal as God. Indeed in India music is ever associated with Saraswati." Extract from *Hindu* (19—9—1922) of lecture by M. S. Ramaswamia Aiyar.

church. The Aryans of India did not form an exception to the rule but chanted Vedas—Rik, Yajur and Sama, on all occasions of festivals."

978. The literature of the Vedas reveals a good knowledge of music and musical instruments. Besides Sāmaveda, of which the mode of expression is musical chant, we have in the rituals of the Yajus and Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras following Vedas mention of occasions in all sacrifices and many household ceremonies (such as Seemanṭonnayanam)[1] when Vīṇāgānam, and particular tunes too, are prescribed. Passages in Yajus indicate the existence of professional singers and it is stated in one place that women are enamoured of musicians:—

i. तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणे, iii–9.

अपवा एतस्मच्छ्रीराष्ट्रं क्रामति ।
योऽश्वमेधेन यजते ब्राह्मणौ वीणागाथिनौ गायतः ।
श्रिया वा एतद्रूपम् । यद्वीणा ।
श्रियमेवास्मिन् तद्धत्तः ।
यदा खलु वै पुरुषः श्रियमश्नुते ।
वीणास्मै वाद्यते ।
तदाहुः, यदुभौ ब्राह्मणौ गायेताम् ।
प्रभ्रग् शुकास्माच्छ्रीस्स्यात् ।
न वै ब्राह्मणे श्रीरमत इति । ब्राह्मणोन्यो गायेत् । राजन्योऽन्यः ।
ब्रह्म वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रग् राजन्यः ॥

ii. यजुस्संहितायां, vii–5.

उदकुंभानधिनिधाय दास्यो मार्जालीयं परिनृत्यन्ति पथो निघ्नतीरिदं मधु गायन्त्योमधु वै देवानां परममन्नाद्यं परममेवान्नाद्यमवरुंधे पथोनिघ्नन्ति महीयामेवैषु दधति ॥

iii. यजुस्संहितायां, vi–1.

अगायन्देवास्स देवाग् गायत उपावर्तत तस्माद्गायन्तग् स्त्रियः कामयन्ते कामुका एनग् स्त्रियो भवन्ति ॥

979. "The Vedic Index shows a very wide variety of musical instruments in use in Vedic times. Instruments of percussion are represented by the *dundubhi*, an ordinary drum; the *adambara*, another kind of drum; *Bhumi-dundubhi*, an earthdrum made by digging a hole in the ground and covering it with hide; *vanaspati*, a wooden drum; *aghati*, a

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1. Āpasṭamba prescribes in the ceremony of Simantam गायतमिति. वीणागाथिनौ सग्शास्ति—*Gṛhyasutra*, 14–4.

cymbal used to accompany dancing. Stringed instruments are represented by the *kanda-vina*, a kind of lute; *vana*, a lute of 100 strings; and the *vina*, the present instrument of that name in India. This one instrument alone is sufficient evidence of the development to which the art had attained even in those early days. There are also a number of wind instruments of the flute variety, such as the *tunava*, a wooden flute; the *nadi*, a reed fluute; *bakurt*, whose exact shape is unknown."[1]

980. "The SAMAN CHANT pivoted on two notes called *udatta*—'raised'—the higher one and the *anudatta*—'not raised'—the lower tone. In course of time the interval between these was established as a fourth. Then, later, the notes of this tetrachord received distinct names. The highest was *prathama*—'first'—then *dvitiya*, *tritiya*, *chaturtha*, down the scale. These names are found first in the *Rikpratisakhya*. Later, a note called *svarita* is also mentioned, this seems to be graded *udatta*, thus indicating a note higher than the *prathama*. Later still we find this note definitely established and called *krushta*—'high' (*Taittriya-pratisakhya*, 400). About the same time two other notes lower than *chaturtha* appear. These are called *mandra*—'low,' and *atisvara*—'extremity.' This last was an extra note and was usually sung only in the cadence of the Saman chant. So we find the whole series of the seven notes, or *svaras* as they were called, of the octave."[2]

981. Naradīyāśikṣā thus connects the seven svaras of Sāmagāna with the seven svaras of classical music:

यस्सामगानां प्रथमस्स वेंणोर्मध्यमस्स्मृतः ।
योऽसौ द्वितीयो गान्धारस्तृतीयस्त्वृषभस्स्मृतः ।
चतुर्थष्षड्ज इत्याहुः पन्चमो धैवतो भवेत् ।
षष्ठो निषादो विज्ञेयस्सप्तमः पन्चमस्स्मृतः ॥

1. Popley, *Indian Music*, 8.

2. "Sama was the really musical portion of the Vedas and was indeed a mere melody for which words were found in the Rik or Yajur. It was mainly vocal and its scale—like its Greek prototype—was conceived downwards as a descending series, namely, G. R. S N. Indeed this scale was a primal tetrachord* of Samagamanam to the notes whereof the following names were respectively appended in those days, viz., Prathama, Dwithiya, Thrithiya and Chathurthi. Later on, a higher note M was added to which name of Krushta was given and two lower notes D and P called Mandra and Athisvara completed the scale of Samagamanam. Rikprathisakya however makes mention of three voice Registers or Sthayees as we call them; the Ramayana of Jathis and the Mahabharata of Gandharagrama."

* Tetrachord means group of four notes.

Saman.	*Classical.*	
Swara 1	Madhyama	(म)
„ 2	Gāndhāra	(ग)
„ 3	Ṛṣabha	(रि)
„ 4	Sadja	(स)
„ 5	Dhaivata	(ध)
„ 6	Niṣāda	(नि)
„ 7	Pancama	(प)

Thus the first hymn of Sāmasambiṭā may be sung thus:

ओग्न इ । आयाहि इवो इतो या आयि । तोया आ इ ।
सासास । गागागरिमाममासामागाग । मामागाग ॥

Nāradīyaśikṣa thus describes the svaras:

षड्ज़ं मयूरो वदति गावो रम्भन्ति चर्षमम् ।
अजाविके तु गान्धारं क्रौञ्चो वदति मध्यमम ॥

पुष्पसाधारणे काले कोकिलो वक्ति पञ्चमम् ।
अश्वस्तु धैवतं वक्ति निषादं वक्ति कुञ्जरः ॥

Pāṇinīyaśikṣā thus describes the sources of svaras:

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।
ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ।
उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभदैवतौ ।
स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥

982. "The velocity of slowness of sound" observed Sir W. Jones, "must depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarification and condensation of the air, so that their motion must be quicker in summer than in spring or autumn and much quicker than in winter Hence the primary Ragas of the Hindus were arranged according to the number of Indian seasons. This restriction of the six Ragas to the six seasons, added on to the fact that the subject-matter of the songs sung therein were nothing else than that of the Vedas, kept the running water of music crystal and pure. It was however, when the Raginis and Puthras were introduced, that foreign elements, for the first time, mixed themselves into the original system and the strict discipline of the Indian music became not a little relaxed, just as the Italian music deteriorated immediately after the introduction of Madrigals into it. Thenceforward the Indian music carried with

it a fatal tendency which for a time threatened to vitiate or destroy the whole system, viz., the tendency of developing the 'secular,' as opposed to the 'religious' or 'spiritual' phase of music and of thus leading men and women astray to the baser side of human nature. The great Manu himself became afraid of it and wrote 'A student of Vedas must avoid ointments, collyrium, lust, anger, greed, dancing and (mark !) music.' The Bhākthi revival was expected to overhaul the whole system and bring it back to run in the proper groove. But, unfortunately, Buddhism and Jainism began to counteract the force of the Bhakthi revival. The former looked askance on music, while the latter gave it a positive set-back. The reason is that both Buddhism and Jainism developed an extremely perverted view on the philosophy of Desire. One of their chief tenets, it is well-known, was the extinction of desire. They worked up this tenet a little too much and argued in a vicious circle thus: 'the rose is good but the thorn is bad; since they persist in growing together, both of them must alike be destroyed" The idea of plucking the rose and chucking the thorn was not within their purview. Hence, together with thn thorn of its baser side, the very rose of music was attempted to be destroyed. Thank God that the Guardians of Humanity deported Buddhism to East Asia and interned Jainism in Mount Abu. With the disappearance of these two enemies of music, sangitham began to flourish again in India. To save it from slipping again into the hands of the dregs of society, high-minded sages like Bharatha took it up, enhanced its dignity and gave it a more and more scientific aspect."

983. The creator formulated the four Upaveḍas—Āyus, Ḍhanus, Gānḍharva and Arṭha—from the four Veḍas. These are the sciences of medicine, war, music and wealth. Gānḍhava the fourth, embraces a wide sphere, singing, acting, dancing etc.

Bharaṭa says:

जग्राह पाठ्यं ऋग्वेदात्सामभ्यो गीतमेव च ।
यजुर्वेदादभिनयं रसानाथर्वणादपि ॥

Gānḍharva treats of songs, dances and instruments. Early literature on the subject which appears to have been very extensive is lost and its vastness is seen from the description preserved in some Ṭanṭras.

984. Ṭanṭras are of Purāṇic antiquity and were composed when the sectarian forms of worship came into prominence. Music and dancing are to this day a particular feature in the daily worship of deities

and to this ritual must be referred the institution of Devadāsis, that is, unmarried damsels devoted to the service of God. During these worships the gods are invoked, particularly the guardians of the quarters, the Dikpālas, and during such invocation the times and tunes adopted are those dedicated to or liked by the particular God. Among the instruments used in these festivals are the pipes and drums and all available genius is displayed at the closing ceremonial of the day, when the deity retires to rest. It is in these Tantras that much of the old musical literature is preserved. Among them Yāmalāṣtakatantras is valuable for the purpose of literary history. It is as it were an elaborate index of contents of Sanskrit works on all branches of knowledge.

Of the 32 Yāmalatantras, some treat of music and the passages are worth quotation. Among the Śākteyatantras, Uddīsāmahodayam is valuable and in it we find a succinct description of 16 musical instruments. These tantrams mention the names of various early views of Umāmaheśvara, Bharata, Nandi, Vāsuki, Nārada, Vyāsa, Durgā, Yāṣtika, Dattila and this mention conclusively determines the age of those writers as of a very remote antiquity.

Yāmalāṣtakatantra says:

गान्धर्ववेदः षट्त्रिंशत्सहस्रग्रन्थसम्मितः ।
यत्र सप्तस्वरोत्पतिकथनं परिकीर्त्यते ।
वीणातन्त्रं कलातन्त्रं रागतन्त्र मनुत्तमम् ।
मिश्रतन्त्रं ताळतन्त्रं गीतिकातन्त्रमेव च ।
लासिकोल्लासिकातन्त्रं मेळतन्त्रं महत्तरम् ।
जातिग्रहलयस्थानं मार्गाङ्गप्रक्रिया क्रिया ।
कालज्ञानं वाद्यवल्लीत्रिभिन्नाध्याय एव च ।
तुरङ्गगतिसारङ्गसिंहलीलाविजृम्भणम् ।
अङ्गहारप्रविक्षेपाध्यायस्संक्षोभणाक्रियाः ।
एवमादीनि गान्धर्ववेदे सन्ति सहस्रशः ॥

Of the 32 Yāmalatantras, the 9th, Kalātantra, treats of Rasa, Bhāva, Nātya and Kāmaśāstra, and the 19th, Vīṇātantra, embraces the whole field of music:

एकोनविंशं वीणाख्यतन्त्रं लक्षप्रमाणकम् ।
नादब्रह्मानन्दसिद्धिर्येन सिद्ध्यति वै नृणाम् ।
निषादादिस्वरोत्पत्तिर्गीतोत्पत्तेर्हि लक्षणम् ।
रागाणां भेदकथनं रागकालानुकीर्तनम् ।

ध्वनिप्रभेदकथनं मिश्रामिश्रावबहेतुम् ।
ताळश्रुतिलयादीनामुद्भवश्चोपवर्णनम् ।
चतुर्विधानां वीणानां लक्षणं तान्त्रिलक्षणम् ।
किन्नरस्वरयन्त्रादिलक्षणं मेळलक्षणम् ।
षड्गीतादिप्रकथनमुत्पत्तिस्थानवर्णनम् ।
एवमादीनि कीर्त्यन्ते यस्मिन् तन्त्रे सहस्रशः ॥

Troṭālaṭantra, the 28th, deals with Ṭala :

त्रोताळनामकं तन्त्रमष्टाविंशं सलक्षकम् ।
यस्मिन् भरतसर्वस्वं साक्षाच्छिवमुखोद्गतम् ।
लक्षणं ताळभेदानामङ्गुळोन्मानलक्षणम् ।
मार्गक्रियाङ्गजातीनां कलाग्रहलयोद्भवः ।
...वादिसप्तताळानां तद्भेदानां च लक्षणम् ।
वैनायिकानामैशानां वाग्भवानां च लक्षणम् ।
अन्येषां ताळकोटीनां शिवागमभुवां तथा ।
विधात्रिभिन्नलीलानां यस्मिन् तन्त्रे प्रकीर्त्यते ॥

985. Uddisamahamantrodaya[1] appears to have been a work devoted to the rituals of worship of Śiva under the name of Uddīśa. As usual with such works there are chapters in it, dealing elaborately with musical instruments, 16 in number in 16 separate chapters. The verse is fine and is in various metres.[2]

Kāśyapaṭantra has similar chapters on the subject.

986. Indian and Western Music. Popley sums up the main differences thus:

1. "The dominant factor in Indian music is melody, while that of western music is harmony. In the one case notes are related to definite notes of a *rage*, and in the other case to varying chords. Indian melody is produced by the regulated succession of concordant notes, while western harmony arises from the agreeable concord of various related notes. As a result of this differentiation, Indian music has developed solely along the lines of melody, while the greatest development of western music has taken place in the region of harmony. Does

1. *TC*, III. 3987. The name Ṭālavidhāna there given does not seem to be correct.

2. The instruments are all named; Ṭalanilayam, Sallari, Patana, Maddala, Bherivigna, Himila, Thuthuka, Mithakkatha, Damaru, Murava, Angulisphota, Vīna, Ālamanī, Rāvaṇahastaka, Udyanta, Ghoṣavati, Brahmaka and each instrument has different kinds.

the fact that western music has developed a second dimension, so to speak, make it more advanced than Indian music? Can we call Indian Music has taken one line of development, that of melody, and in order to add to its charm and variety, has developed every phase of it, including time measure in ways that have never occured to the western mind. These are two lines of development, and perhaps one has travelled as far along its line, as the other upon its line.

2. Then again, Indian melody is cast in one definite mood throughout, and both time and tune are wrought into one homogeneous whole. Variations are not allowed to alter that mood, which persists with the *raga*. The balance of the music is obtained partly by time variations and partly by grace. In western music mood is used to articulate the balance of the whole piece. The particular times for singing the different *ragas*, the *raga* pictures and the emotions associated with them all fit into this idea to the Indian melody.

3. Then again and perhaps most important of all, in Indian music the salient notes are fixed by long association and tradition, and any alteration of such saliency is not as a rule possible in a melody. The relation of the individual notes to one another is settled by ancient tradition. In western music, on the other hand, the salient notes are made by the momentary impulse of the harmony or of the counterpoint, and it is the cluster of notes rather than the individual note which has special value.

4. Further in Indian composition the melody is dependent upon the relation to certain fixed notes which vary according to the *raga*. It sets no store by any progress through notes which suggest harmony, whereas western melodies tend to circle round the notes which are harmonically related to the tonic. As a result imitation at different levels, so common in western music, is very rarely found in Indian music, and the two tetrachords are seldom identical in the character of their constituents.

5. Indian music lays great stress on grace, gamaka—'curves of sound.' These are not mere accidental ornaments as in western music, but essential parts of the melodic structure.

6. The use of microtones in Indian music and the general absence of the tempered scale gives a very distinct flavour to it. To those whose ears have always been tuned to certain fixed intervals, this occurance of quite different intervals, some of them most strange to

western ears, alters the whole feeling of the music. Mrs. Mann says 'Western music is music without microtones, as Indian music is music without harmony.'

7. Another difference, that has a great deal to do with our appreciation or otherwise of music, is the matter of emphasis upon certain external qualities. Western music rightly has come to lay very great emphasis upon tone and timbre, whereas Indian music passes these by on the other side and gives all attention to execution and accuracy. The melody is not determined by canons of charm or pleasure, but by adherence to certain fixed standards; and the quality of tone in which the melody is sung or played does not have the importance it does in the west.

987. Rabindranath Tagore goes down to the fundamental causes of the difference between music of East and West:

"It seems to me that Indian music concerns itself more with human experience as interpreted by religion, than with experience in an everyday sense. For us, music has above all a transcendental significance. It disengages the spiritual from the happenings of life; it sings of the relationship of the human soul with the soul of things beyond. The world by day is like European music a flowing concourse of vast harmony, composed of concord and discord and many disconnected fragments. And the night world is our Indian music; one pure, deep and tender *raga*. They both stir us, yet the two are contradictory in spirit. But that cannot be helped. At the very root nature is divided into two, day and night, unity and variety, finite and infinite. We men of India live in the realm of night; we are overpowered by the sense of the One and Infinite. Our music draws the listener away beyond the limits of everyday human joys and sorrows, and takes us to that lonely region of renunciation which lies at the root of the universe, while European music leads us a variegated dance through the endless rise and fall of human grief and joy."

988. In the earliest literature on Gāndharva there were several schools of thought propounded by Nandikeśvara, Umāmaheśvara, Vāsuki, Sarasvatī, Nārada, Agastya and Vyāsa etc., Śāradātanaya mentions thus the names:

सदाशिवः शिवा ब्रह्मा भरतः काश्यपो मुनिः ।
मतङ्गो याष्टिको दुर्गा शक्तिः शार्दूलकोहलौ ॥

विशाखिलो दत्तिलश्च कम्बलोऽश्वतरस्तथा ।
वायुर्विश्वावसू रम्भार्जुनो नारदतुम्बुरू ॥

आंजनेयो मातृगुप्तो रावणो नन्दिकेश्वरः ।
स्वातिर्गुणो देवराजः क्षेत्रराजश्च राहलः ॥

उद्भ(रुद्र)टोऽनभिभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।
परमर्दी च सोमेशो जगदेकमहीपतिः ॥

व्याख्यातारो भारतीये लोलटोद्भटशङ्कुकाः ।
भट्टोऽभिनवगुप्तश्च श्रीमत्कीर्तिधरोऽपरः ॥

अन्ये च बहवः पूर्वे ये संगीतविशारदाः ।
अगाधं बोधमन्थेन तेषां मतपयोनिधिम् ।
निर्मथ्य श्रीशार्ङ्गदेवः सारोद्धारमिमं व्यधात् ॥

In Sangītamuktāvali Devendra sums up the names of earlier writers on music:

दुर्गाशक्तिदशास्यदत्तिलयुतः श्रीकाश्यपो याष्टिकं
प्रोक्तं कंबलकोहलावपि मुनिः श्रीमातृगुप्तार्जुनौ ।
देवः क्षत्रसमाह्वनावपि च तौ राजा तथा राहलः
प्रोक्तः सोऽपि विशाखिलश्च मुनयः सङ्गीतविद्येश्वराः ॥

भोजराजो रुद्रसेनः प्राज्ञः सोमेश्वरोऽपि च ।
सङ्गीतविद्याकर्तारः कीर्तिताः सन्ति चापरे ॥

व्याख्यातार इमे ...शङ्कुकोद्भटलोल्लटाः ।
भट्टाभिनवगुप्तश्च प्रोक्तः कीर्तिधरोऽपि च ॥

989. Nandīsvarasamhitā was available about 350 years ago, but we now have the bare mention of it by King Raghunātha of Tanjore in his Sangītasudhā.[1] Yāska's views are found summarised in 200 vereses. Nāradasamhitā is not available, but Nārada's views are found in Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa and Nāradopaniṣat. Rāgasāgara is in the form of a dialogue between Dattila and Nārada.[2]

1. समीक्ष्य नन्दीश्वरसंहितां तामालोक्य शास्त्रं भरतप्रणीतम्
ग्रन्थं बृहद्देश्यभिधं मतङ्गमुनिप्रणीतं निपुणं विलोक्य ।
विचार्य तां यष्टिकसंहितां च ज्ञात्वांजनानन्दनसंहितां च
उमापतेराधुनिकस्य तन्त्रमुद्वीक्ष्य नन्दीशमतानुसारि ॥

2 See para 963 *supra*.

990. Aumapatam is an ancient but incomplete treatise on music, time, dancing and musical instruments, treated under 38 chapters.[1] It purports to be a narration of Śiva to Pārvatī, and begins[2] with the origin of sounds (*nāḍa*) and the development of sounds into musical harmony. It differs in every respect from the works of Bharaṭa, Maṭanga and Kohala.[3] That it was a modern epitome of Nandīśvara Samhiṭā is mentioned by Raghunāṭha in his Sangīṭasuḍhā.[4] It was probably composed by Umāpaṭiśivārya of Cidambaram, the well-known writer on the Saivite worship, who must have flourished earlier than the 12th century A.D.[4]

991. Bharata's work is the most renowned. Having learnt the science from the Creator, Bharaṭa wrote two works, one the bigger in 12,000 verses and the other small in 6,000 verses. Thus says Śāradāṭanaya :[5]

नाट्यवेदाच्च भरतास्सारमुद्धृत्य सर्वतः ।
सङ्ग्रहं संप्रयोगार्हं मनुना प्रार्तितं व्यधुः ।
एकं द्वादशसाहस्रैश्श्लोकैरेकं तदर्धतः ॥

1. *TC*, III. 3515. The treatment of dancing is incomplete.

2. प्रणिपत्य महेशानी शम्भुमासीनमन्तिके ।
पप्रच्छ तत्त्वतो ब्रूहि नादांस्त्वद्रूपसंभवान् ॥

3. For instance he gives 126 minor divisions of svaras while Maṭanga mentions only 66 and Bharāṭa 22.

4. The whole of the 5th chapter is quoted by Caṭurakallināṭha (p. 228) in his commentary on Sangīṭaraṭnākara who lived in the days of king Devarāya II of Vijianagar (1423-1446 A.D.)

5. See S. Clement's Introduction to the *Study of Indian Music*, London. Here is an extract from a review of it in *JRAS*, (1914).

"An important chapter is that on the interpretation of the ancient textbooks, that is, the translation of relevant passages from the *Nāṭyāstra* of Bharata and the *Sangita-ratnākara* of Śārngadeva, with the author's comments. It embraces conclusions as to the ancient system of tuning, propounds the theory that the ancient system required twenty-five *srutis* (not twenty-two as the textbooks say), and offers a theory as to the origin of the Indian scales. In the commentary on v. 20 of Bharata's ch. xxviii an interesting experiment is described, showing the relation of the *srutis* by taking two *vīṇās* tuned in unison, and re-tuning one of them in successive stages. The experiment works out on the theory that the *srutis* are equal. As Mr. Clements says, they are not so, and the experiment is probably a merely theoretical one. But it has been the subject of great misinterpretation, and it would have been interesting to know the author's views on it. Unfortunately he breaks off his translation at this point. He has even been reproved by a critic for saying that Bharata thought the *srutis* were equal in size, and the critic adduced this passage to prove that Bharata taught the very opposite. The text, it is true, is slightly corrupt, but it is in such a case where an interpreter, or at least a sound translator, is most wanted."

षड्भिश्श्लोकसहस्रैर्यो नाट्यवेदस्य सम्भवः ।
भरतैर्नामतस्तेषां प्रख्यातो भरताह्वयः ॥

"Bharata attached more importance to rhythm than to time and devoted only 3 out of 27 chapters to music. He recognised the existence of 7 notes, of the four kinds thereof according to the number of sruthis between them and made mention of Grāmas, Mūrchanas and Jāthis. But it was significantly silent on those aspects, which had prior in its time degraded music, viz., the Raginis and the Puthras."

992. **Sanmukha,** also mentioned as Guha was an old writer on music, but the original work of Saṇmukha is lost. Sangrahacūdāmaṇi[1] is said to form part of Skandapurāṇa, composed by Saṇmukha. In three chapters, it deals with the origin of music, and musical tones. There are verses in it referring to Sadānanda and Śārngadeva,[2] clearly showing that it must have been written far later thun 14th century A.D. and could not have formed part of Skandapurāṇa. At best this must be a reproduction of the lost views of Saṇmukha.

Sangītacintāmaṇi is written in the Purāṇic style, as taught by Śiva to Pārvatī, Nārada and others and apparently deals with the principles of Sāman chant.[3]

993. **Arjunabharatam** is the name borne by several works. The name indicates that the author was Arjuna. A work of that name composed by Nāgārjuna[4] is now available only in fragments and treats of music only. Nāgārjuna[5] was a Buddhist priest and lived in the reign of king So-to-po-ha-na. So says I Tsing.

994. ARJUNADIMATASARAM is an epitome on music by Madabhūṣhi Venkaṭācārya, son of Anantācārya of Naidhruvakaśyapagotra. He lived at Samalkot in East Godavari Dist. about 1880 A.D. He also wrote an allegorical play, Śūddhasatvam, after which name he was known later.[6]

1. The manuscript is found in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Library (Madras). Cyavana is mentioned as a writer on music.

2. मनःकल्पितमार्गेण शास्त्रमुत्सृज्य दूरतः ।
गायन्ति शार्ङ्गदेवाद्याः ।

3. *Tanj*, XVI. 7265.
4. *Tanj*, XVI. 7229.
5. Virabhadra Row (*Andhrula Caritam* I. 152) gives date 134-200 A.D. Taranatha (*Annals of Tibet*) assigns him to 180-220 A. D. See his *History of Buddhism*.
6. Or. Ms. Library, Madras.

995. Vālmīki has a fierce metaphor on Vīṇa play with Rāvaṇa's prowess thus:

मम चापमयीं वीणां शरकोणैः प्रवादिताम् ।
ज्याशब्दतुमुलां घोरामार्तभीतमहास्वनाम् ॥

नाराचतलसन्नादां तां ममाहितवाहिनीम् ।
अवगाह्य महारङ्गं वादयिष्याम्यहं रणे ॥

In Śyāmilaka's Pādatāḍitaka, there is a fine reference to Vīṇa play:

इयमनुनयति, प्रियं क्रुद्धमेषा प्रियेणानुनीता प्रसीदत्यसौ ।
सप्ततन्त्रीर्नखैर्घट्टयन्ती कलं काकळीपञ्चमप्रायमुत्कण्ठिता वल्गु गीतापदेशेन विक्रोशति ॥

(Mad. Edn.) IV. 24. 43-44.

996. Rudra or Rudrācārya is the author of a musical treatise, engraved on a rock at Kudimiyāmalai in Pudukkota State. His identity with Rudrata, the rhetorical writer is not probable. Maṭanga mentions a Rudrata as a writer on music and Kallinātha says so:[1]

"यथा यावत् षड्जमेव तारगतिः मध्यमस्याप्यत्र संवादित्वात् अनाशित्वात् तारंगती रुद्रटेन कृता मध्यमस्येति मतंगोक्तम् ।"

So does Śārngadeva:

रुद्रटो नान्यभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।

Abhinavagupṭa probably criticises Rudrata as having misunderstood Bharaṭa:

रुद्रटादिभिस्तु एतमर्थमबुध्यमानैः उक्तानां श्लोकपाठविप्रलब्धैः सर्वत्रैव अष्टकलस्य उक्तः (?)

It is quite likely that this Rudra was a far earlier writer and lived at the beginning of the Christian era.[2]

"The tradition is that his full name was Rudrabhatta, and that on one occasion the King extorted from the poet the promise that he should remove the letter *bha* from his name and should be known as Rudrata, his famous namesake and predecessor."

1. *EI*, XII. 231; Pudukkota State Inscriptions, No. 9. It is not established that he was the priest of King Mahendravikrama, author of Maṭṭavilāsa.
2. Can he be the same as Medhāvi Rudra?

In an inscription dated Śāka 1151 (*JBRAS*, XXIX 260) the following Canarese verse refers to Rudrata :

Adarol nija namekshara vide sasira
Ponge kottadan Bidipanitu dinam
Padedam Rudratanembi padematam
Rudrabhattanurvijanadim.

This shows that among the letters of his name he pledged one *bha* for a thousand gold coins ; so the world called him by the awkward name of Ruḍraṭa.

997. **Madanapala** was the son of Canḍraḍeva and king of Kanouj (whose inscriptions are dated 1104–1109 A.D.)[1] of Gahadavala dynasty. He was a patron of letters and after his name go a lexicon and a work on Ḍharmaśāsṭra. His Ānanḍasanjīvana[2] is a work on music.

Vīrabhattaḍeśika lived in the court of Kākaṭīya king Ruḍraḍeva and wrote Nāṭyaśekhara in 1160 A.D.

998. **Jayadeva's** GITAGOVINDA has been noticed. It is akin to the Song of Songs of Solomon in the Old Testament and has been translated with inimitable grace by Sir Edwin Arnold.

"It was only a lyrical composition to celebrate the triumph of true love between Radha and Krishna. It is true that Jayadeva assigned a definite Raga and a definite Thala to each of his 24 songs or prabandhas. Jayadeva's Ragas were Malava, Gurjari, Vasantha, Ramakari, Malavagowda, Karnata, Desakya, Desivaradi, Gowdakari, Bhairavi and Vibhasa ; and his Thalas were : Yathi, Roopaka, Eka, Nissara and Ashta. But can any one of the modern singers, either in North or South India, sing at least one of the 24 prabandhas in the Raga and Thala assigned by him ? There was neither the notation to record the songs and transmit them to successive generations nor any scientific treatment in it whereby to teach or suggest the methods of singing them."

Besides commentaries already noted, there are others by Nārāyaṇa Panḍiṭa, Rūpāḍeva and one anonymous.[3]

1. *IA*, XVIII. 11 ; *EI*, V. App. 18.
2. *Bik.* 509. The manuscript is dated Sam. 1585.
3. *Tanj.* XVI. 7386-40. See para 296 *supra*.

999. Krsnadatta (Maiṭhila) interprets Gīṭagovinḍa as referring to Śiva instead of Viṣṇu and compares his feat with the work of Maḍhusūḍana who wrested Mabimnasṭuṭi to the service of Viṣṇu.

विशदितशिवपक्षां गीतगोविन्दटीकां रचयति शशिलेखां मैथिलः कृष्णदत्तः ।
इह न विविधटीकाव्यंजितः कृष्णपक्षो विवृत उभयपक्षैकाभिधेयं पदं वा ॥

शैवं नाद्रियते सुधीरपि मतं प्रायोऽधुना वैष्णवः
शैवो नैव च वैष्णवं निजनिजासद्वासनावासितः ।
मत्वेत्थं मधुसूदनोऽपि मुराजित्पक्षे माहिम्नस्तुतिं
व्याचख्यौ जयदेवसूक्तिमपि तां शैवे नयाम्यध्वनि ॥

1000. VISVANATHASIMHA, Chief of Rewah, of the Vaghela race (1833–1854 A.D.) wrote a poem Rāmācanḍrāhnika in praise of Rāma on the style of Gīṭagovinḍa with commentary on it and under his patronage Priyaḍāsa, a poet of his Court, wrote a similar work Sangīṭa-Raghunanḍana in 16 cantos. The latter work has also been by courtesy attributed to Viśvanāṭhasimha.[1]

1001. CANDRASEKHARA SARASVATI the 63rd Ācārya of Kāmakotipīṭha of Kancī (1729–1789 A,D.) wrote Śivagiṭimālikā in 12 cantos.[2] Cina Bommabhūpāla wrote Sangīṭa-Rāghava in 6 cantos on the story of Rāmāyaṇa.[3]

Besides works mentioned in para 298 supra there are the following works are in the style of Gītagovinḍa : Sāhajivilāsagīṭam by Dhundhirāja, Sāharājastapaḍī, Sangīṭasunḍara by Saḍāśiva Ḍīkṣita,[4]

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1. *HPR*, Cat. Nos. 5055, 5259. Viśvanāthasimha's ancestor was Bḥavasimha (1660-1690 A.D.) Bḥavasimha brought a copy of Somadeva's Koṭhasariṭsāgara from Kashmir, had it revised and transcribed by pandits of his Court. Among these pandits was one Rupaṇimiśra who added 99 verses describing the genealogy of Bḥavasimha and mentioning therein the names of the learned men of his Court, Balakṛṣṇa, Kiśora, Govarḍhana Vājapeyin, Lālamaṇi, Vallabha, Kamalanayana and Laksmaṇabhatta.

"The Vaghela Rajaputs trace their descent from Viradhavala's son Vyaghradeva who migrated to Northern India from Gujarat in about 1233–4 A.D. His son Kamadeva got the fort of Bandhogarh from his father-in-law and Bandhogarh became the capital of the Vaghela Rulers. After its destruction by Akbar in 1597 the town of Bewah was established at the capital (Rewah State Gazette, Vol. IV, Lucknow, 1907). Since then the State is known by the name of Rewah State."—See Dr. Har Datt Sarma's article on "*Some Vaghela Rulers and the Sanskrit poets patronised by them*"—published in Dr. Krishnaswam Aiyangar's Comm. Volume.

2. *Tanj.* XVI. 7348-5.
3. *Tanj.* XVI. 7283.
4. *Tanj.* XVI. 7339–49.

Gita-Gangadhara by Nanjarajasekhara,[1] Krsnagita by Manaveda.[2] [Krsnalilavilasa, Ramastapadi, Sankarasangita of Jayanarayana,[3] Sankarigiti of Sarngadeva, Sangita-Raghunandana of Visvanatha,[4] Gita-sankara of Anantanarayana, son of Mrtyunjaya.[5]

Narayanatirtha's Krsnalilatarangini has been noticed. Vijayagopala was almost his contemporary and composed many stray songs of devotion. Bhadradrivasas' name is found in his Kirtanas, but his real name is not known; his songs are simple and touching and are very popular. These are included and printed in Bhajanotsavakaumudi published in Kumbakonam..

1002. Nanyadeva (or Rajanarayana) was a king of Tirhaut (Mithila). He was subjugated by Vijayasena of Bengal in 1160 A.D. and probably (according to Levi) ruled in 1097-1147 A.D. He founded the Karnataka dynasty in the valley of Nepal. Besides a commentary on Bhavabhuti's Malatimadhavam, he wrote a Bhasya on Bharatanatyasastra, also called Bharatavartika, Sarasvati-hrdaya-bhusana or SARASVATI-HRDAYA-ALANKARA-HARA, in 17 chapters of about 10,000 granthas. The manuscript is in the library of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

"Every step in the advancement of music was closely traced to the rites of the Vedic Epoch, and every instrument was brought face to face with that used in the sacrificial rites by sacred *Rshis*. He gives full information on every subject except on flute, where he is eclipsed by a voracious royal scholar, Kumbhakarna. Some chapters treat of *sapta-gitis*, *desi-gitis* and the ancient *tala* system which are now obsolete. The first of these topics was elaborately dealt with by Bharata, while the *desi-gitis* the source of later *prabandhas* took a prominent place in the grand work of Matanga. Dattila and Abhinava seem to have bestowed greater attention upon the *sapta-gitis*, knowledge of which was indispensible to the right understanding of the Vedic rites in *Asvamedha* and *Rajasuya*. Those seven sacred chants were first sung by Dakshabrahma to propitiate gods. *Ekatantri*, *Pinaki* and *Kinnari vinas* were introduced to produce all the graces of the seven songs when sung by

1. He was Nanjaraja, brother of Dalavoy Devaraja and son of Kalave Viraraja See para 938 *supra* and summary of *Papers* read at 8th Indian Oriental Conference, Mysore (p. 30), that by A. N. Narasimha.

2. *Trav*, 84.

3. Printed *JSSP*, Calcutta.

4. *Adyar*, II. 45: *Oudh*, V. 18.

5. He was also called Pancaratnakavi, see para 153 *supra*.

the *rshis*. Nānyadeva gives details for about 140 *rāgas*. He is always careful to quote his authorities and thus on *rāgas* his chief masters are Kāśyapa and Matanga. Śārngadēva covered a wider range of 260 *rāgas*, many of which were abandoned long before his day. Nandin also discussed about the same number. But Śārngadēva was not much indebted to Nandin for his materials which were directly taken from Nānyadēva for *rāgas* and from Abhinava for all critical matter, though he never mentions his creditors anywhere. A close comparison of Śārnga's work with the production of Abhinava will reveal the astonishing insight with which he studied the psychology of the great philosopher Abhivava."[1]

1003. Sarngadeva (Svastighri) belonged to an affluent family of Kāṣmir. His grand-father Bhāskara migrated to the Deccan. By the worship of Bhillama his father Soddhala attained fame and established the sovereignty of King Singhana of the Yādava dynasty of Daulatabad (Deogiri) who ruled between 1132 and 1169 A.D.[2] Sārngadeva was the Auditor-General under that king. He was great not merely in music, but in medicine and philosophy. His literary attainments were of a high order and in him, he says, Sarasvati had sought repose.[3] He calls himself often as "Nissanka" and under that name he invented a Vīṇa.

His SANGITARATNAKARA is a well known treatise on music which embraces in it the views of all ancient writers, and has by its comprehensive treatment attained almost the first place in musical literature. It

1. He quotes two sages Āstika and Chatra not mentioned elsewhere. M R. Kavi, "*Literary Gleanings*" *AHQ*, III. See R. C. Majumdar, *IHQ*. VII. 679; K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, IX. 310, X. 87.

2. See Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*; Wilson, *Theatre*, gives the date between 9th and 12th centuries A.D.

3. So he writes :

नानास्थानेषु संभ्रान्ता परिश्रान्ता सरस्वती ।
सहवासप्रिया शश्वद्विश्राम्यति यदालये ॥
स विनोदैकरसिको भाग्यवैदग्ध्यभाजनम् ।
धनदानेन विप्राणामार्तीः संहृत्य शाश्वतीः ॥
जिज्ञासूनां च धियाभिर्गदार्तानां रसायनैः ।
अधुनाखिललोकानां तापत्रयजिहीर्षया ॥
शाश्वताय च धर्माय कीर्तिनिःश्रेयसाप्तये ।
आविष्करोति संगीतरत्नाकरमुदारधीः ॥

is not a mere epitome of the older works, but proceeds on an original definition and discussion. But the lapse of centuries since Śārngadeva's time has wrought a change in the modes and practices of singing, so that his description of Rāgas and Ṭālas differs from the actualities of this century. Śārngaḍeva recorded the art of his time and therefore gives us a glimpse of the progress of music in India.

1004. Sangīṭaraṭnākara is in seven parts and each part is divided into Prakaraṇas. The first, Swarāḍhyāya, treats of musical notes, scales etc. The second, Rāgāḍhyāya, contains definitions and examples of the different classes of melodies etc. The third called, Prakīrṇāḍhyāya explains some technical terms etc. The fourth, Prabanḍhāḍhyāya, furnishes rules of composition etc. The fifth, Ṭālāḍhyāya, treats of measures of time. The sixth, Vāḍyāḍhyāya, deals with musical instruments and their use. The seventh, Nṛṭyāḍhyāya, explains dancing and acting.

There are commentaries on it by Simhabhūpāla,[1] Keśava,[2] Kallināṭha,[3] Hamsabhūpāla, and Kumbhakarṇa and one anonymous.[4] Gangārāma has written an elaborate commentary in Hindi.[5]

1005. **Jagadekamalla** Praṭāpacakravarṭin was a Calukya king of Kalyān (1138-1150 A.D).[6] Śārngaḍeva mentions him with respect. He was a follower of Abhinavagupṭa. In five chapters, he composed SANGITACUDAMANI[7] on music and dancing.

1006. **Somesvara** or **Bhulokamalla**, who ruled in 1116-1127 A.D.[8] " devoted his entire attention to song and dance, so much so that models of South Indian music took the appellation of *Karnāṭa*, the land over which he ruled.[9] He even condescended to get down from

1. Ed. by Kalivara Vedantavagisa, Calcutta (Swarāḍhyāya only). He is not the same as the author of the Rasārnavasuḍhākara.
2. The commentary is called Kausṭubha (Oriental Mans. Library). This and the commentary of Kallināṭha are said not be satisfactory by Raghunāṭha.
3. *Tanj*, XVI. 7270. Ed. (Anandāsrama series) by M. R. Telang, Bombay.
4. Named Canḍrikā.
5. *Tanj*, XVI. 7279.
6. See para 89 note..
7. The manuscript is in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Library (Madras).
8. *Mys. Ins.* Nos. 34, 34, 42, 44 ; *JBRAS*, XI. 253, dated 1044 to 1149 A.D. See *IA*, VII. app. 42 ; XII. 212.
9. Henceforward South Indian music began to develop into distinct schools in the Karnāta and Āndhra countries and became often blended almost unconsciously by

his throne to teach a certain grace in posture in a dance called Kuṇḍalī to a Mahratta dancer and henceforward it was called *gonḍini*.

कल्याणकटके पूर्वं भूतमातृमहोत्सवे ।
सोमेशः कौतुकी कांचिद् भिल्लवेषमुपेयुषी ।
नृत्यन्तीमथ गायन्तीं स्वयं प्रेक्ष्य मनोहरम् ।
प्रीतो निर्मितवान् चित्रगोण्डिलीविधमिलायम् ।
ख्यतोभिल्ली महाराष्ट्रैर्गोण्डिलीत्याभिधीयते ।

Prabandhas of pleasing combinations were productions of his Court. In his Mānasollāsa[1] he has devoted 2500 verses to music and instruments and touched on new phases of music specially Prabandhas."

One Someśvara is mentioned by Śārngadeva and Śāradātanaya along with Bhoja. The identity of this Someśvara is uncertain.

Sangītaratnāvali[2] described in the catalogues as Somarājadeva's may not be the work of the king Someśvara. Probably he is "a Pratīhārī of the Cālukya king Ajayapāla of Gujarat (1174-1177 A.D.)"[3]

1007. **Natankusam**[4] contains an able discussion of rasa and abhinaya and their mutual relations. It deplores the misapplication of abhinaya in its days and illustrates the criticism by instancing a verse from Śaktibhadra's Āścaryacūdāmaṇi.[5] From a word Mahima in the first verse, it has been suggested that Mahimabhatta was probably its author and in any view it cannot be assigned to a date later than 14th century A.D. It refers to the drama Pratijnāyaugandharāyaṇa and to the heroine Kurangī (of the play Avimāraka) and the incident of Yaugandharāyana's fictitious self-immolation in fire (described in Vīṇāvāsavadattā).

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vernacular adoption. Thus says Venkatanātha in Hamsasandeśa (of the 13th century A.D.):

इक्षुच्छाये किसलयमयं तल्पमातस्थुषीणां
सल्लापैस्तैर्मुदितमनसां शालिसंरक्षिकाणाम् ।
कर्णाटान्ध्रव्यतिकरभिदाकर्बुरे गीतिभेदे
मुह्यन्तीनां मदनकलुषं मौग्ध्यमास्वादयेथाः ॥

1. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda.
2. See list of authors on music in Sangītamakaranda, *GOS*, Baroda, p. 56.
3. On this, see Int. to Bhāvaprakaśa, *GOS*, Baroda, pp. 72-5.
4. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.
5. Here the author refers to the tradition that Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi was the work of Śankara.

1008. Jayasenapati wrote Nṛttaratnāvali in eight chapters, and deals with *mārga* and *deśi* kinds of music. In the former he followed Bharata and in the latter, chiefly Someśvara, but all the latest improvements in dancing were also incorporated. It was composed in the year Ānanda, 1254 A.D.[1] Jāyasenapaṭi was the commander of elephant forces under Kākatīya Gaṇapaṭi, king of Warrangal (1200-1265 A.D.).[2]

1009, Ragasagaram[*] is a work in 3 chapters in Purāṇic style narrated in a dialogue between Nārada and Ḍaṭṭila on the different kinds of rāgas, their forms and attributes. Seeing that later theories are adopted in it, and Śārnagadeva is mentioned by name, it could not be earlier than 14th century A.D.[3]

1010. Parsvadeva was the son of Ādideva and Gaurī of the race of Śrikantha and desciple of Mahādevarāya. He was a Jain and his belief is that music is a way to salvation, while Ḍarśanas are not. He calls himself Sangitāsakara and Śruṭijnānacakravarṭin,[4] Abhinava-Bharaṭācārya etc. He refers to kings Bhoja, Someśvara and Paramardin and is quoted by Singabhūpāla and must therefore have lived in the 13th century. His SANGITASAMAYASARA is 9 adhikaraṇas, on nāda and dhwani, on sthāyis, on rāgas, on dhokki etc., on Vādya, on abhinaya, on ṭāla, on vādya, and on prastāra etc., and ends with ādhvayoga.[5] He mentions writers king Praṭāpa, Digambara and Śankara thus :[6]

i. पन्चतालेश्वरो यद्वा द्दयं गद्यमथापि वा ।
आलिक्रमोऽयमेवोक्तः प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा ॥

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1. *Tanj*. XVI. 7236.

2. For Jāyasenapaṭi's inscriptions, dated Saka 1135, 1159, 1157, see *EI*, III. 94; V. 143; VI. 39.

For Gaṇapaṭi's inscription, see *IA*, XXI. 200, and some unpublished ones from Vaddamānu in Nizam's dominions are with M. Ramakrishnakavi, Madras.

3. *DC*, XXII. 8742.

4. श्रीसदभयचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रचरणकमलमधुकरायितमस्तकं - महादेवार्यशिष्य - स्वरविमल-विद्यापुत्र सम्यक्त्वचूडामणि - भरतभाण्डीकभाषाप्रवीण - श्रुतिज्ञानचक्रवर्ति - सङ्गीताकरनामधेयं-पार्श्वदेवविरचिते सङ्गीतसमयसारे ॥

5. Ed. *GOS*, Baroda. But really the 1st chapter and 40 verses in 2nd chapter are left out and as it is printed it is only the 2nd chapter and not the 1st. *DC*, XXII. 8751; *Mys*. 309 (called Sangiṭasāra-sangraha): He mentions Tumburu, Maṭanga, Kāśyapa, Daṭṭila, Kohala and Hanuman as writers on music.

6. There is one Vikrama quoted in Sangiṭamakaranda. Are these identical ?

ii. केशवबन्धकरौ प्रोक्तौ तौ दिर्[illegible] स्वरसूरिणा ।
उत्तानावश्थितौ किंचित् पार्श्व[illegible] त्रिपताकरौ ॥

iii. सकलं निष्कलं चेति वाद्यमेतत् द्विधा भवेत् ।
कथितं शंकरेणेदं एकतन्त्रीसमाश्रयम् ॥

1011. Sri Vidyacakravartin, Vidyācakravartin II (Kālakalabha) was the son of Vaidyanātha and grandson of Vidyācakravartin I. He wrote Gadyakarṇāmṛta, which true to its name, is an illustration of melody in prose. For instance, there is this description of an evening walk of Śiva and Pārvatī in the celestial gardens on mount Kailāsa accompanied by Vijayā, the hand-maid of Pārvatī :

अत्रान्तरे वनलतान्तरितविग्रहा देवीपरिचारिकासु काचित्प्राभृतिका नाम कलमधुरामिमां गाथामगाथयत् ।

तमसि सखि यूथिके त्यज गौरीनिश्वासितसौरभस्पर्धाम् ।
किमकृत समुच्छ्वसन्ती सासूयं मालतीलतिका ॥

अथ श्रुत्वा निशीथसूचिनीमिमामार्यामुमापतिरुमया सह नमेरुतलादुदतिष्ठत् । उत्थाय च निजनिकेतनाभिमुखं वृषभकेतनः कान्तया सह परिणताहिमकराकिसलयितेन कैलाससानुवर्त्मना जगाम । गौरी गच्छन्ती. क्वचित्कुतूहलात् स्थलकमलदलशयनतलनिषण्णमितरेतराङ्गसंस्पर्शसुखनिमीलितलोचनमिव निद्रायमाणं हंसमिथुनमाशिञ्जितनूपुरेण पदेन पस्पृशत् । ततस्तच्चरणचालितमपि मुहुर्निशीथनिद्रान्तरमन्थरे कथमपि कृतकलगद्गदरवमुन्मील्य लोचने पुनरपि निमिमील हंसयुगळम् । अत्र क्वचित्सरस्तीरसीम्नि विरहविधुरामधीरताहितारवामालिजनेन ग्राहयित्वा चक्रवाकीं प्रियसमीपमानिनाय सा । पुनरानीता प्रियतममन्तिकगतमप्यजानती विधिवशादन्यतो यान्ती करुणतरमाचक्रन्द चक्रवाकी । कुत्रचित्कान्तमनुसरतीमन्तरा कौमुदीमदविघूर्णमानलोचनामपथप्रस्थितां निवार्य वर्त्मनि चकार चकोरीं चकोराक्षी । क्वचिद्बहिरवस्थितमधुकरानुशोचितां विरहकृतविविधविलापां स्वरुचिपङ्कजोदरबन्धनस्थां मधुकरीं विभिद्य मुकुळं विजया करेण विमोचयामास ।

इत्थं विविधविहारव्यापृतां विनोदयन् दयितां मदचपलचकोरलोचनपुटपाटलिमपल्लवितचन्द्रिकाप्रसरेण मन्दमारुतान्दोळितशेफालिकापरिमळलहरीपरिप्लवमानषट्पदेन पदेन चन्द्रकान्तदृषन्निष्यन्दश्वेतशिशिरशैलेयसुरभिशिलातलेन (?) निशीथयूथिकामोदवासितवनदेवताकुन्तलेन निरन्तरविसृमरकैतकपरागधूसरचकोरकामिनीचरणेन रजताचलमेखलापथेन सविलासमालयमाजगाम ॥

1012. Vasudeva was the son of Vidyācakravartin II. He had two sons Mahādeva and VIDYACAKRAVARTIN III. Mahādeva was a

1. See articles by M. R. Kavi and M. Doraisamayya in *Tirupati Sri Venkatesvara* (Journal now defunct) ; and paras 100 and 480 *supra.*

pious Brahmin who performed various sacrifices. Thus his brother describes him :—

श्रीवल्लभो यस्य सुतोऽतिरात्रयज्वा महादेवसमाह्वयोऽभूत् ।
वल्लालपृथ्वीपतिरभ्यगच्छत् यस्माच्चतस्रोऽपि नृपालविद्याः ॥
यस्तोत्रशस्त्रानुगतैरतन्त्रमावर्तमानैरतिरात्रयज्वा ।
इज्यातृषा सोमसवैः पशूनां सारं समस्तं तिसृणामचूषत् ॥
दौर्भाग्यमक्ष्णोर्मिषतां हराद्भिः प्रभाप्ररोहैः शरणे यदीये ।
त्रीण्युद्धृतान्यिच्छलतोऽनुसन्ध्यं त्रयीनिधानान्यभिसंज्वलन्ति ॥

In his commentaries on Kāvyaprakāsā and Alankārasarvasva, he immortalised kings of Hoysāla dynasty and the martial glory of his patron Ballāla III (1191-1342 A.D.) Thus he says :

वल्लालभूपस्य मनोभिरामैर्वाचां विलासैरतिवल्लभोऽभूत् ।
उन्मूलितस्थापितभूमिपालदेशेषु पद्यैरुपवर्ण्य गीताः ।
उट्टङ्किता येन महाशिलासु वल्लालभूपस्य भुजप्रतापाः ॥
उदाहृतिस्त्वेन नयैर्निबध्य काव्यप्रकाशादिषु लक्षणेषु ।
निवेशिता येन जगत्समक्षं ख्यातिं गता होसलराजगाथाः ॥
वेदान्तयोगागमसङ्ग्रहीत्रा प्रकीर्णकस्यापि तदर्पणेन ।
व्याख्याय येनोपचितानि लोकैः काव्यप्रकाशादिनिबन्धनानि ॥
काष्ठा प्राप्तिरियं परा खलु परीपाकस्य भाग्योन्नतेः
श्रीवल्लालनृपाल ! यद्वयमिमौ पादौ तवोपास्महे ।
यस्तिष्ठेत् प्रतिहारसीम्नि भवतो रुद्धप्रवेशश्चिरं
किं नासावपि चोळपाण्ड्यपृथिवीपालैः समं गण्यते ॥

(Kāvyaprakāśa-vyākhyā, page 144)

His life was spent in the royal courts. He grew old. He had sons who were as good and great as himself. In his old age in order to purify himself of any वाक् कालुष्य (sins of the tongue) he wrote the glorious deeds of Lord Kṛṣṇa in his marriage with Rukmini.

In his own words :—

यश्छत्रभद्रासनचामराद्यैः स्फीतैर्महाराजपदैर्भुनक्ति ।
सभासु राज्ञां च विपश्चितां च साहित्यराज्यं कविचक्रवर्ती ॥
सोऽहं प्रवृद्धामुपभुज्य लक्ष्मीं प्रसूय पुत्राननुरूपशीलान् ।
विचार्य चात्मानमबाह्यकामो विष्णुं भजे वाक्कलुषापनुत्यै ॥
पराशरव्यासशुकोपदिष्टं यथावदालम्ब्य कथाशरीरम् ।
व्यावर्ण्यते भीष्मसुताविवाहः फलान्तमारभ्य हरेः प्रसूतिम् ॥

ii. केशववन्धकरौ प्रोक्तौ तौ दि[ ]स्वरसूरिणा ।
उत्तानावाश्रितौ किंचित् पार्श्व[ ]ी त्रिपताकरौ ॥

iii. सकलं निष्कलं चेति वाद्यमेतत् द्विधा भवेत् ।
कथितं शंकरेणेदं एकतन्त्रीसमाश्रयम् ॥

1011. Sri Vidyacakravartin. Vidyācakravartin II (Kālakalabha) was the son of Vaidyanātha and grandson of Vidyācakravartin I. He wrote Gadyakarṇāmṛta, which true to its name, is an illustration of melody in prose. For instance, there is this description of an evening walk of Śiva and Pārvatī in the celestial gardens on mount Kailāsa accompanied by Vijayā, the hand-maid of Pārvatī :

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तमसि सखि यूथिके त्यज गौरीनिश्वसितसौरभस्पर्धाम् ।
किमकृत समुच्छ्वसन्ती सासूयं मालतीलतिका ॥

अथ श्रुत्वा निशीथसूचिर्नीमिमामार्यामुमापतिरुमया सह नमेरुतलादुददिष्ठत् । उत्थाय च निजनिकेतनाभिमुखं वृषभकेतनः कान्तया सह परिणतहिमकराकिसलयितेन कैलाससानुवर्त्मना जगाम । गौरी गच्छन्ती क्वचित्कुतूहलात् स्थलकमलदलशयनतलनिषण्णमितरेतराङ्गसंस्पर्शसुखनिमीलितलोचनमिव निद्रायमाणं हंसमिथुनमाशिञ्जितनूपुरेण पदेन पस्पृशत् । ततस्तच्चरणचालितमपि मुहुर्निशीथनिद्रान्तरमन्थरे कथमपि कृतकलगद्गदरवमुन्मील्य लोचने पुनरपि निमिमील हंसयुगळम् । अत्र क्वचित्सरस्तीरसीम्नि विरहविधुरामधीरताहितारवामाळिजनेन ग्राहयित्वा चक्रवाकीं प्रियसमीपमानिनाय सा । पुनरानीता प्रियतममन्तिकगतमप्यजानती विधिवशादन्यतो यान्ती करुणतरमाचक्रन्द चक्रवाकी । कुत्रचित्कान्तमनुसरतीमन्तरा कौमुदीमदविघूर्णमानलोचनामपथप्रस्थितां निवार्य वर्त्मनि चकार चकोरीं चकोराक्षी । क्वचिद्बहिरवस्थितमधुकरानुशोचितां विरहकृतविविधविलापां स्वरुचिपङ्कजोदरबन्धनस्थां मधुकरीं विभिद्य मुकुलं विजया करेण विमोचयामास ।

इत्थं विविधविहारव्यापृतां विनोदयन् दयितां मदचपलचकोरलोचनपुटपाटलिमपल्लवितचन्द्रिकाप्रसरेण मन्दमारुतान्दोलितशेफालिकापरिमळलहरीपरिप्लवमानषट्पदेन पदेन चन्द्रकान्तदृषन्निष्यन्दश्वेतशिशिरशैलेयसुरभिशिलातलेन (?) निशीथयूथिकामोदवासितवनदेवताकुन्तलेन निरन्तरविसृमरकैतकपरागधूसरचकोरकामिनीचरणेन रजताचलमेखलापथेन सविलासमालयमाजगाम ॥

1012. Vasudeva was the son of Vidyācakravartin II. He had two sons Mahādeva and VIDYACAKRAVARTIN III. Mahādeva was a

1. See articles by M. R. Kavi and M. Doraisamayya in *Tirupati Sri Venkatesvara* (Journal now defunct) ; and paras 100 and 480 *supra*.

pious Brahmin who performed various sacrifices. Thus his brother describes him :—

श्रीवल्लभो यस्य सुतोऽतिरात्रयज्वा महादेवसमाह्वयोऽभूत् ।
वल्लालपृथ्वीपतिरभ्यगच्छत् यस्माच्चतस्रोऽपि नृपालविद्याः ॥
यस्तोत्रशस्त्रानुगतैरतन्त्रमावर्तमानैरतिरात्रयज्वा ।
इज्यातृषा सोमसवैः पशूनां सारं समस्तं तिसृणामचूषत् ॥
दौर्भाग्यमक्ष्णोर्मिषतां हराद्भिः प्रभाप्ररोहैः शरणे यदीये ।
त्रीण्युद्धृताग्निच्छलतोऽनुसन्ध्यं त्रयीनिधानान्यभिसंज्वलन्ति ॥

In his commentaries on Kāvyaprakāsā and Alankārasarvasva, he immortalised kings of Hoysāla dynasty and the martial glory of his patron Ballāla III (1191-1342 A.D.) Thus he says :

वल्लालभूपस्य मनोभिरामैर्वाचां विलासैरतिवल्लभोऽभूत् ।
उन्मूलितस्थापितभूमिपालदेशेषु पद्यैरुपवर्ण्य गीताः ।
उट्टङ्किता येन महाशिलासु वल्लालभूपस्य भुजप्रतापाः ॥
उदाहृतिर्वेन नयैर्निबध्य काव्यप्रकाशादिषु लक्षणेषु ।
निवेशिता येन जगत्समक्षं ख्यातिं गता होसलराजगाथाः ॥
वेदान्तयोगागमसङ्ग्रहीत्रा प्रकीर्णकस्यापि तदर्पणेन ।
व्याख्याय येनोपचितानि लोकैः काव्यप्रकाशादिनिबन्धनानि ॥

काष्ठा प्राप्तिरियं परा खलु परीपाकस्य भाग्योन्नतेः
श्रीवल्लालनृपाल ! यद्वयमिमौ पादौ तवोपास्महे ।
यस्तिष्ठेत् प्रतिहारसीम्नि भवतो रुद्धप्रवेशश्चिरं
किं नासावपि चोळपाण्ड्यपृथिवीपालैः समं गण्यते ॥

(Kāvyaprakāśa-vyākhyā, page 144)

His life was spent in the royal courts. He grew old. He had sons who were as good and great as himself. In his old age in order to purify himself of any वाक् कालुष्य (sins of the tongue) he wrote the glorious deeds of Lord Kṛṣṇa in his marriage with Rukmini.

In his own words :—

यश्छत्रभद्रासनचामराद्यैः स्फीतैर्महाराजपदैर्भुनक्ति ।
सभासु राज्ञां च विपश्चितां च साहित्यराज्यं कविचक्रवर्ती ॥
सोऽहं प्रवृद्धामुपभुज्य लक्ष्मीं प्रसूय पुत्राननुरूपशीलान् ।
विचार्य चात्मानमवाप्तकामो विष्णुं भजे वाक्कलुषापनुत्त्यै ॥
पराशरव्यासशुकोपदिष्टं यथावदालम्ब्य कथाशरीरम् ।
व्यावर्ण्यते भीष्मसुताविवाहः फलान्तमारभ्य हरेः प्रसूतिम् ॥

He has not altered the purāṇic story but by various descriptions he has heightened the poetic effect:

> दिव्ये कथावस्तुनि नात्र किंचिदुत्पादितं नापि विमिश्रितं वा ।
> नित्योपमेया रससारभूम्ना कृतौ वरं वर्णनसृष्टिरस्याम् ॥

Viḍyācakravarṭin II wrote commentaries on Virūpākshṣapancāsika, Kāvyaprakāśa, Alankārasarvasva and Ḍaśaslokī. In Rūkmiṇī-kalyāṇa the descriptions and trophes are fine and natural. The fifth canto excels in giving a beautiful and vivid picture of Kṛṣṇa's rāsakridā.

> मल्लीस्रजो मुकुलपाकपरार्ध्यगन्धा गोपस्य गोपसुदृशां च विलेपनार्द्राः ।
> इन्दोः करानुपगताः कबरीभरेषु पत्रावळीविदलनैर्गणयांबभूवुः ॥
> आन्दोलितस्फुरितकम्पितलीनमुख्यान्याकर्ण्य गीतगमकानि मुकुन्दवेणौ ।
> चित्तं चमत्कृतिवशेन नभश्चराणामान्दोलितस्फुरितकम्पितलीनमासीत् ॥
> श्लिष्टोभयद्रुतविनिस्सरणोत्तराणि व्यग्रापचङ्क्रमणवन्त्यविकीर्णरेणु ।
> अर्धक्रमस्खलदनुल्बणलङ्घितानि रेजुः पदानि सुदृशां चलनूपुराणि ॥
> यो नायकोऽजनि स एव रसातिपाकाद्गोपीजनैः सह भवन्नुपनायकोऽपि ।
> एकाश्रयां युगपदेव विरुद्धरूपां मुख्योपसर्जनदशां पतिरासमाद ॥
> स्वे स्वे सहाभिनयसीम्नि निरभ्यसूयः प्रेमद्रुतान्तरतया परनिर्व्यपेक्षः ।
> रूपेषु पार्श्वयुगसन्निहितेषु विष्णोर्गोपीजनस्य ववृधे मदनोपचारः ॥[1]

Viḍyācakravarṭin quotes from his BHARATASANGRAHA in his commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa. Thus he refers to dance-eye or Nṛtyadṛṣṭi:[2]

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1. *Poet's Family.*

Viḍyācakravarṭin
|
Vaiḍyanāṭha
|
not known
Probably Kālakalabha
alias Viḍyacakravārṭin I
|
Vāsuḍeva
m. Pattamma daughter of
Caṭurveḍi Guru
|
Mahāḍeva — Śri Viḍyācakravarṭin II

Kings' Family.

Bhallāla II
(1173–1219 A.D.)
|
Nṛsimha II
(1220–1235 ?)
|
Someśvara
M. Bijjalāmbā
(1240–57 ?) A.D.
|
Narasimha III
(1261–1290 A.D.)
md. Pattamma *dr.* of Pāndya King
|
Bhallāla III
(1291–1342)

1. See para 100 *supra*; also article on Mallikārjunasuktisudhārṇavam (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1931, p. 81).

बुद्धिकारिताः चक्षुर्विकाराः इङ्गितं । उक्तं हि मया भरतसंग्रहे—

तारकापुटदृष्ट्यादेः विकारानिङ्गितं विदुः ।
आकाराः सात्त्विकाः भावाः पूर्वे बुद्ध्या परेऽन्यथा ॥

उक्तं हि मया भरतसंग्रहे—
सा न्यञ्चितं न्यञ्चदपाङ्गभावि इति ।

1013. **Haripala** of Haripālaḍeva or Hari was the son of Kumiri (?) and grandson of Somanāṭha. He was probably king Haripāla of the Yāḍava dynasty of Ḍevagiri (1312–1318) who was killed by Mubarak in 1318 A.D. and not king Haripāla of the Calukya dynasty of Anhilvid (1145–1155 A.D.) He calls himself Vicāracaṭurmukha and Vīṇāṭanṭraviśārada and says he wrote 100 works of enchanting sentiments. He describes his own learning thus:

षड्भाषारचितास्पदा रसगुणालङ्कारिणी निस्तुषा
वक्त्री यस्य परं विहाररसिका जाता गिरां देवता ॥

When on a visit to the shrine of Śrīrangam, he stayed there for some time and at the request of the dancers and musicians there he composed his Sangīṭasuḍhākara[1]. In 6 chapters, it deals with nāṭya, tal, vāḍya, rasa, and prabanḍha, with an appendix on Gāyakalakṣaṇa.[2,3]

In Sangīṭasuḍhākara he is mentioned as an author on music along with Śārngaḍeva among Āḍhunikas (moderns)[4]. In an anonymous work Abhinayaśāsṭram[5], there is a reference to him:

आदावन्ते दोदिगाथा मध्ये पाठाक्षरैर्युताम् ।
मोहनारेदिसंज्ञोऽसौ कथितो हरिभूभुजा ॥

1014. **Hammira**[6] was probably the King of Mewar and the

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1. *TC*, I. 1025, IV. 4570; *Tanj*, XVI. 7293.
2. R. Sewell, *Arch. Sur. of India*, II. 254.
3. M. Duff (*Chronology*, 215) and Bhandarkar (*Hist. of Deccan*, III. 157) call him Harapāla. He was 6th in succession from Aparājiṭa (990–1010 A.D.). The geneology is this: Aparājiṭa—his sons Vijjada (1010-1015) and Arikesari (1015-1025)—Arikesari's sons, Cittarāja (1025-1045), Nāgarāja (1045-1055), Mummidirāja (1055-1085)—Nāgarāja's son Ananṭaḍeva Konkana Cakravartin (1085-1125)—his son Aparāḍitya I (1125-1145)—his son Harapāla (1145-1155)—his son Mallikarjuna (1155-1175)—his son Aparāḍiṭya II (1175-1200).
4. *Adyar*, I. 330; *TC*, IV. 4658; *Trav.* 73; *Tanj*. XVI. 7293.
5. *DC*, XXII. 8720–1.
6. On several Hammiras, see para 118. A Chowhan King Hammira, hero of Nayacanḍra's poem, is menṭioned by his son Allarāja or Mallarāja in his rhetorical work Rasaraṭnaḍīpikā.

fifth ancestor of King Kumbhakarṇa who commented on Sangītaratnākara etc. Hammīra died in 1394 A.D..[1] In his Sangītaśṛngārahāra,[2] he mentions an earlier writer Jaitrasimha (King).

1015. Lakshmana Bhaskara wrote a work called Maṭangabharaṭa based on Maṭanga, dealing mostly with dancing in about a thousand verses. He was earlier that the Naik King of Tanjore and may have lived about 14th century A.D.[3]

1016. Sudhakalasa was a Jain and pupil of Rājaśekharasūri. In six chapters on music and dancing, he wrote Sangītopaniṣaḍ with commentary calling the whole Sangīṭopaniṣaḍ[4] in Sam. 1380 (1323 A.D.) and in Sam. 1406 (1349 A.D.).

1017. Trilocanaditya's Nātyalocana[5] is widely cited by commentators such as Ḍivākara and Cāriṭravarḍhana, Ḍivākara lived about 1385 A.D. and this work must have been composed in 14th century A.D. He also wrote Locanavyākhyānjana.[6]

1018. ASTAVADHANI SOMANARYA wrote Svararāgasuḍhārasam or Nāṭyacūdāmaṇi, a learned treatise in 7 chapters on music and dancing.[7] Among original writers he quotes is Rāvaṇa. He was a follower of Nāraḍa's school and differs frequently from Bharaṭa. Somanārya was probably the great Telugu poet Nācana Somana the author of Uṭṭara-Harivamśa, who was the donee under a grant dated 1344 A.D. of king Bukka I of Vijayanagar.[8]

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1. See Rajputana Gazetteer, II. A, Mewar Residency. The gencologee give them thus: Hammira-Khetsingh—sons, Lakka (1382-97) and Mokal (1397-1433)—latter's son Kumbha (1433-1468).

2. S. R. Bhandarkar's *Rep. of Raj.* and *C. I. Mss*, 54, 92-3.

3. *Tanj.* XVI. 7231.

4. *Bik.* 528.

5. *CC*, I. 284; III. 81.

6. *Opp.* 2695.

7. *DC*, XXII. 8723, 8729, *TC*, I. R. No. 366 in the controversy over Ṭyāgarāja's mention of svararāgasudhārasa, if it refers to three works. Svārarnava, Rāgārnava and Sudhārnava. See Hindu, Dec. 1932, 20th, 26th etc. Literary supplements; and V. Raghavan's paper read at Music Conference, Madras, 1932.

8. *EC*, X. 135, There seems to be some difficulty about the grant. In 1344 A.D. Bukka is mentioned here as sitting on the throne of Vidyanagar whereas a grant dated 1346 A.D. was made Harihara I (*EC*, VI. 190). Sewell (*For. Empire*) says Harihara died in 1348 A.D. but he himself (in *SIA*, II: 343) as well as Rice (*Mysore Gaz.* I. 346) say that Harihara ruled till 1350 A.D. For a discussion on this, see B. Suryanarayanarow, *NFE*, 144 *et. seq.* It seems a fair suggestion that soon after Harihara consolidated his empire in 1343 A.D. he retired from the throne and Bukka took up the reigns of Government.

1019. Viḍyāraṇya's Saṅgīṭasāra[1] is quoted by name by Cikkaḍevarāya of Mysore in his Bharaṭasārasangraha and by Nārāyaṇaḍeva in his Sangīṭanārāyaṇa. Among the quotations by the former a reference to the number of *ṭānas* reads as follows :—

इत्येकाशीतिसंयुक्तं सहस्राणां चतुष्टयम् ।
तानानां पुनरुक्तानां पूर्णापूर्णैः सह क्रमैः ॥
लक्षत्रयं सप्तदशसहस्राणि शतानि च ।
नवत्रिंशद्युतानीति ज्ञानोपायोऽत्र कथ्यते ॥

and bears agreement with the enumeration given by Abhiṇavaguptạ.

King Raghunāṭha of Tanjore while summarising his authorities for the composition of his Sangīṭasuḍhā respectfully says :—

संगीतसारं समवेक्ष्य विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ।

aan again when analysing the *rāgas* has the following :

निरूपिता लक्षणतो विविच्य रागाश्चतुष्षष्ट्यधिके शते द्वे ।
कर्णाटसिंहासनभाग्यविद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणाग्रणीभ्यः ॥

and closely follows the sage's method.

Gauranārya Lakṣaṇaḍīpikā is a general treatise on poetics, music and dancing.[2] He was the son of Ayamaprabhu, who was the brother of Poṭanā. Poṭana was the minister of Śingaya Māḍhava, king of Rācakonda of Recerla dynasty, who ruled about 1427 A.D.[3]

1020. Gopendra Tippa Bhupala was a scion of the Sālva Dynasty of Vizianagar of the 15th century A.D. He wrote a commentary on Vāmana's Kāvyālankārasūṭra and Ṭālaḍīpikā in three chapters on Mārga and Ḍeśi ṭālas.[4]

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1. See para 125 *supra*.
"There is a manuscript in the Maharaja's Library at Bikanir called Sangīṭasāra which consists of about 160 slokas without its author's name. The work maintains the theory of Nandikeśvara, who, we know from Aumāpaṭa, enumerates 264 rāgas, Whether the work is a summary or a fragment of Viḍyāraṇya's production has yet to be decided. But some of the points dealt with in it appear to be developments in music attained in the 16th or the 17th century and lacks in the grandeur that we usually find in Viḍyāraṇya's works."

2. Part relating to poetics is found in *DC*, XXII. 8692–5. Part relating to music is found in *Mys*. 899 and part relating to dancing is with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

3. *Velugotivāri Vamśacaritam*, 69–71.

4. *TC*, I. 1015; *Tanj*. XVI. 7807. See para 819 *supra*. S. K. De, *SP*, II. 84.

1021. Kumbhakarna (or Kumbha or Kumbha Rānā) was the son of Mokala and belonged to the Vijayagotra and to the race of Guhilas (Brahmin kings) of Medapata (Mewar).[1] Apūrvadevi was his wife. Rājamalla was his son. He ruled at Citrakūta in 1433-1468 A.D. Mira Bai the great saint was his wife. He was a devotee of Bhavāni and Ekalinga and he was favoured with their grace. He recites his conquests over the kings of Malwa, Yavanas and Guzarat and the destruction of Sāranganagara. This brought him a number of titles.[2] His poetry is charming and his proficiency in arts is versatile.[3] His commentary, Rasikapriyā, on Gītagovinda displays his æsthetic taste and there he quotes from his Sangītarāja.

1022. SANGITARAJA, known also as Sangītamīmāmsa, embraces 16000 verses and consists of five Ratnakośas (chapters). The first deals with dramaturgy and dramatic expression; the second with vocal music; the third with musical instruments; the fourth with dressing, dancing and gesticulation, the fifth with heroes, heroines and sentiments.

One of the quotations in his commentary on Gītagovinda shows there was a chapter there on metres :

शिखरिणी छन्दः । तल्लक्षणं संगीतराजे—
'रसै रुद्रैश्छिन्ना यमनसभलागः शिखरिणी' ।

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1. This is the geneology of the family as given in his work and in *EI*, VIII. app. 13; *Raj. Gaz.* II-A, Mewar Residency :–

Bappa (d. in 1364 A.D.
|
Hammira
|
Ksetrasimha (Khetsingh).
|
Laksasimha (1382–97 A.D)
|
Mokala (defeated Sultan Firoz Shah A.D. 1428)
|
Kumbhakarna (1438, 1439, 1458 A.D.)
|
Rājamalla (1489, 1498, 1501, 1504 A.D.)
|
Sangrāmasimha
|
Ratnasimha (1530 A.D.)

2. So he says in his commentary on Gītagovinda.

पदवाक्यप्रमाणाख्यत्रिसरित्सङ्गमाश्रिया ।
कुम्भकर्णगिरां,यागः न स्यादिष्टार्थदः कथम् ॥

3. Such as अभिनवभरताचार्य, and मूर्तिमन्नाद

From the last verses in the Cantos in his Rasikapriyā it is seen that Kumbhakarṇa wrote works called Sangītakramadīpikā, Ekalingāśraya and Kumbhasvāmimandāra and there is his commentary on Sangīta-ratnākara.[12]

"About 1440 Kumbhakarṇa king of Mēwad completed his *sangīta-mīmānsa* alias *Sangitarāja* in five sections of *pāthya, gita, vadya, nrtya* and *rasa.* The whole work is not available to us. Each of the five sections is further classified into four chapters of minor divisions. The work extends over 16,000 *ślokas.* His treatment is thorough in *gita* and *vādya.* He sifts all the material then available to him and possessing high sastric proficiency, discusses theories very intelligently, For example we cite the theory of *rasa* and use of the word *sattva,* etc. He did not quote from Kōhala or Kāśyāpa though he says he studied them. He mentions Dattila rarely. He had with him Rāhula's and Kīrtidhara's *Vārtikas* on Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra.* He examined the treatises of Kshētra-rāja. Modern research cannot be complete without a thorough study of this grand work. The author was a profound scholar in *Mimamsa* and vedic rites and thus scarely misunderstands the arguments of Matanga, Dattila and Abhinavagupta whom he closely follows. His section on musical prosody was borrowed from the later writers of North India. In the construction of *vinas* and *vamsas* he gives all possible details. He touches upon chiefly *Nakula, Pinaki, Svaramandala Mattakokila, Kinnari,* of medium and higher sorts. Sōmēśvara treats of only *Ekatantri, Alavani,* and *Kinnari* of two kinds. Nānyadēva elaborates *Rudravina,* and *Kinnari.* He accidentally mentions that Nārada used *Vina* of 21 strings and Matanga practised upon *Chaitrika* ann Svāti on a lute of 9 strings."

1023. Jagaddhara was son of Raṭnadhara and lived somewhere about the 15th century A.D,. He commented on Sarasvatīkanthā-bharaṇa and on Malaṭī-Māḍhava and other plays and wrote Sīvasṭoṭra and SANGITASARVASVA.[8]

1024. Catura Kallinatha was the son of Lakṣmīḍhara and Nārāyaṇī of Śāndilyagoṭra. His grand-father was Ṭuttāleśvaraḍeva.

1. List of Bhandaukar's *ORI.*
2. See V. Raghavan, Miscellaniess in *Annals,* XVI, parts iii and iv.
8. This is quoted profusely by Rucipaṭi and Rāghavabhatta.

He was in the Court of Immadi Ḍevarāya, alias Mallikārjuna, son of Praudha Ḍevarāja, or Ḍevarāya II of Vijayanagar. (1446-1485 A.D.)[1]

1025. **Devanacarya** was *probably* the same as Ḍevaṇabhatta who wrote Smṛticandrikā in the Court of King Praudha Ḍevarāja of Vijayanagar (1406-1422 A.D.). His SANGITAMUKTAVALI deals mainly with dancing and has a chapter on music. Besides older authors, he mentions Rudrasena and Someśvara.[2]

1026. **Devendra** alias Ḍevaṇācārya wrote another work Sangītamuktāvali.[3] He was pupil of one Rudra who was said to have been honoured by the scholars of different countries. He calls himself Ṭauryaṭrikacinṭāmaṇi. He mentions Rudrata as an author on Sangīṭa and Nṛṭya. He probably lived in 15th or 16th century A.D.

1027. **Rama Amatya** was son of Ṭimmāmāṭya of the family of Todarmal. His Svaramelakalānidhi contains in five chapters a detailed description of the rāgas of the Carnāta system, and their distribution into 72 melakarṭas. He flourished in the Court of Aliya Rāmarāja of Vijayanagar, who was killed in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D.[4] He was the daughter's son of Catura Kallināṭha.[5]

Kṣemakarṇa's Rāgamālā was composed in 1570 A.D. at the instance of Jaṭava Bhūpaṭi[6]; and another Rāgamālā was the work of Jīvarāja.[7]

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1. See para 124 *supra.* For Immadi Devaraja's inscription, see *SII*, 110 (dated Śāka 1371-1449 A.D); *IA*, xxiii. 132; I.A, xxv. 346, note 6; *EC*, III. 18. Kallinaṭha gives long extracts from Kohala's Saugīṭameru.

"Kallināṭha's commentary though extensive is defective in several places. Śārangadeva closely follows Abhinava and adopts all his criticisms by a rearrangement of the matter. Kallinātha without reading that original attempts to explain those passages and consequently he is meagre if not very wrong. That is why Raghunātha has trenchantly put thus:—

श्रीशार्ङ्गदेवेन कृतां च सताध्यायीं तथा लक्ष्मविरोधिलक्ष्याम् ।
अवोधकात्यल्पतरप्रयोगामुद्दिष्टरागाननुदितस्वरूपाम् ।
एनां स्फुटीकर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तौ तौ ब्राह्मणौ केशवकल्लिनाथौ ।
येकाद्वयेनापि कृतेन ताभ्यामवोधितास्पष्टपदार्थभेदाम् ॥

2. *Bik.* 521.
3. *Tanj*, XVI. 7272.
4. *Tanj*, XVI. 7234. Ed. Pudukottai, Bombay. Ed. by Bhatkande. Ed. by M. S. Ramasami Iyer for Annamalai University, Chidambaram. See Popley, *Music of India*, 18.
5. See *SVH*, 192.
6. *IO*, II. 319; *Bik.* 516.
7. *Mitra*, VII. 261; *CC*. I. 499. There is a Dakṣiṇirāgamālā (*BRI*, Ms. No. 884, 1895-8) describing 6 ragas only.

1028. Pundarika Vitthala belonged to the village Satanurva in Khandesh and was a karnaṭa brahmin of Jāmaḍagyagoṭra. At the instance of King Burhankhan of Pharata dynasty[1] he began to reduce the music of Northern India into order and wrote Vitthalīya,[2] Rāgamālā, Naṛṭananirṇaya, Rāgamanjarī and Sadragacanḍroḍaya.[3] After Khandesh was annexed by Akbar about 1599 A.D., he went to his Court at Delhi and there wrote Rāganārāyaṇa at the instance of chief Māḍhavasimha. His expositions evidence a comprehensive scholarship of northern and southern systems of music. He was probably the same as Vitthala who wrote Sangītavṛṭṭaraṭnākara.[4]

1029. Subhankara's Sangīṭaḍāmoḍara in seven chapters treats of music and dancing in their various aspects in relation to heroines and sentiments and being quoted in Sangīṭa Nārāyaṇa must be earlier than 17th century A.D.[5] It is dedicated to King Ḍāmoḍara and so followed the name.[6] Śubhankara wrote a commentary on Nāraḍīyaśikṣā.

1030. Laksminarayana (Bhandāru) was the son of Bhandaru Vitthaleśvara and Rukmiṇī of Bhāraḍvājagoṭra. He was the musician (Vaggeyakāra)[7] of State under Emperor Kṛṣṇaḍevarāya of Vijianagar (1509-1529 A.D.). He had the titles Abhinavabharaṭācārya, Ṭodaramalla, Sūkṣmabharaṭācārya etc. The emperor presented him with golden palanquin, elephants, pearl-fans etc. He was pupil of Viṣṇubhattāraka. He wrote his SANGITASURYODAYA[8] in 5 Aḍhyāyas on Ṭāla, Vṛṭṭa, Svaragīṭa, Jāṭi and Prabanḍha. The prologue gives an account of the Emperor of Viḍyāpura and is of great historical value.

Govinḍa's Rāgaṭālapārijāṭaprakāśa describes music tones and time.

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1. This dynasty ruled at Anandavalli in Khandesh in 1370-1600 A.D.
2. *Tanj*. XVI. 7245.
3. *Tanj*, XVI. 7242, 7245; *Bik*. 575. Rāgamāla and Sadrāgacanḍrikā have been printed in Bombay. See Popley, *Music of India*, 17-15. There is a work of the name of Rāgamālikā by Kalānkura of Orissa (*TC*, IV. 4705).
4. *Tanj*, XVI. 7244.
5. *IO*, II. 318. Mitra's *Notices*, I. 219. There is a fragment in Or. Ms. Library, Madras and a complete copy with M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.

In Sangīṭanārāyaṇa (Chapter III) the author's name is given : सङ्गीतदामोदरे तु भिन्नमाह शुभंकरः ।
6. Dāmoḍara son of Lakṣmiḍhara is the author of Sangīṭaḍarpaṇa, *IO*, II. 318.
7. वाचं च गेयं च करोति यस्मात् वाग्गेयकारः कथितस्ततोऽसौ । —*Sangīṭasuḍhā*.
8. M. R. Kavi. *Bharati*, (1925), 64.

He mentions Śārngaḍeva and must have lived later than 13th century A.D.[1]

1031. **Lakshmidhara** flourished in the Court of King Tirumalaroya of Vijianagar (1570-73 A.D.)[2] and lived at Cerukuru in Guntur District. In his commentary on Gītagovinḍa[3] he mentions Rāgaḍīpikā, Rangalaksmīvilāsa and Vāmaḍevīya and King Praṭāpa's Sangīṭacūdāmaṇi and he himself wrote Bharaṭasāsṭragranṭha[4] in which his work on sports of seasons called Ṛṭukrīdāviveka is quoted.

1032. **King Hardayanarayana** was a King of Garrh or Gatadurga (Jubbalpore) and ruled about 1667 A. D. He wrote Hṛḍayaprakāsā and Hṛḍayakauṭuka and used Locanakavi's Rāgaṭarangiṇī,[5] for elaboration.

1033. **Somanatha** was probably an Ānḍhra of Godavari district His Rāgavibodha composed in 1609 A.D. displays fine poetry in Āryā metre and speaks of rāgas and śruṭis, more with a view to their use on the Viṇa, of which all varieties are described.[6]

1034. **Catura Damodara**[7] was son of Lakṣmīḍhara. His Sangīṭaḍarpaṇa treats of music and dancing. His descriptions of rāgas are pictorial and are mostly based on Somanāṭha's Rāgavibodha. He was probably a descendant of Caṭura Kallināṭha, the commentator on Śārngaḍeva and was attached to the Court of Emperor Jehangir (1605-1627 A.D.)[8]

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1. The manuscript is found in the Andhra-Sahitya-Parishad Librarary (Madras), under the name Sangīṭaraṭnākara. He mentions among others Samīraṇa, Nanḍin. Guha, Maṭangaja, Nāraḍa, Śārngin as writers on music.

2. See para 124 *supra*.

3. *Tanj*. XVI. 7333.

4. *BRI*, (1916-18) No. 40.

5. Printed in part. He quotes Viḍyapati's Maithili songs. Here he referred to his work Rangasangīṭasangraha.

6. Ed. Bombay. Ed. by M. S. Ramasami Iyer with introduction and translation. There is a gloss on it Rāgavibodhaviveka in Bhandarkar's Deccan Collage Mss. (XIX, I. 430.) See Popley, *The Music of India*, 18. K. B. Dewal, *Theory of Indian Music as expounded by Somanatha*, Poona. For English Translation in part, see Indian Musical Journal, Mysore (1912—13.)

7. Ed. Bombay with the commentary of Ratansi-Lilāḍhara. *DC*, XXII. 8742; *Tanj*. XVI. 7266.

8. In another manuscript (1/c. No. 13017), the author's name is given as Haribhatta (or Harivallabha).

There are Haribhatta's Sangīṭadarpaṇa,[1] Sangīṭasāroḍḍhāra[2] and Sangīṭakalāniḍhi.[3]

1035. Veda was probably the son of Ananṭa, who was the son of Caṭura Ḍāmoḍara, the author of Sangīṭadarpaṇa. Shahāji, father of Śivāji, the Great, was his patron. At his instance he wrote the works Sangīṭamakaranḍa and Sangīṭapuṣpānjali. The former treats of Rasaḍṛsti, Gaṭi, cāri, Ḥasṭa, nṛtya and rasa.[4]

1036. Srirangaraja was a prince of the Vijayanagar ruling family and lived sbout the beginning of the 17th century A.D. His Nāṭakakaparibhāṣa is a small work on dramatic conventions.[5]

1037. Sangitasudha known as the work of King Raghunāṭha of Tanjore was composed by Govinḍa Ḍīkṣiṭa. It contains a historical introduction on the Kings of Tanjore and a discription of the greatness of King Raghunāṭha, particularly of his proficiency in music.

"Raghunātha treats at length of only 50 *ragas* which he says were in use. Older writers simply gave *amsa*, *nyasa* and *graha* to each of the *ragas*; but Raghunātha gives in detail the number of the *sruti* in each *svara* with *alaptika*. He arranged 50 *ragas* under 15 *melakartas*, the details given against each of them are full and useful for *vina*. The third and fourth chapters of the work are devoted to musical compositions known as *prabandhas* then in vogue and to minor trophes in music."[6]

1038. Venkatesa or Venkata Makhin was the son of Govinḍamakhin and brother of Yagnanārāyana and was in the Court of King Vijayarāghava who ruled till 1672 A.D. at Tanjore.[7] He was a

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1. *Tanj*. XVI, 7266. That is another name for Caṭura Dāmoḍara as mentioned in introductory verses.

2. *Bik*. 527. There is another work of this name by Kikarāja, *PR*, IV. 32, Ex. 42. Kikarāja was known as Śāraḍānanḍana (*BRI*. 1886-92, No. 832.)

3. *CC*, I. 685.

4. See S. R. Bhandonkar's *cat* of Mss. *Raj*. and *CI*, (1904-6) page 54. *Bik*, 520; *Tan*, XVI. 7268, see para 157 *supra*.

5. The manuscript is with P. V. Subrahmanya Sastri of Razole, East Godavari District.

6. *TC*, IV, 4568. See paras 146, 148 supra. See S. Subrahmanyasastri *Venkatamakhin and his twelve Notes*, Jl. of Madras Music Academy II.

7. Ed. by B. S. Sukthankar, Bombay. There is a referance to one Gopālanāik, as having appreciated him, as an expert in Śruṭis and to Ṭānapārya, his teacher's teacher. See S. Subrahmanyasastri. *Venkatamakhi and his twelve notes*, (*Jl. Mad. Music Academy, II Part I.*) 'Caṭurḍandī' means four parts of rāga, sthāyī, Arohī, Avarohī and Sancārī.

pupil of King Raghunāṭha. He was proficient in music and rhetoric. In mīmāmsā he wrote Vārṭikābharaṇa, a commentary on Tanṭravārṭika, and performed Vājapeya sacrifice. In general he follows Bharaṭa. He introduced a system of notation in the expression of Śruṭis, discovered a type of viṇa, a mela in Simharavarāga and called Maḍhyamela, and asserted that the old Vina ŚuḍḍLamela (Raghunāṭha's viṇa) was unfit for illustrating Śruṭis. He criticised the views of Śārngaḍeva and Rāmāmāṭya rather with too much severity, but these criticisms are considered groundless by Ahobila. His Lakṣaṇagīṭas are printed in Sangīṭasampraḍāyapraḍarśinī. HIS CATURDANDIPRAKASIKA in 6 chapters is mainly intended as a treatise on music wth special reference to the instrument Viṇa.

" The work is critical and the author introduced many novel ideas and suggested new methods. It is said that he was the first to introduce 72 *melakartas* now in use in South India. This introduction is mnemonic rather than logical which is the characteristic of the older classification. How far Venkatamakhin is the author of this introduction is still doubtful. One may be inclined to attribute it to some innovator in the court of Vjiayanagar. Venkatamakhin is hard upon great writers especially on Bāyakāra Rāmāmātya of the court of Rāmarāya. Ramāmātya is not a negligible writer and his Svaramelakalanidhi gave impetus to Venkatamakin whose offensive trait in criticism is seen for instance here :[1]

अथेदानीं विचार्यन्ते रामामात्येन लक्षिताः । मेलप्रकरणे मेलाः स्वरमेलकलानिधौ ।
न हि तान्यत्र शक्यन्ते दूषणानि स्वयेरिते । ग्रन्थे गणयितुं * * * ॥
काम्भोजीरागमेलस्य कैशि वपारध्धनिषादकः(?) । इति नो वेत्ति किं वीणावादिनां गृहदास्यपि ।
तद्वद्वैकाररामोक्तान् मेलान् विश्वस्य वैणिकैः । कान्तारकूपे वेष्टन्या उद्धृत्य भुजे मुच्यते (?) ॥

Venkatamakhin's system is taken up and enlarged in Melāḍhikaralakṣaṇa of about 18th Century A.D.[2]

As authority on Caṭurḍandī, Gopālanāyaka is mentioned thus in Caṭurḍandiprakāśikā :

अहमेव श्रुतिवेदीत्याह गोपालनायकः ।
अद्यप्रभृति ते सर्वे श्रुतिज्ञा न तु पण्डिताः ॥

1. The System of melakartas is elaborated in Sangrahachudamani purported to have been composed by Shanmukha in Skandapurana. The existence was doubted by Subbarama Dikshita of Ettiyapuram in his Sangita work. Happily an old manuscript is available with me and Venkatamakhin's originality can be disproved.—*M. R. Kavi.*

2. *Tanj.* XVI. 7313.

गीतप्रबन्धयोरेवं भेदो यदि न कल्प्यते ।
कुतस्सिद्ध्येच्चतुर्दण्डी कुतो गोपालनायकः ॥

Gopālanāyaka is quoted by Kallinātha also and is said to have been a friend of Amir Khusru and respected by Allauddin Khilji (1295-1315 A. D.)[2]

1039. **Jagajjyotirmalla**, son of Tribhuvanamalla, was the ruler of Bhaktapura (Bhatagamva), a tributary of the King of Nepal. He was a great musician and finding no suitable work on music in the north he brought Abhilāṣa's Sangītacandra into Nepal and had a commentary Sangītabhāskāra[3] written on it by another scholar Vangamaṇi of Mithila, while he himself composed a treatise Sangītasārasangraha[4] in Nepal Era 799. He ruled in 1617-1633 A.D. He wrote a commentary on Padmaśri's Nāgarasarvasva and an opera play Hara-Gaurīvivāha in Nepalese dialect.

Among his other works are Svarodayadīpikā, Gītāpancāśikā, and Sangītabhāskara (?) His Ślokasangraha is a collection of verses on 33 subjects.

His son Pratāpamalla was also a poet and his son Jagatprakāśamalla made an anthology Padyasamuccaya. At the instance of his daughter's son Ananta, one Ghanaśyāma wrote a commentary on Hastamuktāvali, a work on dancing.[5]

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1. For a critical review of its contents by T. L. Venkatarama Iyer, see Jl. Mad Music Academy, Vol. I.
2. Isvariprasad's *Med. India*, 542.
3. *Nepal*, 260

सन्ति यद्यपि भूयांसः ग्रन्थाः सङ्गीतगोचराः ।
तथापीदृशमन्यत्तु नास्तीति परिचिन्तयन् ॥
पीयूषहरणं तार्क्ष्यो यत्नात् विहितवान् यथा ।
तथैतत् पुस्तकं श्लाघ्यं दूराद्दक्षिणदेशतः ॥
आजहार नृपश्रेष्ठः श्रीजगज्ज्योतिरीशिता ।—*Sangitacandra.*

That *Abhilāṣa* wrote it appears from the introductory verse:

एवं परम्पराप्रासनाट्यवेदार्थसंग्रहः ।
क्रियते ह्यभिलाषेण विद्वच्चरणसेविना ॥

4. *Nepal*, 262.
5. For all this account, see Int. to Nāgarasarvasva edited by Tanusukharama-sarma, Bombay.

1040. Dhundhiraja, son of Lakṣmaṇa of Vyāsagoṭra, was a Paurāṇika under King Shahaji of Tanjore (1687-1711 A. D.) and wrote Sāhavilāsa in 8 cantos and probably Sāharājāṣṭapadī.[1]

Mummidi CIKKADEVARAYA'S[2] (III) Bharaṭasārasangraha is an elaborate but incomplete Work in 2500 verses, and embodies the views of Bharaṭa, Maṭanga and Viḍyāraṇya. Cikkaḍevarāya III was a ruler of Mysore (1672-1704 A.D.)

1041. Ahobila's Sangitaparijata was written in the 17th century A.D. and was translated into Persian in 1724 A.D. He mentions ancient writers and it is based particularly on Hanumān's work. He refers to Rāgaṭaranginī and Rāgavibodha and defends the views of Rāmāmāṭya. He was the first to describe the twelve svaras in terms of the length of the string of the Vīṇa.[3]

1042. Bhavabhatta was son of Sangīṭarāya Janārḍana[4] Bhatta and was grandson of the musician Ṭāna Bhatta.[5] In the Court of King Anūpasimha of Bikanir (1674-1709 A.D).[6] he wrote Anūpasangīṭavilāsa,[7] Anūpasangīṭaraṭnākara and Anūpasangīṭānkuśa (now in print) and Sangīṭavinoḍa, Muralīprakāśa and Nastoḍḍiṣṭaprabodhaka, Ḍhrauvapaḍatīkā.[8]

1043. Gopinatha Kavibhusana was son of Vāsuḍeva Pāṭro of Karaṇa family. Vāsuḍeva was priest and physician of King Gajapaṭi Jagannāṭha Nārāyaṇa of Khimindi of Ganga race, who probably ruled in 1766-1806 A.D.[9] Besides a music poem Rāmacanḍravihāra, he wrote an extensive work on poetics Kavicintāmaṇi in 24 chapters the last of which embraces music.[10]

1044. Balaramavarman or simply Rāmavarman was the nephew of Bālāmārtānda Varman. He was born in 1724 A. D. and

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1. *Tanj*, XVI. 7347—9. See para 163 *supra*.
2. Mys. 308.
3. Ed. Madras or Nellore. See Popley, *Music of India*, 19.
4. He was a musician of the Court of Emperor Shah Jahan.
5. One Ṭānappācārya is mentioned by Venkatamakhin. see *Jl. Mad. Mus. Acy*. II. 159.
6. At his instance a commentry was written on Gīṭagovinḍa (*SKC*, 67).
7. Rāgamanjarī, Rāgakuṭuhala and Rāgakauṭuka are quoted here.
8. *Bik*, 513, 514, 517.
9. See Sewell's *Arch S. SI*, II. 186, where one of his ancestors and one of his successors bore the names Sarvajna Jagannāṭhā Nārāyaṇadeva (1686 1702) and Jagannāṭha Gajapaṭi Nārāyaṇaḍeva (1843-1850 A.D.)
10. *TC*, IV. 4225.

succeeded in the throne of Travancore in 1753 A. D. and passed away in 1798 A.D. He was a valiant conqueror and kind ruler and his name is still fresh in the memory of his people. He was known by the names Dharmarāja and Kilavanrāja. He was a Vikramāditya to the poets of his period. He was a linguist and was the author of several dramatic pieces in Malayalam, called Kathakalis. Sadāsivamakhin, a poet of his court, wrote Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇam in his praise on the plan of Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇam. Venkatasubrahmaṇyādhvarin, a descendant of Appayyadīkṣita, wrote the drama Vasumatikalyāṇam in which this king was made the hero.[1]

The king was particularly interested in drama. His Bālarāmabharatam is a treatise on music and dancing in 18 chapters. After an introductory essay in prose on the interdependence of bhāva, rāga and tāla, he describes music, vocal and instrumental, and the development of the sentiments by gesticulation.[2]

1045. Bhaskaracarya was a descendant of Varadaguru of Śrīvātsagotra and lived at Śrīperumbudur (Chingleput Dist.) probably in the 18th century. His Sāhityakallolinī embraces the whole topic of poetics and dancing and cites Rāsārṇavasudhākara.[3]

1046. Tulajaraja (Tukkoji) King of Tanjore (1729-1735 A.D.), wrote an extensive work in prose Sangītasārāmṛta on all topics dealt with by Śārngadeva.[4] Thus he praises Śiva, as the embodiment of *nāda*.

स्वरानन्त्यावप्त्यै सकलजनजुष्टं बहुविध-
श्रुतिव्यक्तं शम्भुं कृतविकृततानास्पदमहम् ।
हृदादिध्यानेषु प्रकटितविलासं श्रवणतो
धुताशेषक्लेशं मनसि कलये नादवपुषम् ॥

His Nāṭyavedāgama deals with dancing.[5]

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1. See article on this book by A. S. Ramanatha Iyer is *Shama'a*, IV. 171.

2. In the Travancore State manual (I. 417.) the name Bālarāmavarman is given to the king who came to rule in 1798–1810 A. D. (See also ibid, II. 435). But it is ascertained from this work, and an inscription published in *Trav. Arch. Series* (IV. 106) that Rāmavarman, the predecessor of Bālarāmavarman (Trav. State Manual, I. 369) was also known as Bālarāmavarman and was the author of this work. See also *Trav. State Manuscripts*, II. 434.

3. *DC*, XXII. 8706.

4. *Tanj*. XVI. 7288 where the author's genealogy is given. A part of it was published by Sukthankar under the name Sangitasārāmṛtoddhāra.

5. *Tanj*. XVI. 7295.

1047. Purusottama Kaviraṭna lived at Parlakimidi, Ganjam in about 1790 A.D. Besides prabanḍhas, Rāmacanḍroḍaya and Rāmābhyuḍaya, and Bālarāmāyaṇa, he probably wtote Kalānkuranibanḍha, or Rāgāmalikā,[1] His son Narāyaṇa Miśra Kaviraṭna wrote Sangīṭasaraṇi, and prabanḍhas, Balabhaḍravijaya, Śankaravihāra, Uṣābhilāṣa, Kṛṣṇavilāsa and Gundicāvijaya,[2] Navanāgalaliṭa.

Nārāyaṇamisrā classifies prabanḍhas as *śuḍḍha* and *sūṭra*. The former has several songs in it set to different rāgas e.g. Gīṭagovinḍa; the latter has all through only one rāga. While he wrote Rāmābhyuḍaya, *suṭraprabanḍha*,[3] his father wrote Rāmābhyuḍaya *Śuḍḍhaprabanḍha*.

1048. King Gajapati Virasri Narayanadeva, son of Paḍmanābha, ruled at Parlakimidi about 1700 A.D.[4] He belongs to the race of Uṭṭungaganga. He learnt music under Kaviraṭna Purusoṭṭama and the result of his study is embodied in his work, Sangīṭanārāyaṇa. In four chapters it deals with music, dancing, musical instruments and musical compositions. The illustrations glorify the author himself.[5] He refers to his work Alankāracanḍra. Among other works and authors quoted by him, some of which are now scarce, are Sangīṭaśiromaṇi, Sangīṭasāra (probably of Viḍyāraṇya), Sangīṭaraṭnamālā (by Mammata), Gīṭaprakāśa, Sangīṭacanḍrikā, Kṛsṇaḍaṭṭa, Sangīṭacūdāmaṇi, Sangīṭakalpaṭaru, and Harināyaka.

1049. Sadasiva Diksita was a poet of the Court or King Tulaja of Tanjore (1729-1735 A.D.) He became Avaḍhūta sanyāsi of whom miracles are told. He was a friend of Śriḍhara Venkateśa (Ayyāval) of Tiruvaśanallur. He lived at Pudukkota. The State of Pudukkota is believed to he under his spiritual protection and the state conducts

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1. *TC*. IV. 4705 Rajamalik Composed by Kaviratna Kalānkudi.
2. Gundicā is a festival of a dcity at Nolagiri.
3. " The *Sutraprabandha* which is a composition to be sung in a single *raga* throughout is the *Raga Kavya* of old, which is a variety of *Uparupaka* or semi-dramatic, operatic composition described by *Kohala*. It is described by *Abhinavagupta* in his commentary on the *Natya Sastra*. He gives two instances of this *Raga Kavyas*. Abhinava says that the *Raga Kavya* called *Rughavavijaya* is sung throughout only in *Thakka Raga* and the *Raga Kavya* called *Marichavadha*, only in *Kakubha grama raga*."

" तथा हि राघवविजयस्य हि ठक्करागेणैव विचित्रवर्णनीयत्वेऽपि निर्वाहः, मारीचवधस्य ककुभग्रामरागेणैव । अत एव रागकाव्यानीत्युच्यन्ते ।" p. 184, Gaek. edn.

4. *TC*, V. 6227. There his Alankāracanḍrikā is quoted. See *Bik*. 527.
5. *e.g.* अमरलोकशोकहरण मण्डित तवरणपदम् ।
गजपतिपद्मनाभनृपतितनुज एष भवपदम् ॥

a festival at his Samāḍhi at Nerur near Karur, S. India. Besides a philosophical poem, Āṭmaviḍyāvilāsa he composed many songs of devotion. His Gīṭasunḍara in 6 cantos is devoted to the deity Somasunḍara (Śiva).[1]

Saḍāśiva appears have gone to Travancore and therehonored by King Rāma Varma Kārṭīka Tirunal (1755-1798) he composed Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa for his glorificatiou.

1050. Tyagaraja was born at Tiruvārur in 1758 A.D. and his parents soon settled themselves at Tiruvayyar (Tiruvaḍi) on the Kāverī, a seat of Sanskrit learning, He was the son of Rāmabrahmam of murikinādu Vaidiki Brahmin sect.

"He lost his parents early in his teens and became the victim of of harsh treatment of his wicked brother, Japyesan, who went to the length of throwing the Swami's beloved idols of worship once into the street and later into the Cauvery itself, for the one reason that these vigrahams were the sole cause of the Swami's neglect of domestic welfare and his spurning of wealth. The most popular kritis of Sri Thyagaraja like 'Endudaginado' in Thodi, 'Nenenduvedukudura' in Karnataka Behag were composed ex tempore in this period which marked the struggle of his intense Bhakti with the base passions of the world, represented by his brother. The Bhagavatar then related how the saint in despair with tears in his eyes, dug in the sands of the Cauvery to get back his lost Rama and how one day as the result of a dream in which He appeared to the saint, he was able to locate the place where the idols lay imbedded, hugged them to his breast and shed tears of joy singing 'kanugontini' and other delightful songs on the spur of the moment. The saint's meeting with Narada in the guise of an old sanyasin, who presented him with Swararnava, written on palmyra leaves, his refusal to yield to the lure of gold offered by the Tanjore Raja, the latter's anger thereupon and the sudden unbearable colic with which he was attacked and the equally quick disappearance of the pain on the Raja's promise not to interfere with the Swami's liberty were all related in a touching and impressive manner by the Bhagavathar whose rendering of the kritis was particularly appreciated. For want of time he had to finish his discourse after very briefly dealing with the saint's visit to Tirupati, Srirangam and other holy places, the attack of robbers in the forest

1. *Tanj.* XVI. 7340. Printed, Madras. See para 298 *supra*. His life is described in a Tamil work published at Pudukkota.

and the defence by Rama and Lakśhmana who were always watching his welfare, the saint's attaining Samadhi on Pushya Bahula Panchami in the year Parabhava (1846) after taking Sanyasa Asramam to avoid another re-birth in this world."

Ṭyāgarāja "was a musical star whose influence extended far beyond the limits of India, to many other countries and continents. His music had been recorded in western system of notation also. The basis of his music, in fact the motive power behind his inimitable compositions, was his intense love and Bhakti for Sri Rama whom he regarded as the One Parabrahmam, the embodiment of Nada. That Rama was the saint's guardian angel was evident from many incidents of his life, one of which was that Rama is said to have appeared to a devotee in Maharashtra in his dream and directed him to pay a visit to His bhakta, Thyagaraja, in Tiruvayar in the South. In obedience to this Divine command, the Mahratta devotee visited the Swami and was so impressed with the character of the saint that he remained there permanently as his disciple. It was on this occasion that he sang the Thodi kriti, 'Dasaratha Nirunamu.' It was due to this contact that they found Thyagaraja appreciating the beauties of Northern music and incorporating them in some of his kritis like 'Marugelara' and 'Manamuleda.' His compositions present an extraordinary variety of musical form, from the slow-timed 'Namminavarini' to the quick trot of 'Sobhillu', and afford as much scope for the trained musical acrobat to exhibit his skill, as for the woman in the home and the man in the street to sing with facility and delight."[1]

His early songs were mostly in Sanskrit and his Raga Nata was the first of the garland of five gems, Pancaraṭna.

1051. **Govinda's** Sangītaśāsṭrasamkṣepa is said to represent later day music and to have superseded Venkatamakhin's views. In two colophons of two chapters, it is mentioned that it is part of Skanḍapurāna and composed by Saṇmukha : इति स्कान्दपुराणे सङ्ग्रहचूडामणौ षण्मुखविरचिते प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

Govinḍa supports Ṭyāgarāja and opponents of Govinḍa give out that Govinḍa was probably Ṭyāgaraja's friend and composed this work under the guise of an extract of Purāṇa to put down the popula-

1. Taken for 'Hindu', Extract of Lecture by Muthia Bhagavathar. N. Sanjivarao's *Sri Tyagaraja*, Pudukkota.

rity of Venkamakhin. Govinḍa refers to Acyuṭaraya's vīṇa and Acyuṭarāya ruled at Tanjore in 1572-1614 A.D.[1]

1052. **Venkata Vaidyanatha Diksita** lived at Tiruvadamarudur. He was the grandson of the paternal uncle of Venkatamakhin and inherited his musical talents. He was proficient in the Vīṇa and expounded Venkatamakhin's Caṭurḍandiprakāśikā. Ramaswāmi Ḍīkṣiṭa became his disciple and under his tution he blossomed forth as Vainikaśikhāmaṇi. Rāmaswāmi was the son of Venkateśvāra and belonged to Govinḍapuram near Maḍhyārjuna (Tirvradamarudur). He found his place of fame at Tanjore under the auspices of his teacher, Vīrabhaḍrayya, the master-musician of his age. He lived in 1735-1817 A.D. and wrote Ṭālamālikā.

Rāmaswāmi's younger son Balasvāmi (Bālakṛṣṇa) Ḍīkṣita was born in 1780. He was a boy prodigy. He could handle with facility a number of musical instruments and with the patronage of Manali Chinaya Mudaliar of Madras studied western music also. It is said that he had the magical power of reproducing any natural sound on his Vīṇa.

The Rulers of Ettiyapuram were patrons of music for over a century and during the period of three of them Jagaḍīśvara Venkateśvara Ettappa (1816-1839) and his successors Jagaḍīśvara Rāmakumāra Ettappa and Jagaḍīśvara Rāma Venkateśvara he was poet laureate. "He was a prince among poets and a poet among princes and composed many kīrṭan and curnikas in honour of Hindu deities. Kārṭikeya was his signature." Among his friends in music were Mīnakṣisunḍarayya, Subbakutti Ayyar, Subbayya ananavi, Vengu Bhagavatar, and Madura Ramayyar.[2]

1053. Rāmāswāmi's eldest son MUTUSWAMI ḌIKSITA was born at Tiruvālur in 1775 A.D. After some travel in the north along with a Sanyāsi, he settled down in his place. During the last years life, he lived at Ettiyapuram under the patronage of its ruler.

"Wherever he went, whatever shrine he visited and whichever deity he saw, he worshipped with the gift of his songs. The following

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1. "Ramakrishnakavi says that Govinda was an *Andhra*, that he wrote a work called रागतालचिन्तामणि, that he followed Ramamatya and his 20 *melas* and that the Adayar Ms. contains a few sheets in the beginning of this work which had got mixed up with an anonymous work called *Sangrahachudamani*, described as a part of the *Skandapurana*."

2. On this author, see article by C. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar in *Hindu*, Feb. 1903.

are the more important of these songs: the Pancha Linga Kirtanas, his five songs on the Gods representing the five elements of Earth: Water, Fire Air and Ether, at the shrines Kanchi, Jambukesvara, Arunachala, Kalahasti and Chidambaram. These songs are 'Chintaya makanda mula kandam' in Bhairavi, 'Jamboo pate' in Yamuna Kalyani, 'Arunachalanatham' in Saranga, 'Sri Kalahastisam' in Useni and 'Ananda natana prakasam' in Kedara; another series of songs is that on the Navagrahas, the nine planets, excluding Rahu and Ketu he composed a series of Navavarana Kirtanas on the Goddess at Mayavaram; the most important songs are those he composed on the many dieties at Tiruvarur itself; on the chief deity Tyagaraja he has sung many pieces of which 'Tyagaraja yoga vaibhavam' in Ananda bhairavi and 'Tyagarajaya namaste' in Byagada deserve special mention; the Goddess Kamalamba at Tiruvarur was a favourite of Dikhitar and on her especially he has composed a Navavarana series; he hus sung her eleven times; Tyagaraja's consort, Nilotpalambika, is sung in one song and the renowned Vinayaka on the north eastern corner of the tank has been praised in the songs 'Vatapi ganapatim' in Hamsadhvani and 'Sri Maha Ganapati' in Goula; in a Kirtana in Sriraga, 'Srimuladhara chakra Vinayaka', a form of Ganapati as presiding over the Muladharachakra found in front of Tyagaraja's principal shrine has been sung; besides almost all the deities at Tiruvarur, Achaleswara, Anandesvara, Siddhesvara and others have been sung; of the deities at other famous shrines, mention may be made of 'Sri Rajagopala' in Saveri, 'Bala Gopala' in Bhairavi."[1]

Ḍikṣṭar had left the imprint of his personality all his songs. Material considerations did not enter his scheme of life. He led a pious life and believed in Adwaita philosophy. He embodied the essence of Vedic teachings and manthras in his songs and showed the way for even those who could not be initiated in manthras to commune with the Supreme. His Navagraha Kritis are a masterpiece in this respect both from the point of view of music and of devotion.

1. A diligent search all over South India for the compositions of Dikshitar, a recording of all those Dikshita-kirtanas known to such primier musicians as Veena Dhanam, who especially has a large stock of them as a consequence of her having come in the direct Sishya-lineage of Dikshitar through Sattanur Panju, a good Devanagari edition of such collected compositions of his,—these and many more lines of work I think, will be pursued by lovers of music, ere 1935 ushers in the first Dikshitar centenary which must be celebrated not only in Madras but also in his own native place Tiruvarur in a grand manner."—*Sound and Shadow, 11. November*, 1933.

His end came suddenly. At Ettiyapuram, he was one day sitting, listening to the music of his pupils who were singing his Gamakakriya Kirtana, 'Minakshi.' He asked them to sing it once more; they were singing the Anupallavi—Minalochani Pasamochani' when he felt that the Goddess had really released him from bondage (Pasa); he was accordingly released from mortal bondage. He passed away in 1835 A.D."[1]

1054. **Syamasastri** was Ṭyāgarāja's contemporary and is the third of the musical trinity of South India. He wrote mostly in Telugu, but there is an excellent piece in Sanskrit opening with Śankarī in Rāga Sāveri.

"Thrice holy is Tiruvarur to the lover of our music; for it is this small place that gave birth to the Carnatic music trinity—the Trimurtis Sri Tyagaraja, Sri Syama Sastriar and Sri Muthuswamy Dikshitar. All the three celebrated composers were contemporaries. Tyagayya was the eldest and he blessed this earth with his life for the longest period, while the two others left it earlier. Of the three, Muthuswamy Dikshitar was the youngest and he alone stuck to Tiruvarur for the longest time, while Tyagayya left for Tiruvayar or the Panchanada Kshetra and Syama Sastriar for Tanjore proper."

1055. **Pratapasimha** Deva, Maharaja of Jaipur (1779–1804 A.D.), produced a musical encyclopaedia SANGITASAGARA with the help of an assembly of musicians.[2]

1056. **Sri Swati Ramavarma Kulasekhara** was Mahāraja of Travancore (1812–1847 A.D.)[3]. Besides prabandhas such as Yayāṭicarita and 13 musical narratives Kucelopākhyāna and Ajāmilopākhyāna[4] he composed sanskrit Kīrtanas like the kṛtis of Ṭyāgarāya, devoted to Śrī Padmanābha.[5] He deplores the fallen musicians of his day thus:

आक्रन्ता कलिनेव हन्त जगती पापीयसा गायक-
व्यूहेन क्षितिपालसंसदाखिलाक्रान्ता समन्तादपि ।
नृत्यत्पङ्कजसंभवप्रणयिनीलीलारविन्दोदरा-
मन्दस्यन्दिमरन्दसुन्दरगिरां कुत्रावकाशोऽस्तु नः ॥

1. See T. Srinivasaraghavachariar's article in *Hindu*, 5th Nov. 1935.
2. There is a work of this name in *CC*; I. 686.
3. See para 178 *supra*.
4. Ed. by *TSS*. Trivandrm.
5. Ed. by *TSS*. Trivandrm.

The following verse in his praise by a fuedatory Chief of Malabar it fine :

षष्ठी तत्पुरुषाह्वयो नृपतिषु प्रायेण त्विद्वत्प्रभू-
शब्दस्सम्प्रति कर्मधारयतयाप्याभाति वञ्चीश्वरे ।
इत्यालोच्य विलोक्य सम्प्रति वहुव्रीहित्वमेतत्पदे
किं शोकादिव न स्थितिः क्वचिदपि द्वन्द्वाव्ययीभावयोः ॥

1057. Ramavarma Maharaja (Ayilliam Tirunal) of Travancore (1860-1880 A.D.) was a great patron of music. Besides a commentary of Śrīkṛṣṇavilāsakāvya and Jalandharāsuravadha (Kathakali) he wrote Vṛttaratnākara on prosody.

1058. Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu (1842-1916) was one of the greatest pandits of the Āndhra country in the last century, and was conferred the title of Mahamahopādhyāya in 1908 by the Government of India in recognition of his scholarship. Though he remained as a Telugu Pandit throughout his service in the Presidency College, Madras and Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, he was a profound and critical Samskrit scholar and poet and wrote some works in Samskrit. His Bilvanāthaśatakam, Tanumadhyā-Āryāśatakam, Tanumadhyā-Gītaratnam were all printed in the early seventies of the last century, and he was the author of nearly fifty stavas, like, Varadarājastuti, Tārāvalīstuti,, Brahmavidyāstuti, Śrī Kālahastīśvarāstuti, which were published in his paper called Āndhrabhāṣāsanjīvinī or 'Telugu Tongue Reviver,' and which are examples of the author's devotion and learning. His Gītamahānata गीतमहानट was written in imitation of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda. In the field of philosophy Venkataratnam Pantulu claims the discovery of the 'Akṣara Sānkhya' system of philosophy, and wrote a work in Samskrit called Mārgadāyinī enunciating the principles of the system. His knowledge of Tamil and Kanarese was commendable and his famous Telugu work Bilvesvarīyam is a translation from the Tamil classic of the name.

Venkataratnam wrote more then 25 works in Telugu, aud his service to that literature covers a period of nearly half a century. He was held in high esteem by his contemporaries and was greatly patronized by the late Vidyavinoda Panappākam Ānandācāriar, the famous advocate of Madras, who used to call him as 'Andhra Johnson,' the literary dictator of his day.

1059. Sri Vikrama Deo Varma, D. Litt., Sāhitya Samrāt Mahārāja of Jeypore Samasthānam, South India, Kṣatriya (Solar Race) of Bhāradvājagotra, is the son of Śrī Kṛṣṇacandra Deo Mahārāja and Śrī Rekhā Ḍevī. He was born on 28th June 1869 and ascended the Gadi on 6th June 1931. His literary patronage is visible in a recurring annual donation of Rs. One lakh to the Andhra University and various other donations amounting to fifty thousand a year. A great scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu, Oriya and English and a renowned poet in Sanskrit, Telugu and Oriya, a great astrologer and an Abhinava-Bhoja, he has composed many sṭuṭis in Sanskrit and some in the form of songs with his name woven in accrostics.

1060. Durvasula Suryanarayana Sastri, Vina-Gāna-Kalānidhi, (1843-1896), was the chief Palace Vidwan and musician during the reign of Mahārāja Sri Ananda Gajapaṭi Raja of Vizianagaram Samasthanam. Sastri composed several musical pieces in Sanskrit and Telugu such as *Paramānanḍa samudravīcikāyam* in Kambhoji and *Devi ḍehi saṭaṭām* in Kalyāni. Vīṇa Venkataramaṇaḍāsa is his disciple. Sastri was the disciple of Ḍāsa's father Peda Gurācāryulu.

Śivarama Yati lived in 1830-1900 and composed a book of songs of devotion called Nijabhajanasukhapaḍḍhaṭi.

Margadarsi Sesa Aiyangar was so called as he was the light (or path-finder) of South Indian music. He mostly lived at Ayoḍhya and in the latter part of his life settled at Śrirangam in the service of Lord Ranganāṭha. He signs himself Kosalapurī in his songs. His songs (some of which are said to have been accepted by the Deity) are graceful.

Maha Vaidyanatha Śiva of the "golden voice" was at the top of the musicians of South India in living memory. His Melarāgamālikā is now available.

Aṣṭāvaḍhānam Ananṭācārya's *extempore* composition of Samasyas and enigmas was a wonder. In some of his verses he artistically wove the names of rāgas, *e.g.*

चिकुराली तु वराली वदनं तव भाति शङ्कराभरणम् ।

Under the patronage of the Zamindar of Ullipālayam near Bezwada, Kānduri Rāmānujācārya and Narasimhācārya composed songs in Sanskrit.

Sangītayāyāṭam and Abhinavagopālapulindinīcariṭa are opera plays interspersed with songs.[1]

1061. **Sri Martand Manik Prabhu Maharaj** (1860-1936 A.D.) occupied the gadi of Śri Mānikprabhu who founded the Sakalamaṭā-sampradāya at Maniknagar, Nizam's dominions. He was well-versed in all the śāsṭras and in music he wrote songs in several languages. His masterpiece in Sanskrit is Gnāna-marṭānda (son of knowledge) He bore the title Abhinava Śankarācārya.

1062. KIRTANACARYA C. R. SRINIVASACARYA (1867-1936) was born in Tanjore District. He was a profound scholar and critic in music. During the last decade of his life he took an active interest in resuscitating South Indian music and with the help of musical academies and conferences accomplished the collosal task of settling disputed points of interest in the technique of several ragas, in which for some centuries past musicians had their own ways. He was proficient in the compositions of Ṭyāgarāja and his edition of his songs is erudite; he was thence known as Abhinava Ṭyāga Brahmam. He is the pioneer of musical criticism in modern India. Speaking of Indian and Western music he wrote "Instrument predominates in the West and voice in the East. This is the true meaning of the crude, yet popular statement that harmony pervades the music of the West and melody that of the East. That this is so is shown by the absence of harmony in the vocal music of the West. The East has very much to give to the West. Only three modes or so of the seventy-two melakarthas of South Indian Music are used in the West. And the thirty-six melakarthas that take a sharp Ma are practically non-existent in the West, though men like Scriabine have, greatly daring, made the experiment of introducing it. On the other hand, the change of keys in one and the same piece that characterises the compositions in the West is not allowed in the Indian system, though we have it in "The Ramayana" that the music of those times included seven jatis that were amplified largely later on. And these took each note in turn as the drone, if we read the Ratnakara aright. It must be noted, too, that the voice and the instrument began to take in more and more of melody in modern times in the West. In the matter of thalas the West has very little to show in number and variety, though it must be said that the practical music of the present day in India lays under contribution chiefly three or four main thalas."

1. *Tanj.* XVI. 7352.

1063. Among living musical composers of South India are Rājagopāla Aiyar of Mannārgudi, Śrīrangācārya of Cidambāram, Śrinivāsācārya of Nerur, Venkata Bhāgavatar of Kalladakurici, Bhairavamūrti and Harinagabhusanam of Masulipatam, Ariyakudi Rāmānuja Aiyangar of Kārakudi, Sangameśvara Śāstrin of Pittāpur, Venkataramadasa and Nārāyaṇadasa of Vizianagaram.

1064. Miscellaneous. The following are other treatises on music :

Gopendra Tippa's Ṭālaprabandha illustrates each Ṭāla by a song on Śiva.[1] So is Govinda's Tāladaśāprāṇadīpikā otherwise called Mahābhāratalakṣṇakāvya, where the songs are in praise of Rāma.

Gītaprakāśa is quoted in Sangītanārāyaṇa. It gives songs of Kṛṣṇadāsa, contemporary of Caitanya. Nārāyaṇakavi in Sangītasāra quotes a song from Rāmānandakavirāya's Kṣudragītaprabandha called Citrapada, as found in Gītaprakāśa which ends thus :[2]

जयतु रुद्रगजेशमुदितारामानन्दकविरायकविगीतम् ।

referring to King Vīra Rudra Gajapati. This Rāmācanda is the author of the play of Jagannāthavallabha.

Kīrtanāpadastoma, Ḍolāgīta, Śivabhajanakīrtana, Vedāntagurudarśanakīrtana, Śrī Rāmacandradolā, and Sangītakāmadā, Unjalgīti by by Śankaranārāyaṇa, Sangīta-Rāghunandana by Viśvanāthasimha, Sangītaśāstrasamkṣepa by Govinda and Sangītasangrahacintāmaṇi by Appalācarya [*Adyar*, 45-46], Abhinayamukura, Sangītalakṣaṇa and Bhāratasārasangraha by Candraśekhara [*Mys* 307], Sandeśahastādilakṣana, and Sangītasvaralakṣaṇa [*Mys*. 641], Sangītaśāstradugdhāvāridhi *Mys. Sup*. 51].

Sangītaśāstra (*Tanj*, XVI. 7306), Ragārohāvarohaṇapattikā (*ibid*. 7349), Rāgalakṣaṇa (*ibid*. 7304), Lāsyapuṣpānjali (*ibid*. 7268), Tānanighantu (*ibid*. 7329), Varṇapada (*ibid*. 7328), Taddhiṭṭonnam (*ibid*. 7314), Meladhikāralakṣaṇa (*ibid*. 7313), Ṭālaprastāra (*ibid*. 7310) and Kīrtanas and Gītas (*ibid*. 7317-27).

Abhinayādivicāra, Abhinayalakṣaṇa, and Nātyapraśamsā (*Tanj*, XVI. 7249-62), Devendra's Sangītamuktāvali (*Ibid*. 7272), Haripāladeva's Sangītasudhākara (*Ibid*. 7293), Rāgapradipā, (*TC*, II. 244),

1. प्रबन्धं तालानां भवतुतिमिषेणातनुत यः
शिवाक्लृप्साकारा नटनकरणानामपि भिदाः ।

2. *JBORS*, VI. 446.

Sangītasudhānidhi (quoted by Rāghavabhatta), Sangītakalpadruma of Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsa (*CC*, I. 685), S..ngītacandrodaya (quoted by Gangārāma), Varnalaghuvyākhyāna of Rāma.

Saptasvaralakṣaṇa, Svaratālādilakṣana (*Trav*. 73), Gītāvali of Sanātana [*CSC*, (1907) 38, (1917) 586], Navaratnarasavilāsa, Rāgadhyānādikathanādhyāya (*Bik*, 515), Sangītasudhākara, Abhinavatālamanjarī and Rāgakalpadrumānkura of Appa Tulasi alias Kaśīnātha (composed in 1914), Lakṣyasangīta of Batkande and Abhinavarāgamanjarī of Viṣṇuśarma (Printed, Poona).

Sangītasārakalikā of Śuddhasvarṇakāra Mosadeva (*S. R. Bhan. Rep*. II. 54); Sangītasiddhānta of Rāmānanda Tīrtha, Sangītarāja, Sangītakalikā,[1] Sangītasudhā of Bhīmanarendra (*Oudh*, X. 12), Sangītamaṇidarpaṇa (*BRI*), Sangītasarvasva[2] and Svaracintāmāṇi (*Gough*, 185), Sangītasāroddhāra (or Rāga kautūhala) of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhatta (*Bik*, 518), Rāgakutūhala (quoted by Bhāvabhatta), Sangītasārasangraha (i) anonymous (*Rice*, 292, *Opp*, I. 1052) and (ii) by Saurīndramohana (Printed, Calcutta), Bharataśāstra by Raghunātha Prasāda (*Tanj*. XVI, 7232), Rāgacandrikā and Catvārimśatśadrāganirūpaṇa (Printed, Bombay).

Nātyādhyāya by Aśokamalla (*Bik*. 514), Sarvasvaralakṣaṇa (*CC*, I. 703), Ādibharataprastāra (*Opp*. 4991), Sangītagangādhara by Kāśīpati, (*CC*, I. 105), Ānandasañjīvana by Madanapāla, (*Bik*, 509), Sāroddhāra (*CC*, I. 715).

Gāyakapārijāta by Śingarācārya (Printed, Madras), Gnānakīrtana, Madhyamakālakīrtana, Muhanaprāsāntyaprāsavyavasthā, and Śāhityam by Aśvinī Mahārāja (*Trav* 176), Mālādhāra by Minappa Venkatappa (Printed, Mysore), Vairāgyataranginī (Astapadī) by Mānavikrama Kavirājakumāra (*Trav*. 176); Śrī Harikīrtana by Subbarāyadāsa (Printed, Madras), Sangītarājaranga (Printed, Trivandrum), Sangītasarvārthasangraha by Kṛṣṇarao (Printed, Madras), Angahāralakṣana (*Trav*. 73), [Anubhavarasa by Hīra Saravi, Anurāgarasa by S. Nārāyaṇaswāmin, Abhinavatālamanjarī, Abhinavarāgamanjarī, Ādarśagītāvalī of Jīvarāmopādhyāya, Ānandagāna, Kalyāṇakalpadruma, Gajjālsangraha, Gānastavamanjarī, Jogavihārakalpadruma, Dolotsavadīpikā, Dharmasangīta of Radhākṛṣṇāji, Navaratnarasavilāsa, Rāgatattvabodha of Śrīnivāsa, Rāgatarangiṇī of Locana Paṇḍita, Gītaśataka of Sundarācārya, Rāgalakṣaṇa of Rāgakavi].[3]

1. Quoted by Hemādri (1260-1300 A. D.) in his commentary on Raghuvamśa.
2. Quoted by Jagaddhara in his commentary on Veṇīsamhāra (*CC*, I.687)
3. All printed. See Cat of Oriental Book Depot, Poona.

Sangīṭāmṛṭa and Sangīṭacinṭāmaṇi of Kamalalocana (*CC*, I. 685, 686), Sangīṭaprakāśa Rāgāḍisvaranirṇaya of Raghunāṭha (18th century A.D.)

Rāgapraḍīpa (*TC*, II. 2447), Rāgaratnākara of Gandharvarāja (*Tanj*, XVI. 7302), Gīṭāḍoṣavicāra (*TC*, IV. 4707).

Rāgavarṇanirūpaṇa (*DC*, XXII. 8742), Tālalakṣaṇa by Kohala (*DC*, XXII, 8725, see *Tanj*. XVI, 7312), Ṭālaḍasāprāṇaprakaraṇa (*DC*, XXII. 8723), Tālakalāvilāsa, and Caṭurasabhāvilāsa (quoted in Nārāyaṇa Śivayogi's Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā (*BR*. (1916), No, 41); Mṛḍangalakṣaṇa (*DC*, XXII, 874,) Śruṭibhāskara of Bhīmaḍeva (*Bik*. 530.)

Rāgaṭaṭṭvaviboḍha of Śrīnivāsa Pandiṭa (*Bik*. 517), Sangīṭakalpaṭaru quoted by Rucipaṭi and Ranganāṭha;[1] Sangīṭacandrikā of Māḍhavabhaṭṭa[2] quoted in Sangīṭasūḍhā, Sangīṭakaumuḍī quoted in Sangīṭanārāyaṇa.[3]

On Indian music and dancing generally, see Kannoolmal, *Indian Music* (*Ind. Rev*. XVI. 1054); K. Bhairavamurti, *Music* (*Bharati*, 1925, 94); M. E. Cousins, *Eastern and Western Music*, (Paper read at All India Oriental Conference, 1924); Madura Ponnusami, *Swaras*, (*ibid*.; K. N. Sitaram, *Place of Chidambaram in the Evolution of Dance in India* (*ibid*), K. V. Srinivasa ayangar, *Abhinaya* (*ibid*); M. R. Kavi, Nānyaḍeva on Music (*ibid*); A. Wesharp, *Psychology of Indian Music* (*JASB*, IX vii.) Schmidt's *Essays on Hindu Musical Scale and 22 Srutis*; G. S. Khare's *Some Thoughts on Hindu Music*, (Poona); Saurindra Mohan Tagore's *History of Music*, *Hindu Music*, *Hindu Drama*, *Seven Principal Musical Notes of the Hindus*, *Six Principal Ragas* and *Music and Musical Instruments of South India* (Calcutta); Pingley's *Indian Music*, Annie Wilson's *Hindu System of Music*, (Lahore); Chinnasami Mudaliar's *Oriental Music in staff notation*, (Madras); Singarachari's works (Sasilekha Office, Madras); Ananda Comaramasāmi's *Indian Music* (London); Shahindra's *Indian Music*, (London); Krishnarao's *First Step in Hindu Music*, (London); K. B. Deval's *Musical Scale* (Poona); Gangadhar's *Theory and Practice of Hindu Music*, (Madras); Clement's *Indian Music*, (London); Mrs. Mani's

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1. There is a commentary on it by Roya Gaṇeśa (*Bik*. 512). Ranganāṭha commented on Śakunṭalā in 1655 A. D.

2. *TC*, IV. 4801. A work of this name is quoted in Sangīṭanārāyaṇa. (*TC*, V. 6227, *TC*, IV. 4804).

3. *TC*, V. 6127.

Indian Music, (Madras); Bhandarkar's *Study of Ancient Music*, (Bombay); Fox Strangway's *Music of Hindustan*, and *the Hindu Scale*, (Oxford); Thirumalavyanaidu's *Hindu Music*, (Madras); Bhatkande's *Music of Upper India*; T. Lakshmanapillai's *Travancore Music*, H. A. Popley's *Music of India*, (Oxford); Krishnarao's *Psychology of Music*, Mysore; K. B. Peval's *Music of Indian Music*, (Poona); M. R. Telang's *The 22 Srutis of Indian Music*, (Bombay); O. C. Gangoly's *Ragas and Raginis*; Margaret E. Cousins, *Music of the Orient and Occident*, Reports of All India Musical Conferences: Journal of Musical Acadamy, Madras.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Kamasastra

(EROTICS)

1065. Kamasastra treats of EROTICS in its most comprehensive signification. For purposes of literature, erotics are on the same level as poetics and may, not improperly, be called a branch of Sāhiṭya. The classification of heroes and heroines, the description of their qualities, the progress of their loves and the means of their union are all stated in works on poetics or erotics and these precepts are adopted and elaborated in the poetical and particularly the dramatic literature. Bhavabhūti, in his Mālaṭīmāḍhava, expressly says that his play is an illustration of Kāmasūṭra. Without a study of erotics, Sanskrit poetry cannot be appreciated.

Kāma or love is the third 'Puruṣārtha, that is, the third object of a man's life. From the remotest ages the idea that enjoyment of pleasures is as much necessary for a man's salvation as Ḍharma and Arṭha, virtue and wealth, has been prevalent in India, and tradition attributes the first treatise on these three objects of life to the Creator himself in 100,000 chapters. It is out of this first source, Manu and Bṛhaspaṭi formulated distinct works on Ḍharma and Arṭha. Nanḍin it was that related the principles of Kāmaśāstra in 1,000 chapters and of these summaries were made by Śveṭakeṭu and Bābhravya. Bābhravya's summary was itself a large work in 150 chapters and in seven parts dealt with seven subjects, Sāḍhāraṇa, Sāmprayogika, Kanyāsāmprayogika, Bhāryāḍhikārika, Pāraḍārika, Vaiśika and Aupaniṣaḍika. The first deals with the merit of Kāmaśāsṭra, the nature of education and the regulation of life; the second with sensual enjoyment and copulation; the third with wooing, training and company of girls; the fourth with relations between husband and wife; the fifth with dealings with the wives of others; the sixth with public women, and the seventh with charms and medicines in relation to enjoyment of sensual pleasures.

From this vast volume of Bābhravya, the various topics were separated and related respectively by Cārāyaṇa, Suvarṇanābha, Ghoṭakamukha, Gonarḍīya, Gonikāpuṭra, Ḍaṭṭaka and Kucimāra. Of these all but the last are now lost. It was Vāṭsyāyana who made an epitome of these writings in his Kāmasūṭras of 36 chapters, with the object of

comprehending the whole subject of erotics in an easy and readable form. This is the resume of early literature with which Vātsyāyana begins his Kāmasūtra.[1]

It is the view of Vātsyāyana that all these three Puruṣārthas, Dharma, Artha and Kāma are equally serviceable and conducive to bliss here and in the other world. He begins by saying धर्मार्थकामेभ्यो नमः and traces the source of Kāmaśāstra to the Creator himself thus :—

प्रजापतिर्हि प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा तासां स्थितिनिबन्धनं त्रिवर्गसाधनमध्यायानां शतसहस्रेणाग्रे प्रोवाच ।

He advocates Kāma, the enjoyment of sensual pleasures, without prejudice to Dharma and Artha, in the period of youth :—

शतायुर्वै पुरुषो विभज्य कालमन्योन्यानुबद्धं परस्परस्यानुपघातकं त्रिवर्गं सेवेत ।

In answer to a deprecation of Kāma as undesirable expressed thus :

न कामांश्चरेत् । धर्मार्थयोः प्रधानयोरेवमन्येषां च सतां प्रत्यनीकत्वात् । अनर्थजनसंसर्गमसद्व्यवसायमशौचमनायतिं चैते पुरुषस्य जनयन्ति । तथा प्रमादं लाघवमप्रत्ययमग्राह्यतां च ।, he writes

शरीरस्थितिहेतुत्वादाहारसधर्माणो हि कामाः फलभूताश्च धर्मार्थयोः बोद्धव्यं तु दोषेष्विव । न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते, न हि मृगास्सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते ।

and quotes an ancient verse

एवमर्थं च कामं च धर्मं चोपचरेन्नरः ।
इहामुत्र च निश्शल्यमत्यन्तं सुखमश्नुते ॥

The last verses embody a counsel of good conduct thus :

तदेतत् ब्रह्मचर्येण परेण च समाधिना ।
विहितं लोकयात्रार्थं न रागोऽस्याहि संविधिः ॥
रक्षन् धर्मार्थकामानां स्थितिं स्वां लोकवर्तिनीम् ।
अस्य शास्त्रस्य तत्त्वज्ञो भवत्येव जितेन्द्रियः ॥
तदेतत्कुशलो विद्वान् धर्मार्थाववलोकयन् ।
नातिरागात्मकः कामी प्रयुञ्जानः प्रसिध्यति ॥

and then the sage predicates salvation for a life devoted to pleasure consistent with Dharma and Artha.

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1. Ed. by S. R. Schmidt. Tr. into German. Ed. Bombay with Jayamangala commentary. Translated into English in 1883, and recently by K. Rangasami Iyengar (Lahore). See also *CC*, 215, 256. On Kālidāsa's quotations from Vātsyāyana, see Peterson, *JBRAS*, XVIII, 110 and Mujumdar, *IA*, XLVII. 195.

1066. Dattaka,[1] the son of a Brahmin of Maṭhurā, was born at Pāṭalīpuṭra. Having lost his mother while yet an infant his father gave away the boy to a Brahmin woman and so he was known as Ḍaṭṭaka. He wanted to study the ways of the world and thinking that the best means was a resort to the homes of dancing woman, got into their company and soon learnt their artful devices to a high degree so that he was requested by them to compose a work on the principles of Kāmaśāsṭra relating to their profession. So says Vāṭsyāyana in his Kāmasūṭras[2] and the commentary of Jayamangala gives the tradition.

The work, Ḍaṭṭaka-sūṭras, is not available, except two aphorisms quoted by Śyāmilaka and Iśvaraḍaṭṭa[3] in their plays and there is a parody of it by a character in Śūḍraka's Paḍmaprābhṛṭaka that it began with the letter ओम्.[4]

Māḍhavavarman II, the king of the Ganga dynasty, wrote a vṛṭṭi on Ḍaṭṭaka-sūṭras. He was the 5th ancestor of Ḍurvinīṭa and lived probably about 380 A.D.[5] A fragment of the vṛṭṭi which is in verse embraces two pāḍas only, dealing with rakṭa and virakṭa Veśyas and Śayanopacāra.[6] It is doubted if this is a summary of Ḍaṭṭaka's original Ṭanṭra; for the first verse runs thus:

यद्दत्तकेन प्रमदाहितार्थं कान्तानुवृत्तं कथितं स्वतन्त्रे ।
तस्मात्समाहृत्य समस्तमन्यं वेश्याङ्गनावृत्तमहं प्रवक्ष्ये ॥

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1. Is he identical with Daṭṭ ? Their probable t, ies are the same.
2. तस्य षष्ठं वैशिकमधिकरणं पाटलीपुत्रिकाणां गणिकानां नियोगात् दत्तकः पृथक् चकार । —*Kāmāsutra*, I.
3. किंब्रवीषि—वेश्याभ्यो यद्दीयते तन्नष्टं इति बहवो ब्रुवन्ति ।
तद्दत्तकेनाप्युक्तं, कामोऽर्थनाशः पुंसामिति ॥—*Dhurtavitasamvāda.*
सा हि तपस्विनी निवृत्तकामतन्त्रा रजोपरोधात् केवलकुटुंबतन्त्रार्थं शब्दकाम-मनुवर्तते । गम्यश्चायमस्याः । अपुमान् शब्दकाम इति दात्तकीयाः ॥
Pāḍaṭāditaka.
4. वेश्याङ्गणं प्रविष्टां मोहाद्भिक्षुर्यदृच्छया वापि ।
न भ्राजते प्रयुक्तो दत्तकसूत्रेष्विवोङ्कारः ॥— *Paḍmaprābhṛṭaka.*
5. See para 48 *supra*. *EC*, IX. 7 and No. *DB*, 68. दत्तकसूत्रवृत्तेः प्रणेतुः श्रीमन्माधवमहाधिराजस्य ।
6. *TC*. IV. 4785. Here are some verses:
कान्तेन यत्नान्मुखवासपूर्वभोगांश्च गृह्णीत सुखी निशोगात् ।
कृष्णा च कृष्णोत्तरमात्रमस्मै मन्द्रः प्रयच्छेत्प्रतिवाक्यमादौ ॥
भुजे प्रियस्य स्वशिरो निधाय तस्योत्तमाङ्गं स्वभुजेऽवसज्य ।
गात्राणि तद्गात्रवशं निवेश्य कान्तेन सार्धं कथयेच्छयाना ॥

1067. Kucimaratantra is not fully extant. A few sections in the Aupaniṣaḍam (medicine) chapter have been traced and published. It is avowedly a narration of Kucimāra's practices and his greatness has brought this work into repute, enough to call it an Upaniṣaḍ. Thus is begins :—

शङ्कराय नमस्कृत्य यत्पूर्वैस्समुदाहृतम् ।
* * * तकरं नृणां मंत्रौषधिसमन्वितम् ॥

संयोगादिष्टसंभारादुपपन्नं च तत्वतः ।
कूचिमारेण तपसा यत्कृतं क्रीडनं पुरा ॥

तत्प्रवक्ष्यामि चित्रार्थं नानार्थपदनिश्चितम् ।
श्रूयतां नामतश्चैव कूचूपनिषदं पुनः ।
बृंहणं लेपनं चैव वश्यं वन्धनवृष्यकम् ।
पादलेपाञ्जनं तैलं रोमनाशनमेव च ॥

Even in its present form, the work is very old and can be assigned to a date earlier than the 10th century A. D.[1]

1068. Vatsyayana. Tradition accords to Vāṭsyāyana the repute of a Muni or Maharṣi. His proper name was Mallanāga of the Vātsyāyana family but his identity with Paksilaswāmin, the author of Nyāyabhāṣya, is not substantitated. Obviously he flourished in the age when the sūṭra form of literature was in vogue. His exact date is as usual a chronological speculation, but the uncertainty is a matter of relativity. Vāṭsyāyana instances the killing of his queen Malayavaṭī by Kunṭala Śāṭakarṇi Śāṭavāhana.[2] Kunṭala Śāṭakarṇi or Swāṭi Karṇa was the 13th Āndhra king, and son of Mṛgendra Swāṭīkarṇa and according to Maṭsyapurāṇa and Kaliyugarājavṛṭṭanṭa he ruled in Kali 2487-2481, that is B. C. 615-607.[3] This date is of orthodox acceptance. Leaving an appreciable interval for the act of that king to become a story of notoriety and being instanced in literature, we may safely assign Vāṭsyāyana to the 4th or 3rd century B.C.[*]

1. Printed Lahore; *DC*, VIII. 2945. app. 7908. (*Kucimārasamhiṭā*).
2. See Introduction, about Kings of Magadha.
3. कर्तर्या कुन्तलश्शातकर्णिश्शातवाहनः महादेवीं मलयवतीं जघान । II. vii. The use of perfect tense shows that the story was already considered traditional.

But V. Smith places Purikasena (for variations of this name, see T. S. Narayana Sastri, *o. c.*, 99 where he gives him the date 485-464 B. C.) in 59 A.D, from which K. G. Sankara Iyer (*JMy*, VIII. 101) deduces the date 45 B. C. for Kunṭala Śāṭakarṇi and relying on the quotation of Lankāvatārasuṭras in the Nyāyasuṭras he takes us through a labarynth of cross-references to Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna and concludes

Kamasūtra[1] is a valuable treatise on sociology and eugenics.[2] The work, says H. C. Chakladar, (*JBORS*, V, part ii) "furnishes a beautiful picture of the Indian home, its interior and surroundings. It delineates the life and conduct of a devoted Indian wife, the mistress of the household and the controller of her husband's purse. It describes the daily life of a young man of fashion, his many-sided culture and refinement, his courtships and peccadillos, the sports and pastimes he revelled in, the parties and clubs he associated with. The wanton wiles of gay Lotharios and merry maidens, the abuses and intrigues prevailing among high officials and princes and the evils practised in their crowded harems, are described at great length and often with local details for the various provinces of India. The Kamasutra shows, moreover, that, as in the Athens of Pericles, the hetaerae skilled in the arts, the artists, the actress and the danceuse, occupied a no very mean or insignificant position in society. The book thus throws light on Indian life from various sides."

Kāmasutras composed in 350 A.D. If Vātsyāyana was regarded as a divine or a Ṛṣi by Kālidāsa and Bhavabhuṭi, this date subverts all imagination.

"It can be shown that the book, as we have it now, was known to Bhavabhuti, who flourished at the end of the seventh century, and that he makes constant reference to it in his Mālatimadhava. There is a statement to that effect at the beginning of the play itself, the point of which has been hitherto missed. I refer to the phrase "Auddhatyamayojitakamasutram," which occurs in the enumeration by the actor of the qualities the audience expect to find in the play about to be represented before them. Jagaddhara sees no reference to a book here, and Bhandarkar, differing from Jagaddhara, translates, "bold or adventurous deed, intended to assist the progress of love (*lit.* in which is introduced the thread of love)." Bhavabhuti doubtless means this too. But his words include a reference to this book of which he makes great use. When Kamandaki slyly suggests, while professing to put aside, the tales of how Sakuntala and others followed the dictates of their own hearts in love, he is following Vatsyayana. When she tells Avalokita that the one auspicious omen of a happy marriage is that bride and bridegroom should love one another, and quotes the old saying that the happy husband is he who marries the girl who has bound to her his heart and his eye, she is quoting Vatsyayana, and so in many other parts of the play, one of the most conspicuous passages is in his seventh act, where Buddharakshita breaks through her Prakrit to quote the Sanskrit phrase, "Kusumasadharmaṇo hi yoshitah sukumaropakramah"—"For women are like flowers, and should be approached gently." Buddharakshita is quoting our book (p. 199), and the whole of the context refers to a matter which Vatsyayana treats of at great length, and which is interwoven with the plot of the Malatimadhava." *PR*, II. 67

1. Ed. Benares and Bombay. For an excellent exposition in Telugu, see Vātsyāyana's Kamasuṭra, T. P. Adinarayana Sastri, Madras.

2. For an elaborate essay on the work, see Harachandra Chakladar's *Studies in Kamasutra of Vatsyayana*, Calcutta. See Peterson *JBRAS*, (1891), 109; J. N. Samaddar, *Economic Ideal of Kamasutra*, IA, LIII. 146. There is another English ranslation published by Brijmohan & Co., Amritsar.

Besides Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, which is practically an elaboration of portions of Kāmasūtras, there are commentaries on it by Yaśodhara Bhāskara Nṛsimha, Vīrabhadradeva, Malladeva[1] and one anonymous.[2]

1069. **Yasodhara's** gloss, Jayamangala,[3] is attributed by some scholars to Śankarārya or Śankarācārya,[4] because other commentaries of the name of Jayamangala, such as on Cāṇakya's Arthaśāstra, Kāmandaki's Nītiśāstra, Bhattikāvya, Īśvara's Sānkhyasaptāsati etc., are said to be of the latter's authorship and Yaśodhara alias Indraprabha is in that case only a scribe.[5] It is not possible to say who that Śankara was, except that this gloss is later than Kokkoka and cannot be earlier than the 13th century A.D. The great Śankara himself is said to have written a Bhāṣya on Kāmasūtras.

1070. **Virabhadradeva** was the son of Rāmacandra and a king of Veghela dynasty of the line of Śālivāhana. His Kandarpacūdāmaṇi[6] is a running commentary in verse and gives the date of its composition as Sam. 1633 (1577 A.D.).[7] BHASKARA NRSIMHA lived at Benares and composed his work at the instance of one Vrajlall in 1788 A.D.

1071. There is a tradition that Śankara wrote Manasijasūtras and Jyotirīśvara says that he had seen Manmathatantra of Īśvara.

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1. *CC*, I. 93; *Bik*, 535.
2. *PR*, IV. 25.
3. See *TC*, V. 6333.
4. See Weber, *IL*, 267 note.
5. The colophon to the gloss reads thus :

इति श्रीवात्स्यनीयकामसूत्रटीकायां जयमङ्गळाभिधानायां विदग्धाङ्गनाविरहकातरेण गुरुदत्तेन्द्रपदाभिधानेन यशोधरेण एकत्रकृतसूत्रभाष्यायाम् ।

" It is not possible to make out the real meaning of the underlined words and they certainly cannot mean that Yaśodhara brought the Sutras and Bhāṣya together because they are adjectival to Tika, and Tika cannot be a combination of sutras and Bhāṣya. Peterson says " The author gives his name as Yaśodhara but states that he wrote this explanaion of the Sutras which Vātsyāyana collected after he had retired from the world in grief at the loss of a beloved wife, and had, under the name of Indrapāla entered the ascetic life." (*PR*, II. 67).

6. *SKC*, 61 ; *PR*, II. 66 ; P. K. Gode, *Identification of Virabhanu* (*COJ*, II. 254 where geneology is given).

हरलोचनहरलोचनरसशशिभिर्विश्रुते समये ।
फाल्गुनशुक्लप्रतिपदि पूर्णो ग्रन्थस्समेरः ॥

7. *DC*, VIII. 2931.

Rantideva's Yogādhikārikā also deals with medicines,[1] for instance

माहेन्द्रमुष्कं सकलं घृतेन ससैन्धवं गव्यपयस्सुसिद्धम् ।
तद्भक्षयित्वा रतिसङ्गरेषु जयत्यकस्माद्युवतीसहस्रम् ॥

Nāgārjuna or Siddha Nāgārjuna[2] is said to have composed Vaśikaraṇatantra.[3] It is not now available. There is Nāgārjunīyayogaśataka by Dhruvapāla.[4]

Kṣemendra's Vātsyayanasūtrasāra is quoted in his Aucityavicāracarcā (39).

1072. Padmasri or Padmaśrignāna was a Buddhist monk. He mentions Kuttnīmata and is quoted in Śārngadharapaddhati, and he must have therefore lived about 1000 A. D. In his Nāgarasarvasva in 18 parts, he sums up with fine illustrations in flowing poetry all that is needed for a man of aesthetic and amorous tastes. Besides describing the means of adoring one's person and residence, it embraces all stages of love from wooing to conception, with instructions on charms and medicines.

There are two commentaries on it by Tanusukharama[5] (the editor) and by Jagajjyotirmalla (1617-1633 A.D.). Nagaridāsa wrote Nāgarasamuccaya.[6]

1073. Kalyanamala wrote his ANANGARANGA[7] to please a Mohammadan ruler of Oudh, Ladakhan Lodi, son of Ahmedkhan. In ten chapters it describes the sensual qualities of different clauses of women and purports to be a compendium of writings on the subject. He also wrote Sulomatcarit , a Sanskrit version of the story of Solomon, son of David, in the old Testament.[8]

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1. *CC*, I. 493. He is mentioned in Sāktiratnākara (*O. J* 101).
2. See *IA*, IV. 141; X. 87; XV. 352; XVI. 169.
3. *CC*, I. 283; III. 61.
4. *Opp*. 998; II. 1990; *Oudh*, XII. 26.
5. Ed. by himself, Bombay with a valuable introduction.
6. Printed, Bombay.
7. Ed. Lahore. *DC*, VIII. 2911. Here is a verse for instance:

उन्निद्राम्बुजकोशतुल्यवदना रम्या मराळस्वना
तन्वी हंसपथागतिस्सुललितं वेषं सदा बिभ्रती ।
मध्यं चापि वलित्रयाङ्कितततनुश्शुक्लाम्बराकांक्षिणी
सुग्रीवा शुभनासिकेति गदिता नार्युत्तमा पद्मिनी ॥

8. *DC*, XXI. 8150.

1074. Kokkoka was the son of Tejoka and grandson of Pāribhaḍra. His RATIRAHASYAM in 10 chapters was composed for the delectation of one Vainyaḍaṭṭa and is an elegent and lucid summary of Kāmasūṭras. It is quoted by Kumbhakarṇa and by Nayacanḍra and was probably composed in the 12th century A.D.

There are commentaries on Raṭirahasya[1] by Kāncīnāṭha,[2] Avanca Rāmacanḍra,[3] and Kaviprabhu.[4] Harihara's Sṛṇgārarasabanḍhapradīpikā is also a commentary.[5]

उद्भूतः पारिभद्रामरनरफणि ...प्रेयसीगीतकीर्तेः
नप्ता तेजोकनाम्नस्सदसि बहुमतः पंडितानां कवीनाम् ।
एतच्छ्रीगद्यविद्याधरकवितनयः कामकेळीरहस्यं
कोक्कोकः कामुकानां किमपि रतिकरं व्याकरोत् कौतुकेन ॥

The colophon reads: इति श्रीसिद्धपंडितसिह्मळीयकोक्कोकविराचिते रतिरहस्ये ।

Kāmaśāsṭram[6] is a compilation of verses on erotics with pictorial representations, one in each sheet; but the verses appear to be from Raṭirahasya, which as preserved in Tanjore has readings different from the published edition.[7]

1075. Harihara, son of Rāmaviḍvat, bore the title Sahajasārasvaṭacanḍra. He also wrote Raṭirahasya or Śṛngārabheḍapadīpikā[8] or Śṛngāraḍīpika in which chapter IV deals with manṭras, yanṭras and medicines. It is said that he was a Telugu poet and wrote Bhāgavaṭa about 1450 A.D.[9] But if Viḍyāḍhara's mention of a poet Harihara and his work Binḍvalankara, as having received immense weath from a king Arjuna means this Harihara and if King Arjuna is king Arjunavarman

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1. *Tanj*. XVI. 7355.
2. Ed. Benares. *DC*, VIII. 2957; *Tanj*. XXII. 7357.
3. *DC*, VIII. 2955. This was translated into Telugu and Tamil long ago.
4. *Tanj*, XVI. 7358.
5. *Tanj*, XVI. 7359.
6. *Tanj*, XV. 7360.
7. Ibid. 7355.

There is a Kāmaśāsṣra by Silhapata Iśvarakāmiṭa, quoted by Arjunavarman in his gloss on Amaruka. *CC*, I. 61.

8. *TC*, II. 2452. Ms. breaks off in the 5th chapter. (*Mys*. 207, *DC*, VIII. 2950). These chapters were published by R. S. Schmidt in *ZDMG*. Aufrecht (*CC*, I. 661. gives the reference as Burnell, 59. But the Tanjore catalogue has no such name. There is a Śabḍabheḍapraḍipikā (anonymous) noted there, *Tanj*. IX. 3903.
9. See Viresalingam's Poets Part. III.

of Malva, he must have lived in the beginning of the 13th century A.D.[1] Harihara, son of Candra, wrote Raṭiḍarpaṇa.[2]

1076. Ananta's Kāmasamūha is a fine description of all factors of love. It begins with a description of the seasons and embraces the classification of women and stages and progress of love. It was composed in 1457 A.D. but seeing that some verses in it are quoted in Subhāṣiṭāvali under other authors, this work may have been a compilation.[3]

1077. Immadi Praudhadevaraya's Raṭiraṭnapraḍīpikā is an elaborate and interesting treatise on sexual pleasures, external and internal. In seven chapters and in easy verse it initiates lovers into fashions of enjoyment and shows that the passions of amour can receive appreciation. He was King of Vijianagar (1422-48 A.D.)[4]

Sri Sasali Vīraṇārāḍhya lived at the end of the 15th century A.D. He wrote Pancaraṭna and says:

भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं माररहस्यं पञ्चरत्नकम् ।
व्यधत्तोपनिषत्सर्वं वीरणाराध्ययोगिराट् ॥

Revaṇārāḍhya wrote a commentary on it.

1078. Kavisekhara Jyotirisvara's Pancasāyaka deals in four parts with classes of women, species of enjoyment, manṭras and aphrodasiacs.[5] He says

दृष्ट्वा मन्मथतन्त्रमीश्वरकृतं वात्स्यायनीयं मतं
गोणीपुत्रकमूलदेवभणितं बाभ्रव्यकाव्यामृतम् ।
श्रीनन्दीश्वरचित्तिदेवभणितं क्षेमं च विद्यागमम्
एते कामिषु पञ्चसायकमिति प्रीतिप्रदं प्राणिनाम् ॥

1079. King Shahaji of Tanjore (1684-1710 A.D.) wrote Śṛngāramanjarī, embracing poetics and erotics.[6]

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1. S. K. De, *SP*, I. 323 says "There are poets of the name Harihara (*CC*, I. 662-3); (i) quoted in Paḍyāvali (ii) commentator as Bhattikavya and Anargaraghava and Amaruśataka (iii) the anthologist (iv) authors of Ciṭrabhanukāvya, and Jānakīmaṇikyasṭava, (vi) Prabhāvaṭiparinayanātaka (vii) Hṛḍayaḍuṭa Kāvya. There is a poet Hariharaḍeva in Śārngaḍharapaḍḍhaṭi (p. 98) where he praises a poet Suḍarsāna."
2. *TC*, III. 4140.
3. *C Bod.*. 218 note; *PR*, III. 22, 366.
4. Ed. Mysore by K. Rangaswami Iyengar, with English translation, but his attribution of the work to Doddadevaraya Wodayar of Mysore is incorrect
5. Printed, Bombay. See para 685 *supra*. *BRI* (1925) 15; *TC*, III. 4035.
6. *Tanj*, XVI. 7365.

1080. MINANATHA wrote Smaradīpikā or Ratiratnapradīpikā. He describes the plan of his work thus :[1]

प्रथमं जातिनिर्देशस्ततो नायकलक्षणम् ।
ततश्चाभ्यन्तररतिः स्वान्यदाराधिकारिता ।
वारनार्यधिकारश्च क्रमशोऽन्ते प्रदर्शितः ॥

SRINATHABHATTA wrote a treatise in 16 chapters on erotic sorcery, as expounded in the Tantras.[2] There is a Kāmatantra in 14 parts of unknown authorship.[3]

1081. Rasikaranjanam of Vaidyanātha and Rasikabodhinī of his father Kāmarājadīkṣita[4] and Śṛngāratilakam of Kālidasa are small poetic descriptions of amorous sentiments.[5]

1082. Rasacandrikā of Viśveśvara[6] describes heroes and heroines. Vitavṛtta describes the relations between harlots and their lovers and was probably composed by Saumadattin.[7] Mādhava's Jadavṛtta gives a humorous account of fools as dupes of dancing woman.[8] Dhūrtānandam in 4 parts is an attractive account of the rakish ways of the man of the town.[9]

Citradhara's Śṛngārasāra in 7 Paddhatis deals with the origin,

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1. *CC*, I. 745, 455. He is quoted by Manoharasarman, *Oaf*, 352 ; *PR*, II. 190.
2. Mitra's *Notics*, No. 991, *IO*, IV. 921 ; *BRI*, (1925) 15. Ed. Bombay.
3. *OML*, No. 14930 ?
4. *DC*, XX. 8009.
5. See S.K. De. *SP*, I. 320 and for quotations see Nāgarasasva (Ed Bombay. p. 117).

For instance :

मन्थाः शिश्नः स्मरोऽग्निर्भगमरणिरहो रोमपंक्तिस्तु दर्भाः
होमद्रव्यं हि रेतो मणितमपि च वाग्वृत्विजावण्डयुग्मम् ।
एतत्कामाग्निहोत्रं विधिविहितमहो सालसाश्चो भजन्ते
धिक्तान् धिक्तान् धिगेतानिति वदति सखं वारयोषिन्मृदङ्गः ॥

This is based on Chandogyapau'ṣad (V. 8.)

"योषा वाव गोतमाग्निस्तस्या उपस्थ एव समिधद्युपमन्त्रयते सधूमो योनिरर्चिर्यदन्तः करोति तेऽङ्गारा अभिनन्दस्फुलिङ्गाः । तस्मिन्नेतस्मिन्नग्नौ देवा रेतो जुह्वति ॥

6. *TC*, II. 18.
7. The first verse of the work is quoted as Saumadattin's in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali. But a commentary on Jadavṛttam ascribes the work to Bhartṛhari's (Manuscript in Or. Ms. Library in Madras).
8. *Trav.* 74.
9. *TC*, III. 3981. *Trav.* 74.

emotions, progress and consummation of love and incidentally with music and dancing.[1]

Smaradīpikā[2] is a short piece of 157 verses and embraces all the topics of erotics. In the colophon of one of the manuscripts it is attributed to Mūladeva, but the third verse indicates that the author was Rudra. Ratimanjarī of Jayadeva is a small piece on women and copulation.[3] Kāmāprābhṛtaka by Keśava is an introductory treatise on erotics and shows fine poetry.[4] So is Kāmānanda in 5 patalas of Varadarāja, son of Iśvarādhvarin.[5]

Anangadīpikā (in prose),[6] Ratisāra,[7] Raticandrikā,[8] and Śṛngārakutūhala of Kautukadeva,[9] and Tṛtīyapuruṣārthasādhakasaraṇi,[10] and Praṇayacintā deal with amorous sentiments and dalliance. Bandhodaya is a collection of pictures very artistically drawn upon palm leaves illustrating various postures of copulation and accompanied by the verse describing the bandhas.[11] Śṛngārakanduka or Jārapancāśat describes in two parts some amorous situations as between Kṛṣṇa and Gopis.[12]

Veśyānganākalpadruma relates to courtesans.[13] Raghupatirahasyadīpikā stops with Sambhogaprakaraṇa.[14]

1083. Miscellaneous. Kāmasāra of Karṇadeva,[15] Ratisāra of King Mādhavadeva,[16] Raticandrikā.[17]

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1. *DC*, XX. 8016. *IO*. I. 364.
2. *PR*. II. No. 113. *Tanj*, XVI. 7363.
3. Ed. Bombay and elsewhere.
4. *TC*, III. 3897.
5. *TC*, III. 3898.
6. *Bik*. 531.
7. *CBK*, 531-3.
8. *DC*, VIII. 3894.
9. *TC*, IV. 5001.
10. *OML* No. 3/649.
11. Ibid. Ms. No. 4/574. Sambhogādhyayām (*Mys*. 307). Kāmakalpalatā of Sadāśiva is a similar work on postures of copulation without pictures. The latter manuscript is available with Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi, Madras.
12. *TC*. II. 1400. There is a commentary on it by Venkatarāghava of Śrīśaila family.
13. *Opp*. 6220.
14. *Adyar*, II. 37.
15. *PR*, III. 22, 366.
16. *Mys*. 307.
17. *TC*, III. 3899.

(Kāmaraṭna, Rasikasarvasva, Kāmaprakāsā, Nāgaravallabha and Manmaṭhasambiṭā.[1]

Maḍanamahārṇava of Manḍhāṭā,[2] Kāmaprabodha of Anūpasimha,[3] Saḍarpakanḍarpa by Bhavānanḍa Thakkura,[3] Maḍanasanjīvinī,[4] Ananga-ṭilaka,[5] Anangaḍīpikā,[6] Anangaśekhara,[7] Śṭrīvilāsa of Ḍeveśvara Upāḍhyāya,[8] Raṭinīṭimukula of Kṣemākara Śāstrin,[9] and Kavicinṭāmaṇi.[10]

1. Mentioned in Preface to Edn. of Raṭirahasya.
2. *BRI*, 1925), 76. There is one Maḍanārṇava, *Bik*. 533.
3. *Bik*. 532.
4. *CASB*, 211.
5. *Opp*, II. 2738.
6. *Opp*, 6518, 6556.
7. *Bik*. 531.
8. *Opp*, 5482.
9. *BRI*, (1925), 76.
10. Printed, Bombay.
11. *TC*, II. 1363; *DC*, VIII. No. 3894.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Chandoviciti

(Metrics)

1084. **Chandas-sastra** or **Chandoviciti,** as it has been sometimes called, is the science of metrics, prosody. It is a Vedānga, a subject of study necessary for the proper understanding of the hymns. The earliest Sanskrit literature, Ṛg-veḍa, is in sūktas or hymns, that is, in verse.[1] The seers (Ṛṣis) that sang those verses must have been guided by specific canons for metrical expression, for music, that is evident in the chanting of the hymns contained in Sāma Veḍa, must originate an array of letters yielding sounds conducive to the harmony of the ear. "In the Brahmanas the oddest tricks are played with them and their harmony is in some mystical fashion brought into connection with the harmony of the world, in fact, stated to be its fundamental cause. Thc simple minds of these thinkers were too much charmed by their rhythims not to be led into these and similar symbolisings." The metrical content of the Ṛigveḍa has shown that each period except the 'normal' period, was inventive. The bards were occupied in constructing fresh metrical schemes, as well as in producing verse following established models. They frequently compare their craft to the highest kind of workmanship known to them, that is displayed in the construction of a war-chariot; and they show confidence that a 'new' song will be more pleasing to the gods than one which is old fashioned."

Principles of versification and inquiries into the nature of metres, that is, the beginning of the science of metrics, are found in Niḍānasūṭra of Sāmaveḍa, Śānkhyāyana Śrauṭasūṭra (vii. 2), and in Ṛk Prāṭisākhya and Kāṭyāyana Anukramaṇī which almost follows it, while in the later hymns of Ṛk Samhiṭā some metres are named.[1]

The antiquity of the Vedic metres goes far beyond conceivable history. It dates back probably to the days when the Indo-Aryans, as, ethnologists may say, were still unseparated or just separated from their Persian brethren.[2]

1. Macdonell, *SL*, 54; Weber, *IL*, 225 and Weber, *die Metrik des Inder*, Berlin; Brown, *Prosody*, 17.
1. See Weber, *ISt*, VIII. 1; H. Jacobi, *ZDMG*, XXXVIII. 590; XL. 336.
2. Arnold, *Vedic Metre* (Cambridge), 19.

"The comparison of the earlier parts of the Avesta indicates that the first Vedic poets were not far from the period when verse was measured solely by the number of syllables, without any regard to their quantity. The quantity of initial and final syllables is always indifferent in the Rigveda, and this feature is inherited from the earlier period of purely syllable measurement. But in all other parts of the verse we find rhythmical tendencies, which determine with varying regularity the quantity required in each position." Thus concludes Arnold : As works of mechanical art the metres of the Rigveda stand high above those of modern Europe in variety of motive and in flexibility of form. They seem indeed to bear the same relation to them as the rich harmonies of classical music to the simple melodies of the peasant. And in proportion as modern students come to appreciate the skill displayed by the Vedic poets, they will be glad to abandon the easy but untenable theory that the variety of form employed by them is due to chance, or the purely personal bias of individuals : and to recognize instead that we find all the signs of a genuine historical development, that is, of united efforts in which a whole society of man have taken part, creating an inheritance which had passed through the generations from father to son, and holding up an ideal which has led each in his turn to seek rather to enrich his successors than to grasp his own immediate enjoyment. If this was so, when the Vedic bards also are to be counted amongst 'great men·········such as sought out musical tunes and set forth verses in writng.'

1085. The following extracts from Arnold's *Vedic Metre* (6-15) are instructive :

The units of Vedic metre are the 'verse', the 'stanza' and the 'hymn.'

A *verse* consists most commonly either of eight syllables, when we distinguish it as a *dimeter* verse : or of eleven or twelve syllables, both of which varieties are included under the name *trimeter* verse.

* * * *

The most typical forms of the *stanza* are :

(i) the *Anustubh*, which consists of four dimeter verses, and

(ii) the *Tristubh*, which consists of four trimeter verses, each of eleven syllables.

Four trimeter verses, each of twelve syllables, form a *Jagati* stanza.

Stanzas may contain more or fewer verses than four. Thus the *Gayatri* consists of three dimeter verses, the *Pankti* of five, the *Mahapankti* of six : whilst three *Tristubh* verses form the metre known as *Viraj* and two decasyllabic verses that known as *Dvipada Viraj*.

Stanzas may also consist of combinations of dimeter and trimeter verses, the latter being then usually of twelve syllables : all meters of this type we group as lyric metres.

Lyric metres may also include verses of four syllables, and even of sixteen, but these are comparatively rare. The most important lyric meters are *Usnih* (8. 8. 12. or 8. 8. 8. 4.), *Kakubh* (8. 12 8.), *Brhati* (8. 8. 12. 8.), *Satobrhati* (12. 8. 12. 8.) and *Atyasti* (12. 12. 8. 8. 8. 12. 8.).

* * * *

A hymn may contain any number of stanzas, but usually it consists of not less than three or more than fifteen stanzas, generally uniform in character, except in the case of strophic and 'mixed lyric' hymns. It is also not uncommon for the last stanza of a hymn to contain one or even two additional verses.

Where the number of stanzas in a hymn is very large, or the metre suddenly changes, it becomes probable that we have a composite hymn, that is, two or more hymns combined in the Samhita text.

* * * *

In all metres in the Rigveda the quantities of the first and last syllables of each verse are different, and (with some exceptions) each verse is independent in structure.

In almost all metres a general iambic rhythm may be noticed in the sense that the even syllables, namely the second, fourth, and so on are more often long than short.

* * * *

In all metres the rhythm of the latter part of the verse is much more rigidly defined than that of the earlier part.

* * * *

In the early part of the verse there is a general preference for long syllable, in the latter of the verse or short syllables. These preferences modify considerably the general iambic rhythm prevailing in both parts.

* * * *

Trimeter verse may be analysed in two ways:

(i) into two parts, as separated by the cæsura, which regularly follows either the fourth or the fifth syllable; or

(ii) into three numbers, namely (*a*) the opening, which consists of the first four syllables: (*b*) the break, consisting of the fifth, sixth, and seventh syllables: and (*c*) the cadence which includes the remaining syllables, beginning with the eighth.

In the case of Tristubh verse, the two parts consist either of four and seven syllables, or of five and six syllables each, according as the cæsura is early (that is, after the fourth syllable) or late (that is, after the fifth syllable). If the cæsura is early, we have a short first part and a long second part: if late, we have a long first part and a short second part.

In the case of Jagati verse, the second part is in each case longer by one syllable.

In all cases the second part regularly begins with two short syllables.

Anustubh:

वायुरस्म उपामन्थात् पिनष्टि स्म कुनन्नम ।
केशी विषस्य पात्रेण यद्रुद्रेण पिबत्सह ॥

Gayatri :

i उक्थं चन सस्यामानम्
अगो ररिरा चिकेत न
गायत्रं गीयमानम् ॥

ii तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं
भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि
धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

Normal Tristubh :

बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानः
महो ज्योतिषः परमे व्योमन् ।
सप्तास्यस्तुविजातो रवेण
वि सप्तरश्मिरधमत्तमांसि ॥

Normal Jagati :

अतदा अर्भा महते वचस्यवे
कक्षीवते वृचयामिन्द्रसुन्वते ।
मेनाभवो पृषणस्वस्य शुक्रतो
विश्वेत्ताते सवनेषु प्रवाच्या ॥

The following passage from Mahābhāṣya is instructive :

तथा छंदोग्रंथोऽप्युपयुज्यते छंदोविशेषाणां तत्र तत्र विहितत्वात् । तस्मात्सप्तचतुरुत्तराणि छंदांसि प्रातरनुवाकेऽनूच्यंत इति ह्याम्नातं । गायत्र्युष्णिगनुष्टुब्बृहतीपंक्तित्रिष्टुब्जगतीत्येतानि सप्त छंदांसि । चतुर्विंशत्यक्षरा गायत्री । ततोऽपि चतुर्भिरक्षरैराधिकाष्टाविंशत्यक्षरोष्णिक् । एवमुत्तरोत्तराधिका अनुष्टुबादयोऽवगंतव्याः । तथान्यत्रापि श्रूयते । गायत्रीभिर्ब्राह्मणस्यादध्यात् त्रिष्टुब्भीराजन्यस्य जगतीभिर्वैश्यस्येति । तत्र सगणयगणादिसाध्यो गायत्र्यादिविवेकश्छंदोग्रंथमंतरेणनसुविज्ञेयः । किं च यो ह वा अविदितार्षेयच्छंदोदैवतब्राह्मणेन मंत्रेण याजयति वाध्यापयति वा स्थाणुं वर्छतिगर्तं वा पद्यदि प्रवामीयते पापीयान् भवति । तस्मादेतानि मंत्रे मंत्रे विद्यादिति श्रूयते । तस्मात्तद्वेदनाय छंदोग्रंथ उपयुज्यते ।

By the time of the composition of Upaniṣads we find the anustubh metre settling down to a definite form, almost approaching the epic *śloka*. Even in Ṛgveda, we have that variety :

वायुरस्म उपमन्थात् पिनष्टि स्म कुननमम ।
केशी विषस्य पात्रेण यद्रुद्रेण पिबत्सह ॥

The tradition that the *sloka* metre became manifest in the unconscious effusion of Vālmiki's grief caused by the sight of killing of

Kaunci is but an indication that Vālmīki, called thereby *Aḍikavi*, was the first of the authors of classical Sanskrit poetry,

1086. " The poetry of the epic is composed in metres, chandas of three sorts. The first is measured by syllables, the second by moræ, the third by groups of moræ. These rhythms ran the one into the other in the following course. The early free syllabic rhythm tended to assume a form where the syllables were differentiated as light or heavy at fixed places in the verse. Then the fixed syllabic rhythm was lightened by the resolution of specific heavy syllables, the beginning of mora-measurement. The resolution then became general and the number of moræ, not the number of syllables, was reckoned. Finally, the moræ tended to arrange themselves in groups and eventually became fixed in a wellnigh unchangeable form. Part of this development was reached before the epic began, but there were other parts, as will appear, still in process of completion, Neither of the chief metres in the early epic was quite reduced to the later stereotyped form. The stanza-form, too, of certain metres was still inchoate.

The mass of the great epic (about ninety-five per cent) is written in one of the two current forms of free syllabic rhythm; about five per cent in another form of the same class; and only two-tenths of a per cent in any other metre."[1]

1087. " After the composition of Ramayana, and since that time prosodial genius has been very active and the variety of metres that had come into vogue was such that Bharaṭa treated the subject *Chandoviciti* in chapters 14 and 15 of Nātyaśāṣṭra. Bharata defines the tunes of a metre in quantities laghu or guru fort fixed places.[2] Kohala has a section on prosody. According to Bharata and Kohala, whose main sphere was histrionics, the rhythm of the metre must appear to be a spontaneous effusion of the thoughts and sentiments of the actor on the scene."

1088. Metric Varieties are based on mere number of syllables, admixture of long and short measures, or number of morae (māṭras):

Sloka is free syllabic, a stanza of four *pādas* (feet), in two verses (hemistichs) of 16 syllables restricted to *guru* and *laghu* syllablces in some fixed places. This is the definition:—

1. Hopkin's, *Great Epic*, Ch IV.
2. Regnaud, *La metrique de Bharata*, *AMG*, 2, Paris.

पञ्चमं लघु सर्वत्र सप्तमं द्विचतुर्थयोः ।
षष्ठं गुरुर्विजानीयादेतत् श्लोकस्य लक्षणम् ॥

Akṣarachandas is fixed syllabic and this is varṇavṛṭṭa, e. g., Raṭhoḍḍhaṭī, Praharṣiṇī, Rucirā. Māṭrācchandas counts by morae such as Puṣpiṭāgrā, Aupacchandasika, Aparavakṭra and Vaiṭālīya.

GANACCHANDAS has morae in groups : *e.g.*,

"Arya, Aryagiti, Upagiti, stanzas of two verses, each verses, each verse containing eight groups of morae, the group of four morae each, but with the restriction that amphibrachs are prohibited in the odd groups, but may make any even group and must make the sixth group, unless indeed this sixth group be represented (in the second hemistich) by only one mora or four breves; and that the eighth group may be represented by only two morae. The metre is called aryagiti when the eighth foot has four morae; upagiti, when the sixth foot iregularly has but one mora in each hemistich."

1089. Among earliest writers on *Laukika* or classical chanḍas, are Krauṣṭuki, Ṭandin, Yāska, Kāśyapa, Śaiṭava, Rāta and Māndavya and these are mentioned by Pingala. Abhinavaguṗta quotes from Kāṭyāyana, Bhatta Sānkara and Jayaḍeva.

यथोक्तं कात्यायनेन—

'वीरस्य भुजदण्डानां वर्णने स्रग्धरा भवेत् ।
नायिकावर्णने कार्यं वसन्ततिलकादिकम् ॥
शार्दूललीला प्राच्येषु मन्दाक्रान्ता च दक्षिणे ।'

यथा शङ्करभक्तिशालिना भट्टशङ्करेण अर्धसमवृत्तप्रकरणे प्रदर्शितम् ।

"This Bhatta Śankara seems to be a Śaivacārya like Abhinava. A Śaiva called Śankarakantha is known to us as the father of Ratnakantha, the author of स्तुतिकुसुमाञ्जलिटीका. Aufrecht mentions two more Śankaras, one, son of Ratnākara and commentator on महिम्नस्तोत्र and another writer on prosody called शङ्करशर्मन् who wrote a work on metrics called वृत्तमुक्तावली." Bhaṭṭa Śankara quoted by Abhinava is probably a commentator on Chandoviciti.

1090. Jayadeva wrote a Chanḍaśśāsṭra in the form of aphorisms. He is quoted as a master on metrics and music by Abhinavagupṭa in his Abhinavabhāraṭi[1] and he must have therefore lived in the

1. सर्वेषां वृत्तानाम् इत्यादौ अर्थसमासेन जयदेवोऽभ्यधात् ।
"He is twice mentioned as a writer on Prosody by Namisādhu in his Tīkā on

early centuries of the Christian era, unless we take him to the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. when the sūtra style was in vogue. There is a commentary by Harṣata son of Bhatta Mukula who lived about 900 A.D.[1]

1091. **Pingala's** Sūṭras[2] do contain a section on vedic metres, and many that are now obsolete, but they were meant only as a treatise on classical prosody. Pingala's treatment is similar to that of Agni Purāṇa (Chap 328-34). Pingala invented a code of mnemonics which has become so popular that the systems of Bharaṭa or of the later Janāśraya have not been adopted by writers on prosody. Pingala uses eight gaṇas of three syllables य, म, त, र, ज, भ, न, स and long and short sound measures guru and laghu (ग and ल). The formula is यमाताराजभानसलगम्.

There are commentaries on Pingalasūṭras by Halāyuḍha,[3] Śrīharṣāśarman, son of Makaraḍhvaja,[4] Vāṇīnāṭha,[5] Lakṣhmīnāṭha son of Rāmayabhatta,[6] Yāḍavaprakāśā,[7] and Ḍāmoḍara.[8]

Nārayana's Vṛṭṭokṭiraṭna[9] and Canḍraśekhara's Vṛṭṭamaukṭika[10] are almost Pingala's paraphrases and the latter is in 6 Prakasas called by its author Vārṭika of Pingalasūṭras.

1092. **Janasrayi Chandoviciti**[11] begins with a reference to king Janāśraya, and his sacrifices.

Rudraṭa. [*CC*, I. 199. Namisadhu, I. 18. The manuscript is dated sam. 1190 (1134 A. D.)] Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Vrttaratnākara quotes Jayadeva and his definition of the Upacitrā metre. Jayadeva is twice quoted in Rāmacandra Budhendra's commentary, Pancikā, on the Vrttaratnākara."

1. *BRI*, No. 72 of 1872-3. See P. K. Gode in *Poona Orientalist*, I. 33.

2. Ed. by Weber, *ISt*. VIII and with the commentary of Halayuḍha, *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta by Visvanathasastri and in Kāvyamala, Bombay.

On the supposed identity of Pingala and Paṭanjali, See *ISt*. VIII. 158. Pingala's name occurs in Mahābhāṣya.

3. Printed, Calcutta.

4. *CSC*, (1901), 5.

5. *Mitra*, X. composed in 1600 A. D.

6. *Tanj*. IX. 3928

7. *Adyar*, II. 39.

8. *Ibid*.

9. *IO*, II. 308. There are Prākṛṭa Pingalasutras with commentary by Ravikara and Viśvanāṭha son of Viḍyānivāsa (*Ibid*. 309).

10. *Ibid*. 313 ; *Adyar*, II. 39.

11. See M. R. Kavi's Edn. in part in Journal *Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara*, Madras (now defunct) with a valuable Introduction.

स भूपतिरुदारधीर्जयति सम्पदेकाश्रयो जनाश्रय इति श्रिया वहति नाम सार्थं विभुः ।
मखैरुरुभिरद्भुतैर्मघवतो जयश्रीरपि जिता विजितशत्रुणा जगति येन रुद्राचरत् ॥

If Janāśraya is identical with king Mādhavavarman II of Viṣṇukundin dynasty who bore that title, he would have flourished between 580 and 615 A.D.[1]

Janāśraya's quotations from various ancient writers are of historical value. Among these traced, are Bharaṭa, Vararuci's Ubhayābhisārikā, Śūdraka's Padmaprābhṛta, Kālidasa's poems, Aśvaghoṣa's poems, Sundarapāndya's Nītidviṣaṣṭikā, Kumāradāsa's Jānakīharaṇa, Bhāravi and Vikaṭanitambā.[2] These authors flourished before 6th century A.D. Apart from these quotations, there are compositions of the author, one of which a Daṇḍaka applying to God Kumāra and king Janāśraya in double entendre is worth a repetition.

येन प्रांशुं क्रौञ्चस्याग्रं मणिकनकविमलनवरजतपटहरवृषभसकलशशिकिरणकुमुदसदृशं सिताम्बुजसन्निभं ।

भिन्नं शक्त्यान लीलावल्यास्तटविटपंकुटजसितपनसतिनिशधवखदिरतिलकतरुगहनललितशिखरं लतागृहसङ्कटं ।

क्रीडाभूमिर्गन्धर्वाणां गजगवयमहिषरुरुपृषतशरभमृगमिथुनपरमबहुविविधशकुनिचरितं विप्रद्रुतकिन्नरं ।

सोऽव्यान् वोऽद्रिर्देवो रोषात्तृषित इव पिबतु दहन इव दहतु पवन इव वहतु तरुणरविसदृशवदनो मयूरध्वजः ॥

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1. Viṣṇukundin dynasty ruled over the tract of the basin of the Kṛṣṇā and Godāvari and perished by 650 A.D. and Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana defeated them about 615 A.D.

2. "Bhoja quotes the following verse as an example for *Punarbhu*, a woman who marries a second husband.

के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरां गुम्फेन रञ्जिताः ।
निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानाममौग्ध्यमधुरं वचः ॥
(शृङ्गारप्रकाशे)

Here it means the expression of Vikaṭanitambā.

Namisādhu and Bhoja quote the following verse :—

काले माषं सस्ये मासं वदति शकाशं यश्च सकाषम् ।
उष्ट्रे लुम्पति रं वा षं वा तस्मै दत्ता विकटानितम्बा ॥
(रुद्रटालङ्कारः)

And this verse is introduced by Namisādhu in the following words :—

" यथा विकटनितम्बायाः पतिमनुकुर्वाणा सखी प्राह '

which means the maid ridicules the vocal clearness of the husband of Vikaṭanitambā."

" Janāśraya is in six chapters dealing with the conventional code created by the author, Viṣama, Sama and Ardhasama, vṛttas, Jātis, including Vaitāliya and Ārya and prastāra. He charges Pingala with indifference to pause or cæsura (यति).

Jānāśrayīkāra uses *Ganas* or quantities of 2, 3, 4 and 5 letters (a *letter* is counted by the presence of a single vowel irrespective of the number of consonantal sounds in conjunction with it). As the work and its code are new to the general reader *ganas* are explained below with some details in the form of a chart :

EXPLANATORY CHART.[1]

Janasraya's sutras indicating the code of mnemonics.	Significant letter (consonant).	Significant vowel which represents the quantity.	Prosodial symbols.	Pingala's code for the same quantity.	Example.	Remarks
Gangas (गङ्गास्)	स्	Nil	∪∪	गग (ga ga)	वाणी	The vowel indicative of the gaṇa (quantity) is found in the first letter of the code word.
Nadīj (नदीज्)	ज्	...	I∪	लग (la ga)	परा	
Chandrap (चन्द्रप्)	प्	...	∪I	गल (ga la)	अस्तु	
Nanur (ननुर्)	र्	...	II	लल (la la)	मम	
Nūnamsāg (नूनंसाग्)	ग्	ऊ	∪∪∪	म (ma-gaṇa)	वामाक्षी	
Kriśāngīṅg (कृशाङ्गीङ्)	ङ्	ऋ	I∪∪	य (ya-gaṇa)	लताङ्गी	अ in la in larati
Dhīvarāś (धीवराश्)	श्	ई	∪I∪	र (ra-gaṇa)	श्रीकरा	आ in सा in सातव
Kurutel (कुरुतल्)	ल्	उ	II∪	स (sa-gaṇa)	युवतिः	ऋ in कृ in कृशाङ्गी
Tesrikvab (तेश्रिक्व्)	व्	ए	∪∪I	त (ta-gaṇa)	चोलेषु	ओ in लो in लोलमाला.
Vibhātik (विभातिक्)	क्	इ	I∪I	ज (ja-gaṇa)	विभाति	
Sātavat (सातवत्)	त्	आ	∪II	भ (bha-gaṇa)	काचन	
Taratim (तरतिम्)	म्	अ	III	न (na-gaṇa)	सरसि	Thus III is indicated by अ and म्;
Nacharatid (नचरतिद्)	द्	Nil	IIII	नल (na la)	विहरति	
Kamalinīy (कमलिनीय्)	य्	Nil	III∪	नग (na ga)	कमलिनी	
Lolamālāsh (लोलमालाष्)	ष्	ओ	∪I∪∪	रग (ra ga)	हारयष्टिः	∪II is by आ and त्
Dhairyamastutet (धैर्यमस्तुतेट्)	ट्	ऐ	∪I∪I∪	रलग (ra la ga)	कुश्चितालका	I∪I is by क् and इ
Rautimayūronj (रौतिमयूरोञ्)	ञ्	औ	∪II∪∪	भगग (bha ga ga)	शुद्धगुणाढ्या	
Jayamaravaran (जयनरवरण्)	ण्	Nil	IIIII	नन (na na)	जयतुजयतु	and so on.

1. This was prepared by M. R. Kavi and used in his introduction, l.c.

"The system works upon 18 symbols represented by the last indicative letters; while eleven of them are also known by the initial *vowel* of the word. Thus for 11 out of 18, symbols are indicated by two letters each (a vowel as well as a consonant). For instance, *m* (म्) and *a* (अ) represent gana of three short vowelled-letters which according to Pingala is *na*-gaṇa '||;similarly *t* (त्) and *ā* (आ) represent *bha*-gana of Pingala; *k* (क्) and *i* (इ) *ja*-gana; *ś* (श्) and *ī* (ई) ragana ∪'∪; and so on. *ai* (ऐ) and *ṭ* (ट्) stand for 5 letters of *ra*-gana ∪|∪ and *laga* of Pingala ∪'∪|∪; *au* (औ) and *ñj* (ञ्) stand for *bha* and *laga* ∪|||∪; *o* (ओ) and *sh* (ष्) stand for *ra*-gana and *guru* ∪|∪∪. For example, we shall take *vritta* called Sragdharā which consists of गोदुशोन् that is, *g, o, d, u, ś, o*-six *ganas* ∪∪∪, ∪|∪∪, ||||, ||∪, ∪|∪, ∪|∪∪,

ग् ओ द् उ श् ओ

दन्ताग्र, प्रोतचञ्चु, स्रुतिदनु, तनया, सृग्वसा, दिग्धदेहो

The above example was cited by the author.

Take for instance Nandinī of the 13th Chhandas;—lirai (लिरै) which means l, i, r, ai.

ल् इ र् ऐ

शयनो स्थितस्य शिव मादधातु ते, मकरा, लये ति, मिवि, वर्तिताम्भसि ।

वपुरिन्द्रनीलमाणिभङ्गसन्निभं पुरुषस्य शेषशयनाधिशायिनः ॥

Again Praharshiṇī requires *gakoni* which are equal to *g, a, k, o,*

ग् अ क् ओ

तन्मित्रं त्यजति विपत्सु यत्नमित्रं

ni means that *yati* or caesura comes after the third place.

To show the relative merits of the three systems, their code words are quoted below for vritta क्रौञ्चपादा of the 25th Chhandas.

Janāśraya—ञौण्णु=*ñj*, au, ṇ, ṇ, u

ñj au ṇ ṇ u

सिंहविगर्जद्, द्वीपिविकीर्णं, हरिरिवमृग, गणमारिगण, मपभीः ।

Pingala—

म्भौ स्सौ नौ नौ ग् भूतेन्द्रिय वस्वृषयः 7—7—18.

भ भ स भ न न न न ग

सिंहवि गर्जद्द्वी पिविकी र्णंहरि रिवमृ गगण मरिग णमप भीः ।

Bharata—

आद्यं चतुर्थं च तथा पञ्चमं षष्ठमेव च । नवमं दशमं चैव अन्त्यं चैव गुरूण्यथ ।
लघून्यन्यानि शेषाणि पादे स्युः पञ्चविंशके। वृत्तज्ञैः सा तु विज्ञेयाक्रौञ्चपादीति नामतः ॥

Another recension reads as:

म्भै यदि पादे स्नावपि चेष्टावभिक्तिरिह खलु बुधजनविहिता ।
नां च समुद्राः स्युर्विनिविष्टा यदि च खलु गुरुरिह निधनमितम् ॥

1093. Jayamangalācārya wrote the hand-book Kaviśikṣā in the time of king Jayasimha (1094-1143 A.D.)[1]

Kavikanthapāśa is a treatise on poetical composition and deals mainly with the auspicious character of letters and their combinations. This is the last verse:—[2]

भूवर्णस्सुखसम्पदीप्सित......हर्षप्रदा अम्मया
आग्नेया लिपयः प्रणाशजनकाश्शोकप्रदा वायुजाः ।
दारिद्र्यं खलिपिव्रजैः प्रकटितं सर्वे प्रबन्धाव्यगाः
कर्तुः कारयितुश्शुभाशुभफलं श्रोतुर्दिशन्त्यन्वहम् ॥

1094. Kedarabhatta was son of Pibveka (Pathvaka) of Kāśyapagoṭra. His Vṛṭṭaraṭṇākara[3] in 6 chapters is most popular and has been extensively quoted by commentators, Mallināṭha, Śivarāma etc. He must have lived earlier than 15th century A.D.

There are commentaries by Panditacinṭāmaṇi,[4] Nārāyaṇa[5] son of Rāmeśvara, Śrīnāṭha,[6] Haribhāskara,[7] Janārḍana Vibhuḍha,[8] Ḍivākara, son of Mahāḍeva,[9] [Ayoḍhyāprasāda, Āṭmārāma, Kṛṣṇavarman, Govinḍabhatta, Cuḍāmani Ḍīkṣiṭa, Narasimhasūri, Raghunāṭha, Viśvanāṭhakavi, Srīkanṭha (*PR*, V. 196), Somasunḍaragaṇi (*PR*, I. 190), Sulhaṇa, son of Bhāskara, Soma Pandiṭa, Sārasvaṭasaḍāśivamuni, Somacanḍragaṇi (*PR*, III. 396, IV. 33)][10] Kaviśārḍūla, Ṭrivikrama, son of Raghusūri,[11]

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1. *PR*, I. 68.
2. *TC*, III. 3771.
3. *PR*, III. 225.
4. *Tanj*. IX. 3949. Is Siṭārāmasāmi, author of Vṛṭṭapuṣpaprakāśana a different author? (*CC*, II. 142).
5. Printed, Madras. *Tanj*. IX. 3950. Composed in 1545 A.D.
6. *Tanj*. IX. 395; *Mys*. 294.
7. *IO*, II, 303; *PR*, II. 190; III. 546, composed at Baneres in 1676.
8. *IO*, II. 303; *PR*, VI. 389.
9. *IO*, 1555. Composed in 1740 A.D.
10. *CC*, I. 596.
11. *PR*, V. 26.

Nārāyaṇabhatta,[1] Nṛsimha,[2] Kṛṣṇasāra,[3] Ṭārānāṭha,[4] Bhāskararāya,[5] Prabhāvallabha,[6] Ḍevarāja[7] and one anonymous.[8]

1095. Bhāskara wrote Abhinava-Vṛṭṭaraṭnākara, on which Śrīnivāsa wrote a commentary.[9]

Ṭrivikrama, son of Raghusūri and pupil of Varḍhamāna, wrote Vṛṭṭaraṭnākarasūṭraṭīkā.[10]

ŚRUTABODHA, by 'Kāliḍāsa,' is very well known and has several excellences. There are commentaries (*CC*, I. 675)[11] by Harṣakīrṭi Upāḍhyāya (*PR*, V. 463), by Manoharaśarman, by Ṭārācanḍra and by Hamsarāja (*Mitra*, IX. 154, IV. 297, V. 278, VIII. 196), [by Māḍhava, son of Govinḍa (composed in 1640), Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Vāsuḍeva, Śukaḍeva, and by a pupil of Meghacanḍra (*PR*, III. 225)],[12] by Caṭurbhuja (*PR*, VI. 391) and by Nāgāji, son of Harji (*CC*, III. 140).

1096. **Gangadasa** was son of Gopālaḍāsa Vaiḍya of Bengal. In six chapters, he describes in his Chanḍomanjarī[13] varieties of metres and illustrates them by verses in praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He also wrote Acyuṭacariṭa, a poem in 16 cantos and Ḍinesācariṭa, a poem in praise of the sun. His father Gopālaḍāsa wrote a play Pārijāṭaharaṇa.[14] He must have lived in the 15th or 16th century A.D.

There are commentaries[15] on Chanḍomanjarī by Jagannāṭhasena, son of Jaṭāḍhara Kavirāja, Canḍraśekhara, Ḍāṭārāma, Govarḍhana, Vamśiḍhara and Kṛṣṇavarman.

1097. **Prastara.** Works on metrics treat of *Prastāra*, that is, "all mathematical calculations for the number of vrittas in each kind which

1. *Trav.* 69.
2. *TC*, VI. 7176; *DC*, III. No. 1792.
3. *Trav.* 69.
4. Printed, Calcutta.
5. *Mys.* 689; *Adyar*, II. 39.
6. *Adyar*, II. 39.
7. *TC*, VI. 7177.
8. *Tanj.* IX. 3954; *TC*, VI. 7178; *DC*, III. No. 1794.
9. *TC*, IV.
10. *PR*, V. 27. A copy of his Kāṭanṭrapancikoḍyoṭa is noted by Aufrecht as written in 1221. *CC*, III. 52.
11. Printed Benares, Bombay and elsewhere.
12. *CC*, I. 675.
13. Ed. everywhere. *PR*, V. 452. VI. 382; *Tanj.* IX. No. 5082. This manuscript is dated Saka 1608 or 1680 A.D. *Mitra*, VI. 180; VII. 246, 286.
14. *CC*, I. 335.
15. *CC*, I. 192. There is another Chanḍomanjarī by Gopālaḍāsa and a third on Vedic metres (*CC*, I. 192).

declare the number of any verse in its group and the details of ganas of any particular vritta, its number being given," or "permutation of longs and shorts possible in a metre with a fixed number of syllables set forth in an enigmatical form" or an exposition of the science of prosody mathematically developed in the calculations of combinations. Pingala describes it in his last chapter and so do other works on metrics such as Vṛttaratnākara.[1]

1098. Cintāmaṇi Jyotirvid, son of Govinda, of Śivapura composed in 1630 A.D. Prastārācintāmaṇi is in 3 chapters, consisting of a code of rules in a variety of metres accompanied by a prose commentary,[2] on Varṇaprastāra, Mātrāprastāra and Khandaprastāra.

Prastāravicāra which is anonymous,[3] Prastārapaṭṭana of Kṛṣṇadeva,[4] and Prastāraśekhara[5] of Śrīnivāsa, son of Venkata, deal with this subject.

Prastāras are valuable in the elucidation of rhythms in Indian music.

1099. Other works. Vṛttadarpaṇa by Sītārāma (*TC*, III. 3755),[6] Jaganmohanavṛttaśataka by Vāsudeva Brahmapandita (*TC*, III. 2735),[7] Vṛttaratnārṇava by Nṛsimha Bhagavata, disciple of Rāmānanda Yogīndra (*TC*, III. 3767).

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1. *ISt*, VIII, 425.
2. *IO*, II. 806.
There is a commentary by Daivagna composed in 1630 A.D. *CC*, I. 359.
3. *Tanj* IX. 3932.
4. *Oudh*, III. 12.
5. *Tanj*. IX. 3935.
6. He also wrote Balabhadracaritra and many poems in Telugu. He lived at Kuthārapura which seems to be Guitāla on the Godavari.
7. The illustrations are mostly taken from nature and are very fanciful :

वसन्ततिलकावृत्तम्—

गतिसंस्थितिभुक्तिभिस्समानौ शुककाकौ भवतस्तथापि तत्र ।
शुक एव नृदेवतावचांसि श्रुतिमात्रेण निजास्यतो ब्रवीति ॥

पुष्पिताग्रावृत्तम्—

उदितवति सुधाकरे तमिस्रा विलसति वर्धत उच्चकैः पयोधिः ।
विकसति कुमुदं तथापि चित्रं सलिलरुहं मुकुलीभवत्यतीव ॥

दांपत्यवृत्तम्—

कालविशेषे कोकिल उच्चैः कूजति काकस्सन्ततमेव ।
कूजन्तं पिकमालोक्यार्याः संतुष्यन्ति न काकं दृष्ट्वा ॥

1100. [Vṛttakalpadruma by Jayagovinda, Vṛttakautuka by Viśvanātha, Vṛttakaumudī (i) by Jagadguru, and (ii) by Rāmacaraṇa (*Oudh.* XII. 18); Vṛttacandrikā by Rāmadayālu (*Oudh.* VII. 2); Vṛttacandrodaya by Bhāskarādhvarin; Vṛttataraṅgiṇī; Vṛttadīpikā by Kṛṣṇa; Vṛttapratyaya by Śankaradayālu; Vṛttapradīpa (i) by Janārdana and (ii) by Badarīnātha; Vṛttamālā (i) by Virūpākṣayajvan (*Adyar*, I. 39), and (ii) by Vallabhāji; Vṛttalakṣana; Vṛttavārtika i) by Umāpati and (ii) by Vaidyanātha; Vṛttavinoda by Fatehgiri; Vṛttavivecana by Durgāsahāya; Vṛttasudhodaya (i) by Mathurānātha Śukla, and (ii) by Venīvilāsa], (*CC*, I. 5968); [Vṛttarāmāspada by Kṣemankaraṇa Miśra (*Oudh*, XXII. 68); Vṛttasāra by Bhāradvāja; Vṛttasiddhāntamanjarī by Raghunātha; Vṛttabhirāma by Rāmacandra], (*CC*, II. 142).

1101. Vṛtta-Rāmāyaṇa (*Oudh*, V. 10); Rāmastutīratna by Rāmaswāmi Śastrin (*Trav* 173); Kṛṣṇavṛtta and Nṛsimhavṛtta; Vṛttakārikā by Nārāyaṇa Purohita (*Mys.* 294); Vṛttamaṇimālikā by Śrīnivāsa (*Mys.* 294, 634); Vṛttadyumaṇi (i) by Yaśvanta (*CC*, I. 596) and (ii) by Gangādhara (*Adyar*, II. 39); Vṛttavinoda (*CC* III. 125); Rangarātchandas (*CC*, I. 488); Karṇānanda by Kṛṣṇadāsa (*CC*, I. 597); Karṇasantoṣa by Mudgala (*Bik.* 279); Kāvyajīvana by Prītikara (*Oudh*, IX. 8); Samavṛttasāra by Nīlakanthācārya (*CC*, I. 301). Vṛttamaṇikośa by Śrīnivāsa (*Mys.* 294); Vāṇībhūṣaṇa by Dāmodara (*IO*, II. 305, Printed, Bombay); Vṛttamuktāvali (i) by Kṛṣṇarāma, (ii) by Mallāri, (iii) by Durgādatta (*IO*, II. 3011), (iv) by Gangādāsa, and (v) by Hari Vyāsamiśra composed in 1574 (*CC*, I. 142).

1102. [Chandafprakāsa by Śeṣacintāmaṇi; Chandassudhākara by Kṛṣṇarāma; Chandahkalpalatā by Mathurānātha; Chandahkośa by Ratnaśekhara (*PR*, III. 404, V. 193); Chandaśśloka (*Opp.* 1828); Chandassankhyā; Chandascūdāmaṇi by Hemacandra; Chandassudhācillaharī] (*CC*, I. 190-1, III. 41); Chandafpīyūṣa by Jagannātha, son of Rāma (*PR*, V. 194); Chandomuktāvali by Śambhurāma (*PR*, III. App. 395); Chandonuśāsana by Jineśvara; Chandassundara by Narahari; Chandoratnākara (*IO*, 2917; *Oxf.* 201); Chandomālā by Śārngadhara (*IO*, 1238); Chandahkaustubha by Rādhādāmodara (*Mys.* 293; *PR*, IV. 33; V. 192). [Chandovyākhyāsāra by Kṛṣṇabhatta, Chandassudhā by Gaṇāṣtakavyākhyā, Vṛttacintāratna by Śāntarājapandita, Vṛttadarpaṇa by Bhīṣmacandra] (*Mys.* 293).

1103. Vṛttaratnāvali (*CC*, I. 191) (i) by Durgādatta, (ii) by Nārāyaṇa, (iii) by Ravikara, (iv) by Rāmadeva, (v) by Venkateśa, son of Avadhānasarasvatī (*Mys.* 639; *Tanj.* IX. 3957), (vi) by Rāmaswāmi

Śāstri (*Trav.* 173), (vii) by Yaśvantsimha, (viii) by Sadāśivamuni (*Tanj.* IX. 3955), (ix) by Kālidāsa (*Adyar*, II. 39; Printed, Madras), (x) by Kṛṣṇarāja (*Mys.* 294), (xi) and by Miśrasānanda (*CC*, I. 597), Vṛtta-ratnarṇava by Nṛsimhabhāgavata (*Adyar*, II. 39).

भूः पादौ यस्य नाभिर्वियदसुरनिलश्चन्द्रसूर्यौ च नेत्रे
कर्णावाशाश्शिरोद्यौर्मुखमपि दहनो यस्य वासोयमाब्धिः ।
अन्तस्थं यस्य विश्वं सुरनरखगगोभोगिगन्धर्वदैत्यैः
चित्तं रंरम्यते तं त्रिभुवनवपुषं विष्णुमीशं नमामि ॥

श्रियः कान्ताय कल्याणनिधये निधयेऽर्थिनाम् ।
श्रीवेंकटनिवासाय श्रीनिवासाय मङ्गळम् ॥

चतुर्मुखमुखांभोजश्रृङ्गाटकविहारिणीम् ।
नित्यप्रगल्भवाचालामुपतिष्ठे सरस्वतीम् ॥

ओंम् शान्तिः शान्तिः

APPENDIX

[These two extracts from Kāḍambarī and Avanṭisunḍarīkaṭhā are specimens of exquisite style and extraordinary poetic fancy incultaeing ethics and are appended to show how Bāṇa's ideas have been elaborated as if by emulation by Ḍanḍin].

[EXTRACT FROM BANA'S KADAMBARI]

आलोकयतु तावत्कल्याणाभिनिवेशी लक्ष्मीमेव प्रथमं। इयं हि सुभटखड्गमंडलोत्पलवनविभ्रमभ्रमरी लक्ष्मीः क्षीरसागरात्पारिजातपल्लवेभ्यो रागामिंदुशकलादेकांतवक्रतामुच्चैःश्रवसश्चंचलतां, कालकूटान्मोहनशक्तिं, मदिराया मदं,कौस्तुभमणेरतिनैष्ठुर्यं, इत्येतानि सहवासपरिचयवशाद्विरहविनोदचिह्नानि गृहीत्वेवोद्गता। न ह्येवंविधमपरमपरिचितमिह जगति किंचिदस्ति यथेयमनार्या। लब्धाऽपि खलु दुःखेन परिपाल्यते, दृढगुणपाशसंदाननिष्पंदीकृताऽपि नश्यति, उद्दामदर्पभटसहस्रोल्लासितासिलतापंजरविधृताऽपि अपक्रमति, मदजलदुर्दिनांधकारगजघटितघनघटाटोपपरिपालिताऽपि प्रपलायते, न परिचयं रक्षति. नाभिजनमीक्षते, न रूपमालोकयते, न कुलक्रममनुवर्तते, न शीलं पश्यति, न वैदग्ध्यं गणयति, न श्रुतमाकर्णयति, न धर्ममनुरुध्यते, न त्यागमाद्रियते, न विशेषज्ञतां विचारयति, नाचारं पालयति, न सत्यमनुबुध्यते, न लक्षणं प्रमाणीकरोति। गंधर्वनगरलेखेव पश्यत एव नश्यति। अद्याप्यारूढमंदरपरिवर्तावर्तभ्रांतिजनितसंस्कारेव परिभ्रमति। कमलिनीसंचरणव्यतिकरलग्ननलिननालकंटकक्षतेव न क्वचिन्निर्भरमाबध्नाति पदं। अतिप्रयत्नविधृताऽपि परमेश्वरगृहेषु विविधगंधमधुपानमत्तेव परिस्खलति, पारुष्यमिवोपशिक्षितुमसिधारासु निवसति, विश्वरूपत्वमिव गृहीतुमाश्रिता नारायणमूर्तिम्, अप्रत्ययबहुला च दिवसांतकमलमिव समुचितमूलदंडकोशमंडलमपि मुंचति भूभुजं। लतेव विटपकानध्यारोहति। गंगेव वसुजनन्यपि तरंगबुद्बुदचंचूला, दिवसकरगतिरिव प्रकटितविविधसंक्रांतिः, पाताळगुहेव तमोबहुळा, हिडिंबेव भीमसाहसैकहार्यहृदया, प्रावृडिव अचिरद्युतिकारिणी, दुष्टपिशाचीव दर्शितानेकपुरुषोच्छ्राया, स्वल्पसत्त्वमुन्मत्तीकरोति, सरस्वतीपरिगृहीतमीर्ष्ययेव नालिंगति जनम्, गुणवंतमपवित्रमिव न स्पृशति, उदारसत्वममंगळमिव न बहुमन्यते, सुजनमनिमित्तमिव न पश्यति, अभिजातमहिमिव लंघयति, शूरं कंटकमिव परिहरति, दातारं स्वप्नमिव न स्मरति, विनीतं पातकिनमिव नोपसर्पति, मनस्विनमुन्मत्तमिव हसति, परस्परविरुद्धं च इंद्रजालमिव दर्शयंती प्रकटयति जगति निजं चरितम्। तथाहि। सततमूष्माणमारोपयन्त्यपि जाड्यमुपजनयति, उन्नतिं

माद्धानाऽपि नीचस्वभावतामाविष्करोति, तोयराशिसंभवाऽपि तृष्णां संवर्धयति, ईश्वरतां दधानाऽप्यशिवप्रकृतित्वमातनोति, बलोपचयमाहरन्त्यपि लघिमानमापादयति, अमृतसहोदराऽपि कटुविपाका, विग्रहवत्यपि अप्रत्यक्षदर्शना, पुरुषोत्तमरतापि खलजनप्रिया, रेणुमयीव स्वच्छमपि कलुषीकरोति ।

यथा यथा चेयं चपला दीप्यते तथा तथा दीपशिखेव कज्जलमलिनमेव कर्म केवलमुद्वमति। तथाहि—इयं संवर्धनवारिधारा तृष्णाविषवल्लीनां, व्याधगीतिरिंद्रियमृगाणां, परामर्शधूमलेखा सच्चरितचित्राणां, विभ्रमशय्या मोहदीर्घनिद्राणां, निवासजीर्णवलभी धनमदपिशाचिकानां, तिमिरोद्गतिः शास्त्रदृष्टीनां, पुरस्सरपताका सर्वाविनयानां, उत्पत्तिनिम्नगा क्रोधवेगग्राहाणां, आपानभूमिर्विषयमधूनां, संगीतशाला भ्रूविकारनाट्यानां, आवासदरी दोषाशीविषाणां, उत्सारणवेत्रलता सत्पुरुषव्याहाराणां, अकालप्रावृट् गुणकलहंसकानां, विसर्पणभूमिर्लोकवादविस्फोटानां, प्रस्तावना कपटनाटकस्य, कदळिका कामकरिणः, वध्यशाला साधुभावस्य, राहुजिह्वा धर्मेंदुमंडलस्य ।

न हि तं पश्यामि यो ह्यपरिचितयाऽनया न निर्भरमुपगूढो यो वा न विप्रलब्धः। नियतमियं मालेख्यगताऽपि चलति, पुस्तकमय्यपि इंद्रजालमाचरति, उत्कीर्णाऽपि विप्रलभते, श्रुताऽप्यभिसंधत्ते, चिंतिताऽपि वंचयति । एवंविधयाऽपि चानया दुराचारया कथमपि दैववशेन परिगृहीता विक्लबीभवंति राजानः, सर्वाविनयाधिष्ठानतां च गच्छंति । तथाहि—अभिषेकसमय एव चैषां मंगळकलशजलैरिव क्षाल्यते दाक्षिण्यं, अग्निकार्यधूमेनेव मलिनीभवति हृदयं, पुरोहितकुशाग्रसम्मार्जनीभिरिवापनीयते क्षांतिः, उष्णीषपट्टबंधेनेवाच्छाद्यते जरागमनस्मरणं, आतपत्रमंडलेनेव वार्यते परलोकदर्शनम्, चामरपवनैरिवापह्रियते सत्यवादिता, वेत्रदंडैरिव उत्सार्यंते गुणाः, जयशब्दकलकलैरिव तिरस्क्रियंते साधुवादाः, ध्वजपटपल्लवैरिव परामृश्यते यशः, । तथाहि केचिच्छ्रमवशशिथिलशकुनिगळपुटचपलाभिः खद्योतोन्मेषमुहूर्तमनोहराभिर्मनस्विजनगर्हिताभिः, संपद्भिः प्रलोभ्यमाना धनलवलाभावलेपविस्मृतजन्मनोऽनेकदोषोपचितेन दुष्टासृजेव रागावेशेन बाध्यमाना विविधविषयरसग्रासलालसैः पंचभिरप्यनेकसहस्रसंख्यैरिवेंद्रियैरायास्यमानाः प्रकृतिचंचलतया लब्धप्रसरेणैकेनापि शतसहस्रतामिवोपगतेन मनसाऽकुलीक्रियमाणाः विह्वलतामुपयांति ।

किंच ग्रहैरिव गृह्यंते, भूतैरिवाभिभूयंते, मंत्रैरिवावष्टभ्यंते, वायुनेव विडंब्यंते, पिशाचैरिव ग्रस्यंते, मदनशरैर्मर्माभिहता इव मुखभंगसहस्राणि कुर्वंते, धनोष्मणा पच्यमाना इव विचेष्टंते, गाढप्रहाराभिहता इवांगानि न धारयंति, कुळीरा इव तिर्यक्परिभ्रमंति, अधर्मभग्नगतयः पंगव इव परेण संचार्यंते, मृषावादविपाकसंजातमुखरोगा इवातिकृच्छ्रेण जल्पंति, सप्तच्छदतरव

इवं कुसुमरजोविकारैरासन्नवर्तिनां शिरःश्शूलमुत्पादयंति, आसन्नमृत्यव इव पुरः स्थितं बंधुजनमपि नाभिजानंति, उत्कुपितलोचना इव तेजस्विनो नेक्षंते, कालदष्टा इव महामंत्रैरपि न प्रतिबुध्यन्ते, जातुषा इव सोष्माणं न सहंते, दुष्टवारणा इव महालानस्तंभनिश्चलीकृता अपि न गृह्णंत्युपदेशम्, अतितृष्णाविषवेगमूर्छिताः कनकमयमिव सर्वं पश्यंति, असय इव पानवर्धिततैक्ष्ण्याः परप्रेरिताः विनाशयंति, दूरस्थितान्यपि फलानीव दंतविक्षेपैर्महाकुलानि शातयंति, अकालकुसुमप्रसवा इव मनोहराकृतयोऽपि लोकविनाशहेतवः, श्मशानाग्नय इवातिरौद्रभूतयः, तैमिरिका इवादूरदर्शिनः, उपसृष्टा इव क्षुद्राधिष्ठितभवनाः, श्रूयमाणा अपि प्रेतपटहा इवोद्वेजयंति, चिंत्यमाना अपि महापातकाध्यवसाया इव उपद्रवमुपजनयंति, अनुदिवसमापूर्यमाणाः, पापेनेवाध्मातमूर्तयो न भवंति, तदवस्थाश्च व्यसनशतशरव्यतामुपगता वल्मीकतृणाग्रावस्थिता जलबिंदव इव पतितमप्यात्मानं नावगच्छंति ।

[EXTRACT FROM DANDIN'S AVANTISUNDARIKATHA].

विदितमेव खलु विदितवेदितव्यस्य यथेमाः प्रतिपदसुलभान्तराया दुर्योजनसाधनसमवायाश्च सम्पत्तयः। प्रार्थ्यमाना दुरवापा, समाराध्यमाना दुःखशीला, रक्ष्यमाणा प्रपलायिनी च लक्ष्मीः । प्रत्यक्षमेव चास्याश्चापलम् । एषा खलु देवस्य पितृपितामहसंवर्धितापि रिपुषड्वर्गसम्बाधमुक्तचित्तेन सुचिरलालितापि प्रवीरकरदण्डमण्डलीकृतप्रचण्डचापचक्रटङ्कारमुखरितेषु समरेषु शरीरं जीवितमप्यनवेक्ष्य रक्षितापि, यथेष्टलाभसंवर्धिता तुष्टद्विजवराशीर्वादनन्दितापि, नित्याराधनप्रसन्नकुलदेवताधिष्ठानापि, नित्योद्युक्तविद्याधरवृद्धसमाजाजस्रग्राह्यमाणविनयापि, चतुरुदधिवलयमध्यवर्तिसकलनरपतिकुलविरचितांजलिकमलवनविहारमानितमनोरथापि, स्वभावदोषेण दुर्मतिरपरिचिता जीवत्येव तस्मिन्चिरजीवितलेहलोलखड्गजिह्वे महाहिभोगभीषणे ...संग्रामे तस्यामिन्दुकरदलितकुमुदकुड्मलोदरदलावदातायामप.........।......अपि चेयं पतङ्गरथमयीव भुजङ्गभोगिनी मुहूर्तमप्यविश्रम्य परिभ्रमति । उपनतापि दैवादुरसि प्रमदमूर्छितेव हठान्निष्पतति । अविदितकृत्याकृत्यमाकुलीकृताक्षमक्षरमनुभवदुःखमङ्गनिर्भोगैराचक्षाणमारूढशङ्कासाध्वसैरवस्थानुरूपं ...पुरुषमप्रत्यपेक्षा प्रधावति । मधुकाद्भिरिव मलिनवर्णैः क्षुद्रात्मकैः शिक्षिता कर्कशपुरुषसाहसैकहारमना [स्यात्] दुर्ग्रहेष्विव ...।...विटपमारोहति दुष्टमर्कटीयं तमकस्मादेव क्षोभयित्वा विच्युतफलमुद्धूतपत्रमुत्सृज्य विटपमन्यं संक्रामति । यत्र लवलभा ज्वलनशिखेव तमवश्यं भस्मीकृत्यैव प्रशाम्यति । मन्ये च काळकूटस्यास्याश्च भगवता निष्पातानिर्विषीभूतः स्वस्तिमानिदानीं दुग्धसिन्धुः । अथवा नेयं कालकूटतुल्यकक्ष्यायां लक्षयितव्या, 'यावदमुनैकस्यैवेश्वरस्य कण्ठमात्रं दूषितमनया शतसहस्राणीश्वराणां सर्वाकारं दूषितानि। सैषा मन्दरोद्भूतमहासमुद्रवीचीवलयवेगास्फालनविजृम्भिताङ्गभङ्गज्वरे महान्तमूष्माणमुद्वमति । स्थानाशनशयनेषु धृतिमुपगच्छति

मुहुर्मुहुर्वेष्टते, भक्तं द्वेष्टि, दृष्टिमुद्भ्रमयति, जीवितं च पर्यास्यमाना भयानकां दशामावाहयति। अचलक्षोभतुमुलजलधिगर्भमूर्छन्मारुतातिरेकस्वीकृतेव जातापातवातप्रकृतिः, असङ्गतशीला चानवस्थिता च क्षुद्रा च निष्ठुरप्रलापकारिणी च कृशवर्णा च कृतप्रलोभना च स्वप्नरूपैर्विभ्रमैर्भृशं दुनोति (पुरुष) कारताम्। उरगनायकस्य वासुकेर्मन्दराकर्षणखेदविह्वलस्य निश्वासनिज्वरविषाभि-धूममण्डलाङ्कितेव सदसच्च न पश्यति, परप्रणेया सतीवाजस्रमालम्बते महापथेऽपि स्खलति, नरपशूनपि समापतति, अस्पृश्यानपि स्पृशति, अशुचिमप्यधितिष्ठति। चक्षुष्मद्भिश्च परिभूयते सत्यम्। अचलवृत्तेरत्युदग्रस्यापि भूभृतोऽस्याः समुद्भवे द्विजिह्वसंवेष्टनमतिघोरा च भ्रान्तिरासीत्। सर्वानेव देवान् ब्रह्ममुखान्परिभूय समन्तमायासिद्धान्ततन्त्रतीर्थकरं नारायणमात्मनोपसृत्य भजमा-नयाऽन्ययोद्घोषितमसाधारणं धाष्ट्यम्। अमुनाऽतिमायेनेमां रक्षताऽधोक्षजेनानुभूतावतारभूतावमा-नता। नानाविधाविडम्बनार्थपरा चेयं दुग्धराशेरपसृतचटुलकटाक्षदृष्टिक्षेपोन्मादितपुरुषेष्वनिमित्त-सङ्कल्पितानि विग्रहसङ्ग्रहाणि पश्यन्ती वश्येव राजकुलेषु लीलावष्टम्भरसप्रगल्भं भ्रमति, सोष्मयेव जातिं म्लापयति, तेजोरूपतयेव वंशसंततिं दहति, तमोमयत्वादिव वसन्तभवनानि मालिन-यति, व्यभिचारितयेव महाकुलानि पांसुलयति। चित्रभिदमयशोदाऽपि मण्डलं, असुभद्रापि विजय-मानुगुण्येनाकर्षति, अदमयन्त्यपि लोकपालानवधूय नळसारं गुरूकरोति, अमृतैकसत्त्वाद-पारिजातं रत्नाकरमपि नाधिवसति, विरतविग्रहमकरध्वजमपि पुरुषं बुद्ध्या नाभिनन्दति, कलासंग्रहशीलः कुशल इत्यसुखायमानेव शङ्के शशांकेऽपि न वसति, सुरभिगन्धसंपन्नमित्य-सहमानेव मन्ये महोत्पलेऽपि न पातयति पदं, अङ्गीकृतमसुरस्नेहोपचारमित्यसूययन्त्येव धारातलेऽपि न चङ्क्रमते। तर्कयामि चास्याः सन्निधानादेवावदातेऽपि चन्द्रमण्डले स्फुटीभूतोः नून-मस्ति कलङ्कः, पावनेष्वपि कमलवनेषु प्रोदीर्यते रजोविकारः, स्वच्छेऽपि च कृपाणधाराजले जायते जनुषभेदनशक्तिः। त्यागशक्तिमुत्कर्षिणीमिव दर्शयन्ती त्यागशीलानेव त्यजति, शूरैस्सह शौर्यमिव प्रकाशयन्ती विगृह्यैव तिष्ठति, विनीतेऽपि विनीततरेव तिरस्करोति, अत्यनुरागवत्यतिरागिणीवार्थं र्यं ददाति,... ... ...ह्रीमत्सु नितान्तप्रीतेव न रूपमात्मनोऽभिव्यनक्ति, धर्मरतिचण्डरागानति-यन्त्रणासहिष्णुतयेव नावेशयति, प्रणयमर्दनेषु दीनसत्त्वा शीलभेदादिव नावलम्बते मैत्रीकर्म, उच्छ्रितेषु क्षुद्रारोहितयेव नाधिरोढुं क्षमते। ... ...अम्बुगर्भरागमिव निदाघदूषितमाभिजात्यं प्रतिक्षणमवमृद्नाति, चरणमिवानुरक्तमत्यधस्ताद्वर्तयति, जङ्घाकाण्डमिव प्रजानुरक्तं तनुतरं दधाति, ऊरुदण्डमिव स्थिरमुपहितोरुजालं क्लेशयति, जघनमिव महाभोगमावृणोति, उर इव मध्यस्थं भग्नकल्पमुद्वर्तयति, नाभिरन्ध्रमिव गम्भीरं बह्वावर्तमुपयाति, स्तनतटमिव प्रवृद्धं बन्धयति, भुजपाश-मिव मृदुमवाङ्मुखयति, अधरमिव परिस्पन्दमिव क्षतावस्थानमापादयति, दशननिवेशमिवामल-मधरस्थिरस्कार्यमारचयाति, लोचनयुगळमिव स्निग्धं विभ्रमेण योजयति, केशहस्तमिवायति-मन्तं संयमयति। खरतरेषु चासौ खलेषु पातिता, धान्यपूलीव दुर्जनवरणमात्रसंहृता, निश्शङ्क-

तां गताऽपि फलीक्रियते, निर्मर्यादादविभ्रमा च मत्तमातङ्गानपि भ्रमरीवाभिसरति, विद्युद्विलास-तरळा मेघराजिरिव राजहंसानप्युद्वेजयति, जडानप्यन्धानप्यधीरानपि, मूकानपि, क्षयिणोऽपि, श्वित्रिणोऽपि, व्यङ्गानपि, विरूपानपि, वृद्धानपि, क्लीबानपि, कृपणानपि, लुब्धानपि, मुग्धानपि, निष्ठुरानपि, स्वैरिणी न परिहरति । असदृशानेकदुर्जनोपभोगनिर्भयकदर्थिताऽपि नापत्रपते । किं बहुना । न गुणमपेक्ष्याभिवर्धते, नापि दोषेण व्यावर्तते । तथा हि । अजातशत्रोर्धार्मिकतामनिलसम्भवस्याध्यवसायसामर्थ्यमर्जुनस्य पराक्रमं यमयोस्त्वतिमानुषरूपमननुरुद्ध्यमान-शकुनिरचितमक्षद्यूतकपटं चारीकृत्य क्षुद्रमळीकारगर्वं दुर्योधनमतिनिर्भरमालिलिङ्ग लक्ष्मीः । किमनया नाचरितमिन्द्रजालेषु, किमनभ्यस्तं प्रलम्भनेषु, किमशेषितं महापातकेषु, किमगणितमकार्येषु, किमप्रवर्तितं वर्णसङ्करेषु, किमभिन्नं मर्यादासु, किमनुद्भावितं मोहविलसितेषु, किमप्रतिहतं जालवर्त्मसु । रज्जुरियं बन्धनाय सत्यवादितायाः, विषमियं जीवितहरणाय माहात्म्यस्य, शस्त्रमियं विशसनाय सत्पुरुषवृत्तानां, अग्निरियं निर्दहनाय धर्मस्य, सलिलमियं निमज्जनाय सौजन्यस्य, धूळिरियं धूसरीकरणाय चारित्रस्य । चिन्तीयते चेयं सीमन्तिनीविसंवादिवृत्तमस्याः । यतो यमेव पुरुषमेषा समाश्लिष्यति स्वयमेव तमुद्दामकामं परस्त्रीसहस्रेषु योजयति, सदापि वारुणीं हतेयमात्मनः समक्षमेव सेवमानमिममुत्साहयति । गुणानपि दोषीकरोति, दोषानपि गुणीकरोति । अस्याश्च पलातिशये प्रक्रान्ते प्रस्तावोऽपि न दीपार्चिषां, न वार्तापि करिकळभकर्ण-पल्लवानां, न कथापि कदाळिकाप्रान्तपारिकाणाम् । केवलमनार्यबुद्धेरेवैनामनवस्थितत्वेनानुसर्तुमस्ति शक्तिः ।

एवंविधापि चेयं दुराचारा सकृद्व्यभिचारितापि स्वभावचापलेन भूयोप्य-साधारणपुरुषकारभूषणैर्भवादृशैरेव शक्यते प्रत्याहर्तुम् । धार्तराष्ट्रानुच्छ्रितकपटद्यूत-हारितापि खल्वरण्यवासविनिवृत्तैः पाण्डुपुत्रैः प्रत्युद्धृतैव । इयमपरिमितमहामहीभृत्प्रभूत-वाहिनीवरपरिबृंहितमनेकशतसहस्रनागसङ्कुलं कुरुकुलबलजलधिमनुप्रविश्य शुक्तिमिव वृत्त-मुक्तालक्ष्मीं दुर्लभ......बन्धा । यस्येयं निश्चला चलितामेव खल्विमां दुष्टचेटीमिव पुनः पुनर-वगृह्य निगळयित्वा नीतवन्तः कालं अचलशिलाकूटविकटमांसळांसपीठाः पीठीकृतसप्तद्वीप-सकलरत्नाकरमेखला धरणीभुजः । श्रूयते च नवनळिननाळतन्तुगर्भलीनो नहुषप्रभावसमयं समग्र-मेव चक्षमे सहस्राक्षः, पुनरमुष्मिन्पुलोमकन्यकाकरग्रहदुर्विदग्धहृदये ऊर्वशीप्रलोभप्रलम्भ-नाग्रहोदग्रसप्तर्षिनिर्व्यूढशिबिकाधिरूढे निग्रहामर्षितस्य महर्षेरगस्त्यस्य शापादजगरभूयं गतवत्यनघवृत्तं कळत्रमनायकां च नाकलक्ष्मीं प्रापयत ।

गोपिकागीतम्

(Sri Bhagavata, X. 31)

[*For the early history of Gīta Kāvya*]

गोप्य ऊचुः—

जयति तेऽधिकं जन्मना व्रजश्श्रयत इंदिरा शश्वदत्र हि ।
दयित दृश्यतां दिक्षु तावकास्त्वयि धृतासवस्त्वां विचिन्वते ॥

शरदुदाशये साधु जातसत्सरसिजोदरश्रीमुषा दृशा ।
सुरतनाथ तेऽशुल्कदासिका वरद निघ्नतो नेह किं वधः ॥

विषजलाशयाद्व्यालराक्षसाद्वर्षमारुताद्वैद्युतानलात् ।
वृषमयात्मजाद्विश्वतो भयादृषभ ते वयं रक्षिता मुहुः ॥

न खलु गोपिकानंदनो भवानखिलदेहिनामंतरात्मदृक् ।
विखनसार्थितो विश्वगुप्तये सख उदेयिवान् सात्त्वतां कुले ॥

विरचिताभयं वृष्णिधुर्य ते शरणमीयुषां संसृतेर्भयात् ।
करसरोरुहं कांत कामदं शिरसि देहि नश्श्रीकरग्रहम् ॥

व्रजजनार्तिहन् वीर योषितां निजजनस्मयध्वंसनास्मित ।
भज सखे भवत्किंकरीस्स नो जलरुहाननं चारु दर्शय ॥

प्रणतदेहिनां पापकर्शनं तृणचरानुगं श्रीनिकेतनम् ।
फणिफणार्पितं ते पदांबुजं कृणु कुचेषु नः कृंधि हृच्छयम् ॥

मधुरया गिरा वल्गुवाक्यया बुधमनोज्ञया पुष्करेक्षण ।
विधिकरीरिमा वीर मुह्यतीरधरसीधुनाप्याययस्व नः ॥

तव कथामृतं तप्तजीवनं कविभिरीडितं कल्मषापहम् ।
श्रवणमंगलं श्रीमदाततं भुवि गृणंति ये भूरिदा जनाः ॥

प्रहसितं प्रिय प्रेमवीक्षितं विहरणं च ते ध्यानमंगलम् ।
रहसि संविदो या हृदिस्पृशः कुहक नो मनः क्षोभयंति हि ॥

चलसि यद्व्रजाच्चारयन् पशून् नलिनसुंदरं नाथ ते पदम् ।
शिलतृणांकुरैस्सीदतीति नः कलिलतां मनः कांत गच्छति ॥

दिनपरिक्षये नीलकुंतलैर्वनरुहाननं बिभ्रदावृतम् ।
वनरजस्वलं दर्शयन् मुहुर्मनसि नस्स्मरं वीर यच्छसि ॥

प्रणतकामदं पद्मजार्चितं धरणिमंडनं ध्येयमापदि ।
चरणपंकजं शंतमं च ते रमण नस्स्तनेष्वर्पयाधिहन् ॥

सुरतवर्धनं शोकनाशनं स्वरितवेणुना सुष्ठु चुंबितं ।
इतररागविस्मारणं नृणां वितर वीर नस्तेऽधरामृतम् ॥

अटति यद्भवानह्नि काननं त्रुटियुगायते त्वामपश्यताम् ।
कुटिलकुंतलं श्रीमुखं च ते जड उदीक्षतां पक्ष्मकृद्दृशाम् ॥

पतिसुतान्वयभ्रातृबांधवानतिविलंघ्य ते ह्यच्युतागताः ।
गतिविदस्तवोद्गीतमोहिताः कितव योषितः कस्त्यजेन्निशि ॥

रहसि संविदं हृच्छयोदयं प्रहसिताननं प्रेमवीक्षणम् ।
बृहदुरःश्रियो धाम वीक्ष्य ते मुहुरतिस्पृहा मुह्यते मनः ॥

व्रजवनौकसां व्यक्तिरंग ते वृजिनहन्त्र्यलं विश्वमंगळम् ।
त्यजमनाक्च नस्त्वत्स्पृहात्मनां स्वजनहृद्रुजां यन्निषूदनम् ॥

यत्ते सुजातचरणांबुरुहं स्तनेषु भीताश्शनैः प्रिय दधीमहि कर्कशेषु ।
तेनाटवीमटसि तद्व्यधते न किंस्वित्कूर्पादिभिर्भ्रमतिधीर्भवदायुषां नः ॥

भ्रमरगीतम्.

(SRI BHAGAVATA, X. 47)

[*For the early history of Dūta-Kāvya*]

काचिन्मधुकरं दृष्ट्वा ध्यायंती कृष्णसंगमम् ।
प्रियप्रस्थापितं दूतं कल्पयित्वेदमब्रवीत् ॥

गोपिकोवाच—

मधुप कितवबंधो मा स्पृशांघ्रिं सपत्न्याः कुचविलुलितमालाकुंकुमश्मश्रुभिर्नः ।
वहतु मधुपतिस्तन्मानिनीनां प्रसादं यदुसदसि विडंबं यस्य दूतस्त्वमीदृक् ॥

सकृदधरसुधां स्वं मोहिनीं पाययित्वा सुमनस इव सद्यस्तत्यजेऽस्मान्भवादृक् ।
परिचरति कथं तत्पादपद्मं सुपद्मा अपि बत हृतचेता ह्युत्तमश्लोकजल्पैः ॥

किमिह बहुषडंघ्रे गायसि त्वं यदूनामधिपतिमगृहाणामग्रतो नः पुराणम् ।
विजयसखि सखीनां गीयतां तत्प्रसंगः क्षपितकुचरुजस्ते कल्पयन्तीष्टमिष्टाः ।

दिवि भुवि च रसायां कास्स्त्रियस्तद्दुरापाः कपटरुचिरहासभ्रूविजृंभस्य यास्स्युः ।
चरणरज उपास्ते यस्य भूतिर्वयं का ह्यपि च कृपणपक्षे ह्युत्तमश्लोकशब्दः ॥

विसृज शिरसि पादं वेद्म्यहं चाटुकारैरनुनय विदुषस्तेऽभ्येत्य दौत्यैर्मुकुंदात् ।
स्वकृत इह विसृष्टापत्यपत्यन्यलोकाव्यसृजदकृतचेताः किं नु संधेयमस्मिन् ॥

मृगयुरिव कपींद्रं विव्यधे लुब्धधर्मास्त्रियमकृत विरूपां स्त्रीजितः कामयानाम् ।
बलिमपि बलिमत्त्वावेष्टयद्ध्वांक्षवद्यस्तदलमसितसख्यैर्दुस्त्यजस्तत्कथार्थः ॥

यदनुचरितलीलाकर्णपीयूषविप्रुट्सकृददनविधूतद्वंद्वधर्मा विनष्टाः ।
सपदि गृहकुटुंबं दीनमुत्सृज्य दीना बहव इव विहंगा भिक्षुचर्यां चरन्ति ॥

वयमृतमिव जिह्मव्याहृतं श्रद्दधानाः कुलिकरुतमिवाज्ञाः कृष्णवध्वो हरिण्यः ।
ददृशिम सकृदेतत्तन्नखस्पर्शतीव्रस्मररुज उपमंत्रिन् भण्यतामन्यवार्ता ॥

प्रियसख पुनरागाः प्रेयसा प्रेषितः किं वरय किमनुरुंधे माननीयोऽसि मेंऽग ।
नयसि कथमिहास्मान् दुस्त्यज द्वंद्वपार्श्वं सततमुरसि सौम्य श्रीवधूस्साकमास्ते ।

अपि बत मधुपुर्यामार्यपुत्रोऽधुनास्ते स्मरति सपितृगेहान् सौम्यबंधूंश्च गोपान् ।
क्वचिदपि स कथा नः किंकरीणां गृणीते भुजमगरुसुगांधिं मूर्ध्न्यधास्यत्कदा नु ॥

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* The name Aśoka is said to be found in the XIth Edict. Under the circumstances of expreme improbability of the chronology, it requires complete verification and examination. See V. Smith's *Asoka*.

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(d)=drama

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अनंताचार्य (V) 145-6, *Manj Jl.*
नाटककथासंग्रह
[He is the Sanskrit Pandit, Pachayappa's College, Madras. His book contains summaries of the plays of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti and three other plays.]
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अपराजित (लोल्लटजनक) 655, 822
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अपराधशतक 273
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See कविरहस्य
अपिदेव *Skm*
अप्पय्यदीक्षित* 142, 467, 896, 927

* Appayya Dīkṣiṭa's father's father was Ācārya Dīkṣiṭa (called Āccāndikṣiṭa), " Ācārya Dīkṣiṭa had two wives—the first belonging to an orthodox Śaiva family and the second to an orthodox Vaiṣṇava family of repute known as *Sri Vaikunthācārya-vamśa*. In the days of Acārya Dīkṣiṭa, more than three centuries ago, inter-marriages between orthodox *smārtas* and *vaiṣṇava* were not unknown in South India. He had by his second wife Ṭoṭarāmbā four sons of whom the eldest was Appaya Dīkṣiṭa's father, Rangarājāḍhvarin who, like his father, performed many vedic sacrifices. He is known to have written many works on Advaita Vedānṭa—the *Aḍvaiṭaviḍyāmukura*, the *Vivaraṇaḍarpaṇa*, etc. He had two sons, the elder being Appayya Ḍīkṣiṭa, the younger Āccān Dīkṣiṭa, the paternal grandfather of Nilakantha Dīkṣiṭa. Appāḍikṣiṭa was the original name of our author and the honorific '*ayya*' was afterwards added to it in recognition of his greatness as a literary prodigy. Ācārya Dīkṣiṭa was much praised by King Kṛṣṇadevarāya. " When the king, during his visit to Conjeevaram.

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अप्पलाचार्य 545, 1063
अप्पाकवि 143, 787
अप्पांडनाथ
See सालंधरिप्रबन्ध [*TC*, VII. 7562, 7581]
अप्पातुलसी 1064
अप्पादीक्षित 162, 164
[See Article by V. A. Ramaswami, *JOR*, III.]
अप्पाराययशश्चंद्रोदय 942
अप्पावाजपेयिन् 268
अप्पादीक्षित 162
अप्पाशास्त्रिन् (राशिवडेकर) 439, 487
इंदिरा
देवीकुमुद्वती
दशापरिणति
मातृभक्ति
[These are in prose]
दधीच्युपाख्यान
उद्वाहमहोत्सव
समयप्रदीप
कलिप्रभाव
मणिकुंडलोपाख्यान
वल्लभविलास
श्रीकंठपदभूषण
अधर्मविपाक (d)
अप्पयदीक्षितचरित
जगन्नाथपंडितराजचरित
विश्वनाथकविचरित
चिरंजीवचरित
[Published in *SC, Jl*; *Manj Jl, II*. 131]
अब्दमालिका 753
अब्दुल्ला 196
अब्धिमथन (d) 70, 877
अभंगश्लेष 328
अभयकुमारचरित 235
अभयचरण 622
अभयतिलकगणि 70
अभयदेव 101
अभयस्तुति 291

worshipped God Varadarāja in company with his wife and retinues, Ācārya Dikṣita composed the verse—

कांचित्कांचनगौरांगीं वीक्ष्य साक्षादिव श्रियम् ।
वरदस्संशयापन्नो वक्षःस्थलमवैक्षत ॥

"Beholding a woman glittering like gold and looking like Laksmi, Varada fell into a doubt and looked at his bosom (to see if Laksmi were there)." The God mistook the Queen for Lakṣmi, suspected that His consort had quitted her permanent place in His bosom and looked at His bosom to ascertain whether she was there. The king was very much pleased with Ācārya Dikṣita's poetic description which is both original and suggestive of his (the king's) greatness and consequently honoured him with the title *Vakṣasthālacārya Dikṣita*. [V. A. Ramaswami Sastri's *Introduction to Siddhanta-bindu*, Annamalai University, pp. 95-103].

. Appaya Dikṣita is said to have lived in 1520-1591 according to Adayapalam Inscription See Y. Mahalingasastrin's *Age of Appayya Dikshita*, *JOR*, II. 225-237. In his Introduction to Yādavābhyudaya, (Ed. Srirangam) the date is given as 1552-1626.

अभिज्ञानशाकुंतल
See शकुंतला
अभिधानचिंतामणि 70
अभिधावृत्तिमातृका 826, 848
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अभिनंद (शतानंदसूनु) 59
अभिनय 550, 945
अभिनयदर्पण 963
अभिनयभूषण 900
अभिनयमुकुर 1064
अभिनयलक्षण 1064
अभिनयशास्त्र 958
अभिनयादिविचार 1064
अभिनवकादंबरी 163, 456, 486
अभिनवकालिदास (काश्यप) 621, 787 [*Tanj*, VIII. 3594]
अभिनवकालिदास (नृसिंहकवि) 523, 938
अभिनवकालिदास (माधव) 523
अभिनवकालिदास (गोपालशास्त्रिन्) 523
अभिनवकालिदास (कृष्णमूर्ति) 319, 521, 787
अभिनवकालिदास (वेङ्काल) 521
अभिनवकौस्तुभमाला 291
अभिनवगीतगोविंद 264
अभिनवगुप्त 316, 809, 836, 945, 955
अभिनवगुप्तरत्नाकर 1094
अभिनवगोपालपुळिंदिनीचरित (d) 1060
अभिनवचंपूरामायण [*Rice*, 746]
अभिनवचारुकीर्ति 293
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अभिनवभागवत (*BTC*, 156)
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अभिनवरामभद्राश्रम p. 24
अभिनवरामानुजाचार्य 244
अभिनवरामायण
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by नरहरि, *Rice*, 226
अभिनवरामाभ्युदय 137
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अभिनववृत्तरत्नाकर 1094
अभिनवशंकर 272, 272
See धीरशंकर
अभिनवशृंगाररसमंजरी 920
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अभिमन्यु, *Skm*
अभिमन्युनाटक (d) 780
अभिमन्युश्रेष्ठिन् [*DC*, XXVII. 7336]
अभिमानमहीधर 514
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अभिराम(डिंडिम)* 135, 137
[*TC*, III. 3823]
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अभिरामगोस्वामिन् [*CC*, I. 26]
गंगादेवीस्तोत्र
अभिरामचित्रलेख (d) 783
अभिरामपशुपति *Sarng*
अभिराममणि (d) 779
अभिरामराघव (d) 779, 879
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अभिषेकनाटक (d) 586
अभिसारिकावंचितक (d) 635, 955
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अमरकवि
गौरीशंकरकीर्तिकाव्य [*Ulwar* 919]
अमरकीर्तिसूरि
ऋतुसंहारव्याख्या
[Composed in 16th century A.D. *COJ*, III. 16; II. 234]
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अमरचंद्र 110
काव्याम्नाय
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अमरदत्तमित्रानंदचरित 440, 501
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by कृष्णसिंहठक्कुर [*MM*, II. 7]
अमरप्रभसूरि 283
अमरमंडन
by कृष्णसूरि 900
अमरसंदेश [*Opp*. II. 7805]
अमरसिंह *Kvs*
अमरविलासकाव्य
See देवराम [*CC*, III. 7]

* In para 137 supra Abhirāma Kāmākṣi is described as the daughter of Sabhāpati (son of Abhirāma). *That is an error*. Kāmākṣi or Kāmakoti is the son of Sabhāpati and father of Rāma ond Kṛṣṇa. In the geneology at *page* 222 *read* Kāmākṣi *for* Kamakṣi. This Kāmāksi was the son of Sabhāpati, and composed the inscription of Venkatapaṭirāya, King of Vizianagar, in Śāka 1510 (see *IA*, XLVII. 81).

Abhirāmakāmākṣi praises Dindima in her introductory verses thus:

प्रशस्यते यस्य विकुण्ठवादिप्र ...मो डिण्डिम एव नाम ।
अणीयसी स्तोतुममुं ममोक्तिः कथं प्रगल्भा कविसार्वभौमम् ॥

Abhirāma was also known as Dindimaprabhu (see *IA*, XLVII, 98) and she might therefore be the daughter of this Abhirāma Dindimaprabhu (the 1st in the geneology given in page 222) who married Rājanāṭha I and who was mother of Aruṇagirināṭha I (see para 135).

In para 137 *read*: Abhirama (Dindimaprabhu) of Kāśyapagoṭra had a son Sabhāpaṭi and a daughter Abhirāmanāyikā. This Abhirāmanāyikā married Rājanāṭha I. Sabhāpati had three sons Gaṇapārya, Kāmākṣi or Kāmakoti and Svayambhu. Gaṇapārya's son was Kāmaya and Kāmaya's son was Somanāṭha. Kamakṣi or Kamakoti had two sons Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. Abhirāma-Kamakṣi, wife of Rājanaṭha I, wrote *Abhinava-Rāmābhyudaya*, a poem in 24 cantos on the story of Ramayaṇa (*TC*, IV. 5202).

अमरेंद्रमोहनभट्टाचार्य [*ISSP*, XIX. 65]
अमल *Sarng*
अमरुक 242, 482
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अमीळियागळत्ति (d) 747
अमृतकतक p. 25
अमृततरंग 68
अमृतदत्त *Skm*, *Subh*, 58
अमृतदेव *Subh*, 58, 400
अमृतभारती [*Sanskrit Jl*, *Cochin*]
अमृतमंजरी by काशिराम [*CC*, I. 28]
अमृतमथन (d) 727
अमृतमथनकाव्य 730
अमृतलहरी 311, 880
अमृतवर्धन 58, 373
अमृतानंद 34
अमृतानंदयोगिन् 876, 920
अमृताभिषेक [*PR*, II. 116]
अमृतोदय (d) 693, 755
अमोघ *Skm*
अमोघदेव *Skm*
अमोघराघव (d) 531, 779, 879
अमोघवर्ष 57, 816
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See अम्माळ्, 160
अंबास्तव 309
अंबिकादत्तव्यास 254-D
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अंबेट्कर् (*G. K.*) 468
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अंशुमालिचरित 501
अंशुवर्मन् 181
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अयोध्याप्रसाद 886
अय्यपार्य 668
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अय्यादीक्षित 153
अय्यामाण (d) 160, 718
अरविंद *Kvs*, *Skm*
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अरिष्टशतकर्णी 305
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अर्जुन (चक्रदासपुत्र) 455
अर्जुनचरित 825
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अर्थचित्रमणिमाला 247
अर्थपंचक (d) 235, 720
अर्थवर्मन् *Subh* 400
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*The following geneology of the Payyur Bhattatiri (Patteri) family is of much interest. [Between 1300-1500 A.D.] Ṛṣi I (*m.* Gauri) had three sons, Bhavaḍāsa, Śaṅkara and Parameśvara I. This Parameśvara had five sons, Ṛṣi II. (Maharṣi) (*m.* Gopālikā) Bhavaḍāsa, Vāsudeva, Subrahmaṇya and Śaṅkara. Of these, Ṛṣi III had 2 sons Parameśvara II and Vāsudeva (see para 170). And Parameśvara II had a son Ṛṣi III, and his son was Parameśvara III.

Ṛṣi II (Maharṣi) is mentioned by Uḍḍaṇḍa in his Kokilasandeśa (See paras 169–170)

See *Int. to Tattvabindu* by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri. (Annamalai University) 87–92.

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He was patron of Bharaṭasena]
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* [An anonymous poem. Here in the colophon श्रीकमलालयमाहात्म्ये गजशालाकलिविडंबनं नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः Apparently it is part of a bigger and interesting work, which is worth looking for. It contains a complaint lodged against the officers in charge of elephant stables of king Sāhaji of Tanjore describing their frauds and iniquities.]

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* On the present head of the Mutt Candrasekharasaraswati the present author (M. Krishnamacharya) composed this Rathabandha.

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आकारान्तरभद्रमूर्तिरधुना यस्यास्ति पीठो वशे
काञ्चीधामनि कामकोटिखचितो जीयाच्चिरं भास्वरः ॥
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**TC*, II. 2374. In para 146 he is described as of Kānci. It is wrong. He belonged to Tirupati).

Delete in the foot-note the words "His life is described in a poem by Rangasami Tatacarya of Kumbakonam."

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[On the early history of the Sikhs. Printed Lahore]
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*On this Yaṭi the present author (M. Krishnamacharya) composed this Raṭhabandha:

श्रीमद्धामाङ्करांगी स्फटिकमणिशतप्रोल्लसद्धाम दद्यात्
पन्था ज्ञानामृताब्धेः श्रुतिशिखरगुरोः प्राभवद्यत् प्रसादात् ।
शङ्कावादिप्रहर्वी ललिताशितलसद्वाक् च लब्धप्रतिष्ठा
हेयप्रत्यर्थिसंस्थामतितिमिरपटां वन्दितां पारदग्भिः ॥
[श्रीवागीशपरकालयतिवर]

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* In para 493 delete words "among in 1931" misprints.

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कृष्णसिंहठक्कुर [*MM*, II. 7]
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केदारनाथमुखोपाध्याय [*SC Jl*]
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[Died in 1924. For his letters and exquisite poetry, see *SC Jl*]
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[A poem describing the life of Keśava-deva, King of Multan]
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[Born 1896. Professor of Sanskrit, Sri Parasuram College, Poona. Forstray poems, see *Manjusā Jl* and *MV Jl*]
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कोमलादंडक 504
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[Here गंगाधर is an error for गधाधर]
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विश्वेश्वरस्तुतिपारिजातकर्ता [Oudh, VII. 28]
सूर्यशतकटीकाकर्ता
आनंदलहरीटीककर्ता
संगीतरत्नाकरव्याख्याकर्ता
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* Kṣemendra's views on Sanskrit Grammar were critisised by Dhaneśvara in his Sārasvataprakriyā (*Oxf.* 555) as Kṣemendrakhandana. See Belwalkar, *SSG*, 99 and P. V. Gode's article in *PO*, I. iv. 30.

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[*Sarada Jl*] in prose
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गंगास्तव 397, 737
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गणनाथसेन (कविराज)
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छंदोविवेक [*SMM Jl*]
गणपति *SS*, *Pmt*
[He was probably the father of the poet Bhānukara]
गणपति *Skm*, *Subh*
गणपति 600, 661

*He was the son of Devasimhamakhin and grandson of Samarapungava Dīkṣita of Vādhulagotra. No. (1) is only a preface to No. (2) above. In *Tanj*. VII. 3373 there is a formula for *chess play*.

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गणपतिदेव 926
गणपतिव्यास
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तटातकापरिणय
वृत्तमणिमाला
अन्यापदेश
ध्रुवचरित
रसिकभूषण
भूतेशाष्टक
सूर्याष्टक
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गणेशभट्ट (धर्माधिकारिन्) Kcd.
गणेशशास्त्रिन् (रुकडीकर)
[He lived recently at Karavira,
Bombay. SC Jl]
गद 290
गदाधर Skm
गदाधर 76
गदाधर 922
रसपद्माकर
[Here the name गङ्गाधर is wrong]
गदाधर
by बृहत्तारतम्यस्तोत्र
[JASB (1870) Pro. 312]
गदाधर चक्रवर्तिन् 862-A
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गदाधरनाथ Skm
गदाधर नारायण Skm
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[IHQ, X 479 ; COJ, III. 350.
About 1660 A.D.]
गदाधरमिश्र (उत्कल) of Sambhalpur,
See कोसलानंदकाव्य
गदाधरविद्याभूषण
(of Ichapur, Ganjam) [Sury Jl]
गदायुद्ध (d) 579
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[A. Venkatasubbiah, "Authors of Raghavapandaviya and Gadyacintamani." *J B R A S*, (1927) 124]
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गागाभट्ट *Kcd*
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[*Sury Jl*]
गिरिजाप्रसादशर्मन्
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गिरिधरललशर्मन्
(Of Jhalawad, Rajputana called Abinava-Bhavabhūṭi)
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by चंद्रशेखरसंरस्वती
गीतगङ्गाधर
(=सङ्गीतगङ्गाधर)

* The following verse composed by the author of this book (M. Krishnamacharya) is a summary of all the stories given in the Gayā-Māhāṭmya on Gayākṣetra.

श्रीशं संश्रुतसत्यवाङ्नतगयं ध्यायेद्गदाधारिणं
यो नः फल्गुशिलावटान् सदसती सन्तारकान् सन्तती ।
प्रादात्सार्थपदो जनार्दन इति न्यासाय पिण्डं वहन्
दत्तं जीवति यं ददात्यपुनरावृत्तिं तिरश्चामपि ॥

[Ed by Maharudrappa Devappa, Belgam]
गीतगणपति 709
गीतगिरीश 298
by रामभट्ट
[Oxf 129. With Ātmārāma's com NW. 618]
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[Arsha Press, Vizagapatam]

[Composed in 1780. He also wrote a commentary on Gīta-Govinda.]

*[This Krsnadatta received a village (Pachaharaba) as a grant, from the King of Nepal. There is a rumour that Krsna datta was ordered to be hanged for using foul words about the King of Nepal. The King, while on bed, remembered a Hindi poem which he could not understand. In the morning he called the Pandit to explain it. But the Pandit was waiting for the arrival of the sad time. On hearing, he went to the King and the King remembering his past order, and desiring to cancel it, asked what prayascitta should be done for cancelling his order. Thereupon the Pandit told him, that he should offer 10 thousand Rupees, one villge, one Elephant and a Salagram to a learned Brahmana So the King did and gave him the above mentioned village. That village is still in the hands of his generations, residing at Hatarba village, P.O. Jhanjharpur, Dharbhanga.] MM. II. 47.

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[*DC*. XXVII, 10105 in praise of Abhinavagupta. Last verse in prakrt is this :
जाणम् कल्पम् कुणम् सोणम्
जीवम् ताणम् सिवत्तणमं ।
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by सदाशिवब्रह्मेन्द्र
(Printed Madras. With commentary by Āṭmabodha composed in 1720 A.D.) [Sadās'iva was pupil of Paramas'ivendira 55th Ācārya of Kāmakotipītha (1534-1586 A.D.) Āṭmabodha was pupil of Advayāṭma Prakās'a 58th Acarya (1692-1704 A.D.) Āṭmabodha wrote also Bhaktikalpadruma and Gaudapādollāsa.]
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[*MM.* II. 26.]
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[Printed, Bombay]
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गोतिथीयदिवाकर *Skm*
गोदापरिणय 544, 721, 777
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[Makhanlal Mukherji, *Jayadeva, the poet and mystic*, Jl. of Dep. of Letters, Calcutta, XXVIII]
जयदेवचरितकाव्य (Printed *Vidy Jl*)
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[an informal drama on Jayadeva's life with songs; *SB. Jl*]
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[In 11 Kallolas. Composed in saka 1714. In praise of Raja Ranabahadur Saha, son of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Saha; *MM. No* 60. 863-*A*]
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[E. V. Veeraraghavacarya says that he lived near Vizianagaram in Viziagapatam]
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[Son of Des'ikācarya. Born 1892]

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द्रुतचरित
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बृहच्छङ्करविजय
तोडर्मल्ल 692
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* [He was son of Peḍa Tirumalācārya of Bhāradwāja goṭra. He composed this work at Tirupati Hills in 1537. It is engraved in three copper plates in the Tirupati Devasthanams. The first verse is in Sanskrit and the second verse contains words of Sanskrit and other prakrit dialects. This is 2nd verse ;

त्रायस्व त्रात भक्ता वियगयपयरो देव्व तेव्ळोक्कनाहो
णं अह्मं हेपि दन्धे णचिय तिहुवणं पोम्मणी हे मुळाळी ।
अंजो दंचो सताते कुनक्कसप्तहियो माणवो तानवाळी
रागाचन्दाहवत्तप्पयड दिड्डवणो वक्करो वेङ्कटेसो ॥

His father Peda Tirumalācārya and his grand-father Annamācārya have composed samskṛitā-gītas, Songs on śrī Venkaṭesa, in all the rasas. [Printed T.T.D. Press, Madras.]

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तोळप्पाचार्य 699
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[*BTC.* 160 not now seen in Tanjore catalogue]
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त्रिनेत्र 86
त्रिपात् 491
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त्रिपुरमर्दन (d) 563, 877
त्रिपुरमहिमास्तव 286
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[*Tanj.* VII. 3044. In para 158 the name is wrongly given as S'ris'aila.]
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ध्वनिप्रदीप 892
ध्वनिविवेक (*CC*. I. 273]
ध्वनिसिद्धान्तग्रन्थ 855
ध्वन्यालोक 825

न

नक्षत्रमाला 209 [*TC*. IV. No. 4800]
  [Printed Kāvyamālā, Bombay.]
नखकुट्ट 950
नग्न *Skm*
नग्नजित् *Subh*, *Sarng*
नग्नधर 27
नग्नभूपतिग्रह (d) [*Opp*. II: 2862]
नग्नराज
  रेणुसहस्रस्तोत्र [*Opp*. II. 4899]
नग्नाचार्य *Skm*, *Subh*
नञ्जराज
  [He was known as Navabhoja-rāja and his Court poet Nṛsimha author of Nanjarāja Yasobhus'aṇa p. 19) as Navakālidāsa.
नञ्जराज 938, 1001
नञ्जराजयशस्समुल्लासचम्पू

by नीलकण्ठ [*Mys. Sup.* II]
नञ्जराजयशोभूषण 9
नञ्जराजशेखर 1001
नञ्जुण्ड 527
नटगाङ्गोक *Skm*
नटनकाळिदास 252
नटसूत्र 553, 814
नटांकुश 1007
नटेशविजय 162, 241, 781
नटेश्वरस्तोत्र 273
नडादूर् अम्माळ् 160
See अम्माळ्
नड्डभूवक *Subh*
नड्डवाह *Subh*
नदीपूर 746
नन्दकिशोरभट्ट शीघ्रकवि (of Muttra) [*SC. Jl. etc.*]
नन्दकुमारशर्मन् 251
नन्दगोपाल 28
नन्दन 363
नन्दन
[mentioned in श्रीकण्ठचरित]
नन्दनाचार्य p. 42
नन्दप्रभञ्जनवर्मन् 193
नन्दलाल 307
नन्दलाल विद्याविनोद
गर्वपरिणति (d) [*SC.Jl*]
नन्दिन् 963
नन्दिकेश्वर *p* 42
नन्दिकेश्वर
अभिनयदर्पण
[Ed. and tr. by Manmathanath Ghose, Cal. Sans. Series, Calcutta]
नन्दिकेश्वरकारिका 975
नन्दिघोषविजय (d)
by शिवनारायणदास [*IO.* 607]
नन्दिमती 563
नन्दिवर्मन्
by गोवर्धनमिश्र
[Novel printed in *VC. Jl*]
नन्दिसेन 283
नन्दिस्वामिन् 798
नन्दीचरित 254
नन्दीशयाज्ञिक 432
नन्दीश्वरकथा 230
नन्दीश्वरसंहिता 963, 989
नन्दोपाख्यान [*PR.* III. 394]
नन्नयदीक्षित 863-A
नमजीरामशास्त्रिन् (of Mewad. *Sury Jl*)
नमश्शिवायगद्य 506
नमिसाधु 832
नम्मय्य *Sarng*
नम्माळ्वार्
[In para 205, *Read 43rd day of Kali*]
नयचन्द्र 113, 118
नयनिदर्शन 543
नयरङ्ग 235
नरकण्ठीरवशास्त्रिन् 475
नरकासुरवध (d) 932
नरकासुरविजय (d) 130, 254
नरगणपतिविजय
by वेङ्कटराज [*Rice* 326]
नरचन्द्र 109, 666
नरचन्द्रसूरि 111, 114
नरनारायणानन्द 111
नरनारायणीय
by सदानन्द (देवप्रयाग)
[A very learned poem like Magha. Compd. Sam. 1912. Printed Bikaner]
नरपति [*MM.* II. 55]
नरवर्मन् 99
नरसनायक 124
नरसप्पदन्विन् 250
नरसराज

नरसराजीयकाव्य [*Opp.* II. 462]
नरसिंगसाळुव 124, 131
नरसिंह *Kvs, Skm, Subh*
नरसिंह 937
गुणरत्नाकर
नरसिंह (कळिंग) 880, 928
नरसिंह (I-III) 100, 102
नरसिंह (हारीत) 787
शृङ्गारस्तवक (d)
पादुकासहस्रव्याख्या [*IO.* VII 7569]
नरसिंह (अनन्तनारायणपुत्र) 517, 542
नरसिंह (गङ्गाधरपुत्र) 688
नरसिंह 544
पुरुषोत्तमचम्पू
नरसिंहअय्यङ्गार M.T. (=कल्कि)
[See also para 206, note (3)]
नरसिंहअय्यङ्गार T. 473
नरसिंहठक्कुर 860
नरसिंहदीक्षित
श्रीनिवासरथविजयनाटिका (d)
[*TC.* IV, 5479. Composed sāka 1572]
नरसिंहदेशिक (*MB. Jl.*)
नरसिंहपण्डित (सुरामात्यपुत्र) 675
नरसिंहभूपालचरित्र [*Opp.* 6012]
नरसिंहमङ्गळाशासन 210
नरसिंहमिश्र
शिवनारायणभञ्जमहोदय (d)
[*CC.* III. 134]
नरसिंहवर्मन् 459
नरसिंहविजय 880
नरसिंहशर्मन् पुणेकर of Kitture
[*SC. Jl*]
नरसिंहशास्त्रिन् (तिम्माजिमन्त्रिपुत्र) 92
नरसिंहसूरि 863-A
[*TC.* I. 554]
नरसिंहसेन 473
नरसिंहस्तव 210
नरसिंहाचार्य (S) 546
नरसिंहाचार्य (A.V.) 81
नरसिंहाचार्य (वेदान्ताचार्यशिष्य)
चम्पूभारतटीका 536
नरसिंहाचार्य (काण्डूरि) 1060
नरसिंहाचार्य (मुडुम्बै) 356, 919
नरसिंहाचार्य (कोचा) 323
नरसिंहाचार्य (श्रीशैल) 915
नरसिंहाचार्य (महाबलपुत्र) 500
नरसिंहाचार्य (मरंगंटि) 933
नरसिंहाट्टहास 919
नरहरि
(He gives a date 1298. It must be S'āka and not samvat. That will be 1376 A.D. Nidavole Venkatarao says "In the manuscript copy I possess there is an invocation to Bharati-Tirtha, the desciple of Vidyaranya and hence this date is conclusive. In the commentary of Naishadam Narahari invokes Vidyaranya as his paramaguru. Moreover there is a tradition among the Alankarikas in this country that Kumaraswami was a desciple of Nara-hari Suri and as such he quoted the book twice. His date may therefore be assigned to 1376-1340."
नरहरि (अल्लाड) 53
नरहरि
छन्दस्सुन्दर 1102
नरहरि 252
यादवराघवीय
नरहरि (=नरसिंहस्वयंभूपुत्र) 76
नैषनटीका 306
[*CC.* I. 279, 306. In para 76 he is described as son of मल्लिनाथ. Is it wrong ?]
नरहरि (भास्करपुत्र) 28
कुमारसम्भवटीका [*Tanj.* VI. 2459]
नरहरि

शृङ्गारशतक 316
नरहरि (=सरस्वतीतीर्थ) 850
कुमारसम्भवटीका (?) 28
मेघदूतटीका 318
नरहरि [*CC*. I. 279]
कविकौमुदी
अभिनवरामायण
नरहरिचक्रवर्तिन् 220
नरहरि दामोदरशास्त्रिन् (*MS. Jl*)
नरहरिभट्ट 876
नरहरि यति 214
नरहरिशास्त्रिन्
नृसिंहचम्पू [*Rice* 250]
नराभरण 267
नरेन्द्र *Subh*
नरेन्द्रनाथ विद्यारत्न *Spv.*
नरेन्द्रप्रभ 111, 112, 114
नरेन्द्रवर्मन् 181
नरेन्द्रवर्धन 663
नरोत्तम 251
नरोत्तम
कीर्तिलेशमात्रदर्शककाव्य [*CC*. I. 279]
नरोत्तमचन्द्रशर्मन् (of Peshawar)
[*VC. Jl.*]
नरोत्तमारण्यशिष्य [*PR.* II. 196]
रजस्वलास्तोत्र
नर्तननिर्णय 1028
नर्मवती (d) 563, 880
नलकथार्णव 254
नलकीर्तिकौमुदी 126
[Published in *Jl* of Telugu Academy]
नलचम्पू 513
[Ed. with Candapāla's commentary and intr. by Nandakisora-sarma]
नलचरितकाव्य 154
नलचरित (d) 84, 154, 742
by देवीप्रसादशुक्ल
by नीलकण्ठ 84
नलदमयन्तीय 84, 743
नलभूमिपालरूपक (d) 84
नलयादवराघवपाण्डवीय [*Opp.* 6595]
नलवर्णन 513
नलविक्रम (d) 513, 783, 877
नलविलास (d) 672
नलहरिश्चन्द्रीय 78, 96
नलानन्द (d) 84
नलाभ्युदय 78, 128, 146
नलायन 103, 849
नलायिनीचरित 175
नलिनीवसन्त [*JSSP*. XIX. 19]
नलोदय 78, 329
नल्लाकवि 777
नल्लान्चक्रवर्तिवैभव
[Arsha Library, Vizagapatam]
नल्लादीक्षित (=नल्लाबुध=भूमिनाथ)
[*Tanj*. XIX. xxxi], 162, 787
See भूमिनाथ 759
नवकर *Skm*
नवगीतकुसुमाञ्जलि 300
नवग्रहकृति 1053
नवग्रहचरित (d) 166
नवग्रहस्तोत्र 254-F
नवनागलतित 1047
नवनिधिमहालक्ष्मीस्तव 919
नवनीत (वाधूल) 545
नवनीतकवि 254
नवनीतकृष्ण (*VC. Jl*)
नवनीतराम 885
नवनीतराममिश्र 28
नवमालिका (d) 312
नवरत्न 14
नवरत्नमालिकास्तोत्र 273
[illegible] 1064, 1364

नवरसरत्नहार [*CC.* I. 281]
नवसाहसाङ्कचरित 61
नवीनकवीन्द्र 904
नवीनकालिदास 525
नवीनचन्द्र विद्यारत्न
श्रीवत्सचरित [*VC. Jl.*]
नव्यचण्डीसहाय 252
नष्टोद्दिष्टप्रबोधक 1042
नाकोक *Skm*
नागकुमारचरित 235, 320
नागदेव 513
नागनन्दिन् 35
नागनराय 348
नागनाथशास्त्रिन् (T. C.)
[Advocate of Devacottah, Ramnad, of Tirunalveli village near Sivaganga].
नागनाथ (विश्वेश्वरशिष्य) 787, 879.
मदनविलास (d)
नागनाथ (कन्दुकूरि) 544
नागपैय्य *Sarng*
नागप्पशास्त्रिन् (होसकारि)
[*Manj.* II. 136, 154]
नागभूपाल 934
नागनार्य (देवनार्यपुत्र)
कविराक्षसव्याख्या [*DC.* XX. 8025]
नागम्मा 374
नागम्मा *Sarng*
नागरसमञ्चय 1372
नागरसर्वस्व 1072, 1039
*नागराज 349
See भावशतक
नागवर्मन् 866
नागराज केशव 863-A

* Dasavatma Sarma on Nagaraja of Bhavasataka, *Jl. of Indian History* III, 303 The following note is found *Manuscripts in Mithila*, II. 9; *Bhavasataka*. "It was written for Ganapati Naga, the Naga king of Padmavati and the adversary killed by Samudra Gupta in battle. Although the book has been once printed in the Kavyamala our manuscript gives the crorect name and establishes the identity in the opening verse :

नाकराजसमं (शतं) ग्रन्थं नागराजेन तन्वता ।
अकारि गजवक्त्र श्रीर्नागराजो गिरां गुरुः ।

गजवक्त्रश्री ('Elephant-faced' = गणपतिश्री = Sri Ganapati Naga) was printed as गतवक्त्र in the Kavyamala which fully obscured the name. Ganapati again occurs in verse 80 which also shows that there were several Naga kings in the time of Ganapati. There is an allusion to Padmavati in 'Padmalaya' in verse 100. The king's famiiy is called Karpati (कर्पटि) gotra which is known to the Mahabharata. The M.B.H. enumerates it in the company of the Malavas (Sabha, C. 35. 7, Kumb. ed., Bengal C. 32). His dynastic name was Taka. In the Bhavasataka we have a work of 300 to 350 A.D., that is,. a work just before Kalidasa's time. Every verse is complete in itself like the verses of the Gatha-Saptasati. Very short comments (evidently by the author himself) are given. Ganapati Naga was a Sanskrit scholar and a man of stern character. (verse 76) and a worshipper of Siva (शिवभक्तितया) The style anticipates Amaru."

नागराजशर्मन् [*VC. Jl*]
नागरिदास 1072
नागाजी 1094
नागानन्द (d) 613
[Ed. with Commentary by Baladeva Upāḍhyāya; and with translation and notes by Sankararama Sastri, Madras.]
नागानन्दकाव्य 613
नागार्जुन 33, 35, 260, 1068, 1071
नागार्जुनीययोगशतक 1071
नागेश *p* 24
नागेशभट्ट=(नागोजीभट्ट) 143, 862, 886, 899, 921
नाचिराज
[Quoted by Arjuna Varman in his Com. on Amaru]
नाचोक *Skm*
नाटक 561, 563
[D. R Mankad, *Types of Sanskrit Drama*]
नाटककथासङ्ग्रह (गद्य) 650
by V. अनंताचार्य
[Printed Ahmadabad.]
नाटकचन्द्रिका 220
नाटकदीप
by त्र्यम्बक [*Opp.* 4675, *Rice.* 286]
नाटकदीपिका 727
नाटककथामञ्जरी [A select collection of dramas and poems.]
नाटकपरिभाषा 879
नाटकमीमांसा 871
नाटकरामायण (d) 373-*B*
नाटकलक्षण
by पुण्डरीक [*CC.* I. 284]
नाटकविमर्श 727
नाटकावतार 923
नाटवाट (d) 786
नाटिका 561, 563
नाट्य 549
[Sculptures in dancing are also found in the temples of Bhuvanesvar and Konarak near Puri and in Chidambaram Gopuram.]
नाट्यकथामञ्जरी
by कैलासनाथ
[Printed Lahore. It is a summary of well known Sanskrit dramas.]
नाट्यदर्पण 671
नाट्यपार(=नृत्तपार) 565
नाट्यप्रदीप
by सुन्दरमिश्र
[*CC.* I. 285. Written in 1613]
नाट्यप्रशंसा 1064
नाट्यरासक 563
नाट्यलोचन 836, 2017
नाट्यवेदागम 945, 1046
नाट्यशास्त्र 945, 797
[Translation of Chapter IV Tandavalakshna by B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu with illustrations and a glossary of dance terms, Madras.]
नाट्यशेखर 900
नाट्यसर्वस्वदीपिका 1064
नाट्याध्याय 1064
नाट्यार्णव 963
नाट्यायित 565
नाथकुमार *Sarng*
नाथमिश्र 904
नाथमुनि 205
नाथमुनिविजय 546
नाथस्तव 919
नाथुषाचरित
by चन्द्रशेखरशास्त्रिन्
[Printed Bikaner]

नाथोक *Pady*
नाददीपिका [*CC*. I. 285]
नादिण्ड्लगोप 888
प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयव्याख्या 752, 126
नानाक 110
नानकचन्द्रोदय 226
नानार्थार्णवसंक्षेप 28
नान्दी 560
नान्यदेव 400, 646, 1002
नाभागचरित (d) 254-W
नाममाला 819
नायनाचार्य 122, 123, 879
नायिकावर्णन [*DC*. XXII. 86,70]
नायिकानुवर्णन 922
नारदपञ्चरात्र 967
नारदशतक 967
नारदशिक्षा 968, 976, 981
नारद (ऋषि) 967
नारद 970
सङ्गीतमकरन्द
नारदविलासकाव्य 967
नारायण (रङ्गनाथपुत्र) 473, 646, 658, 863 (*a*)
नारायण 589, 618, 667, 921
काव्यवृत्तरत्नावळि
नारायण (काश्मीर) *Subh*, *Skm*
नारायण (श्रीवत्स) 121
नारायण
See भट्टनारायण
नारायण (आणिविल्ल) 942
नारायण (नागेश्वरपुत्र)
[*See TC*. IV. No. 4136]
नारायण (रामेश्वरपुत्र) 1094
नारायण (गङ्गाधरपुत्र) 257, 544, 546
[*N.B.* In para 164 note this Nārāyaṇa as the first son of Gaṅgādhara. See also Article by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri in *JOR*. III. 68]
नारायण *Skm*
नारायण (केरळीय)
सुभगसन्देश 323
नारायण
श्रुतिरञ्जिनी (*Gpp*. II. 1104)
नारायण
रसविलासकाव्य [*TC*. III. 2803]
नारायण (नृसिंहभट्टपुत्र) 76
नारायण (लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र) 782
नारायण [*Rice*, 256] (d)
चन्द्रकळा (d) [*Tanj*. XVI. 7456]
नारायण 427
हितोपदेश
नारायण (कृष्णशिष्य) 27
रघुवंशटीका [*TC*. V. 6227]
नारायणकवि 1064
सङ्गीतसार
नारायणगुप्त (C)
नारायण गुरुस्वामिन् [*VC*. *Jl*.]
नारायणचन्द्र
(काव्यस्मृतितीर्थ) *SPV Jl*
नारायणचतुर्वेद *Kcd*
नारायणचरित 210
नारायणतीर्थ 251, 301
नारायणदत्त *Skm*
नारायणदास 1063
ओमरखायम्
नारायणदास 297
गीतगोविन्दटीका [*Tanj*. XVI. 7337]
नारायणदासभारताचार्य *p*. 43
नारायणदीक्षित [*CC*. I. 290]
रामचन्द्रचरित
नारायण नम्बि [T, *MB*. *Jl*]
नारायण (पण्डिताचार्य)
(त्रिविक्रमपुत्र) 214, 217
नारायणपुरोहित 1100
नारायणबालकृष्ण 439

नारायणभट्ट 649
 उत्तररामचरितव्याख्या
नारायणभट्ट (भास्करपुत्र)
 व्रजभक्तिविलास [*CC*. I. 291]
नारायणभट्ट 777
 जानकीपरिणय (d)
नारायणभट्टपाद (भट्टात्रि) 173
 [Tradition says he lived 109 years]
 अष्टमीचम्पू
 सङ्गीतकेतु
 शृङ्गारतिलाचरित (*Trav*. 93)
नारायणमन्त्रिन् *p*. 23
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* This play is referred to by Vedānta Des'ika in his Rahasyatrayasāra when he quotes the Nāndī

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[See Telugu Edn. p. 747] and also in Sārasāra p. 196

"स्वयं वस्तूकुर्वन्जनमिममकस्मात्सारसिजप्रकारौ पद्मायास्तव च चरणौ नश्शरणमन् इति लक्ष्मीकल्याणे"

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[He was son of Govinda of Bhāradvagagotra of Sunkesala village. *Tanj.* VIII. 3504]
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* [Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, *Subandhu and Bana, Who is earlier ? IHQ*. (1929) 699. Sivaramamurti, *Painting and allied arts as revealed in Bana's works*, *JOR*. VI. 395, VII 59]

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* Mentioned in मार्कण्डेयपुराण. She is said to have taught her son, and her words are here quoted (*Sury Jl*):

धरामरान् पर्वसु तर्पयेथाः समीहितं बन्धुषु पूरयेथाः।
मायां प्रबोधेन निवारयेथा अनित्यतामेव विचारयेथाः॥
सदा मुरारिं हृदि चिन्तयेथास्तद्ध्यानतोऽन्तष्षडरीञ्जयेथाः।
मनः परस्त्रीषु निवर्तयेथा भार्यासुतावेव विचिन्तयेथाः॥
राज्यं कुर्वन् सुहृदो नन्दयेथाः साधून् रक्षंस्तात यज्ञैर्यजेथाः।
दुष्टान्निघ्नन् वैरिणश्चाजिमध्ये गोविप्रार्थं वत्स मृत्युं भजेथाः॥
बालो मनो नन्दय बान्धवानां गुरोस्तथाऽऽज्ञाकरणैः कुमारः।
स्त्रीणां युवा सत्कुलभूषणानां वृद्धो वने वत्स वनेचराणाम्॥

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मनोधरकाव्यदर्पण [*MM.* II. 17]
मनोरञ्जनमिश्र *Spv*
मनोरथ 272, 820
मनोरथ *Subh* [*Raj.* IV. 496]
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मनोरथगुप्त 836
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मनोरमा 180, 377
मनोरमामाधव 501
मनोरमाराज्ञी 80
मनोरमावत्सराज (d) 662
मनोवलम्बिका 314
by मुकुन्ददास [*Ulwar* 945]
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मनोविनोद *Skm*, *Kvs*
मनोविनोदकृत् *Skm*
मनोहरशर्मन् 53, 1094
मनोहर *Pady*
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मन्दारमञ्जरी (d) 898
मन्दारमरन्द 542, 901
मन्दारमाला (d) 727
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मन्दारिकाविलास (d) 727
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मन्दोक *Skm*

मन्नूलालद्विवेदिन्
[of Mandala C.P. *Sury Jl*]
मन्त्राङ्गनाटक (d) [*Opp.* 6111]
मन्मथतन्त्र 1071
मन्मथमन्थन (d) 352
मन्मथमहिमा 230
मन्मथविजय (d) 781
See वेङ्कटराघव
[Printed Trichinopoly]
मन्मथाभ्युदय (d) 781, 787
मन्मथोन्मथन (d) 787
मन्मोक *Skm*
मम्मट 811, 848
मय *Subh*
मय्यान् रामार्य 781
मायापुष्पक (d) 672
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मयूरमार्जालिक (d) 783
मयूरवर्मचरित्र 199
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मल्लदेव 1068
मल्लभट्ट 264
मल्लसोमयाजिन् 767
मल्लाभट्टहरिवल्लभ 245, 199
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मल्लिनाथ (जगन्नाथपुत्र) 816
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महर्षि 170
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महादेवगद्य 506
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[Madhusūdana's recension—

Ed. with the commentaries of Ramatarana Siromani, Candrasekhara and J Vidyasagara.—Calcutta. See S. K. De, *Problem of Mahanataka*, IHQ (1931) 629, 709; and Shivaprasad Bhattacharyas' paper on *Mahanataka problem*, read at 7th Oriental Conference.]

महानाटकसुधानिधि 667
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महाभारतसङ्ग्रह p. 43
महाभारतसार [*SKC*. 197]

* This book appears to be a history of King Lalitāditya (*Raj*. IV. 131–145) and the following verses from it are quoted as for the 5th Ullās'a by Ātmānanda in his commentary on Gururatnamālā alluding the installation of the son of Queen Ratta who had been deposed by the Kashmir invader, on the Kanataga throne. (*See* N. Venkatarama's *Sankaracarya The Great*, 78–9 pp. 78–9.)

रत्नां कर्णाटराज्ञीं प्रसभमभिभवन् केरळीयांश्च कोश-
प्रख्यान् प्रख्यापयिष्यन्नचलदजहद्दीर्घकौपीनिपुच्छान् ।
म्लेच्छान् मूर्धार्धमुण्डानपि विदधतो विग्रहत्रीडिवृत्त्यै
श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटीमठमसददसौ श्रीगुरोस्सेवनाप्त्यै ॥

चोलानभ्येत्य लीलावलयितवसुधामध्यकांच्यां स काञ्च्या-
मास्ताचार्यान् सपर्या प्रमुदितहृदयानादधानस्स सम्राट् ।
यत्स्मृत्यै ज्येष्ठमुद्रालयमपि विदधे साधुसाहस्रभक्तम्
नाम्नालक्षोत्तराणामपि तदशनदं वेश्म काश्मीरदेशे ॥

† Edited by P.P.S. Sastri, Madras. Ed. by P. Kinjamdekar, Bombay with Nilakantha's commentary. Ed. by V. S. Sukthankar (ādiparvama love) with illustrations

N. V. Thadani, *Mystery of the Mahabharata*, *Age of Mahabharata*. (Mys. Arch Rep. (1927), 8.

E. P. Rice, *Mahabharata*, *Analysis and Index*. Jagannatharow, *Age of Mahabharata War*. Pramathanatha Mallik, *Mahabharata*, *A critical study* (Allahabad), and its review by V. V. Ramasami in *The Hindu*, 27th Nov. 1934.

महाभारतव्याख्या
by कृष्ण [*TC*. VII. 7454]
महाभाष्य 474, 556, 557, 558
महामनुष्य (काश्मीरक) *Skm*, *Subh*, 904
महामहेश्वरकवि
एकावल्यलङ्कार [*BTC*. 54 not found in the *Tanj*. Cat. *Opp*. II. 3605]
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महाराजकर्ण 898
महालिङ्ग 254
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महावीरप्रसाद द्विवेदिन् (of Jhansi) [*SC. Jl*]
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महावीरप्रसाद जोनी (of Demdaloda) [*Sury Jl*]
महावैद्यनाथशिव 1060
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महासेनाचार्य 235
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महिमसिंहगणि 318
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महिम्नस्तोत्र 286
महिषमङ्गळ (d) 180, 787
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महिळाविलास 727
महीधर p. 21
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महीपतिमण्डलीक *Sarng*
महीपाल 652
महीपालचरित्र 321
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महीपालदेव 669
महीशूरदेशाभ्युदय 546
महीशूराभिवृद्धि 546
महुमहनविययो 641
महेन्द्र *Subh*
महेन्द्रप्रभसूरि 321
महेन्द्रपाल 651
महेन्द्रमातलिसञ्जल्प 514
महेन्द्रवर्मन् 459
महेन्द्रविक्रमवर्मन् 48, 786
महेन्द्रसूरि 477
महेशचन्द्र न्यायरत्न 864

* This is one of the finest poems in S. India e. g.

सुग्रीवोऽसि गजोऽसि वपुषा नीलः प्रमाथी तथा
धूम्रश्चासि महानुभावमहिष त्वं दुर्मुखः केसरी ।
इत्थं ते सततं महाकपिशताकारस्य साहाय्यतः
सीतां प्राप्य विलंघ्य दुःखजलधिं नन्दाभिरामस्स्वयम् ॥

Like this poem is *Kākas'ataka* directed against Kākāji friend, of King Ekoji. e.g.

रसालकुलमावृतं सकलमेव काकात्मजैः
कथञ्चिदपि नीयते विरसवासरः कोकिलैः ।
द्विजैरपि तथा कथं सरसमानसा कान्तिभिः
मरालकुलनायकैः कथय कास्थितिः कार्यता ॥ [*Tanj*. VII. 3929]

महेशचन्द्र पूर्णचन्द्र [*Vidy Jl.*]
महेश महेश्वरतीर्थ p 24
महेशठक्कुर 406
महेशदत्त द्विवेदिन् (of Bandakapur C.P.) [*Sury Jl*]
महेशप्राणिप्रिय 733
महेशमहोत्सवकाव्य
See कोण्डपण्डित
महेशमानसमहोत्सव (d) 787
महेशमिश्र (=महेश्वर) [*CC.* I. 445]
कुलपञ्जीकाव्य
महेश्वर 786
धूर्तविडम्बन (d)
सभानाटक (d) [*CC.* I. 696]
महेश्वर 440
साहसाङ्कचरित
महेश्वर
mentioned in भोजप्रबन्ध
महेश्वर *Sarng*
महेश्वर 27, 632 [*CC.* I. 445]
विल्हणीयटीका
मुद्राराक्षसटीका
रघुवंशटीका
भर्तृहरिटीका [*CC.* III. 96]
महेश्वरसुबुद्धिमिश्र (न्यायालङ्कार) 752, 819
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काव्यप्रकाशटीका *
महेश्वरपण्डित 694
महेश्वरपञ्चानन 55
महेश्वरपुरी *Shar*
महेश्वरमहाकाव्य 942
महेश्वरसूरि 235
महेश्वरानन्द 783, 879
महेश्वरोल्लास 734
महोदधि *Kvs, Skm*
महोपदेशविंशति 836
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मागधमाधव *Sarng*
माघ 54, 242
माघदुर्घट
(a collection of adversaria on Māgha)
by राजगूड [*Bendall* 60]
माङ्कक *Skm*
माच 934
माणिक्य 103
माणिक्यचन्द्र 103, 849
माणिक्यमैथिल 941
माणिक्यवल्लिका (d) 563, 877
माणिक्यवाक्यचरित 254
माणिक्यसुन्दर 235, 451
माणिक्यसूरि 103
मातङ्गराज *Skm*
मातङ्गदिवाकर 279
मातृ 13, 274, 609, 798, 951
मातृचेत 351, 277
मातृदत्त 459
मातृभूतशतक 162
मातृषेण *Subh*
मात्राच्युत 345
माधव (लक्ष्मणपुत्र) 130
माधव (गोविंदपुत्र) 1095
माधव
रसविहार [*MM.* II. 134]
माधव 130
उद्धवदूत
माधव (E. P.) [*VC Journal*]
माधव
नरकासुरविजय
माधव 262
जडवृत्त

* [Is he the same as महेश्वर next *supra*. Ed. Cal. Or. Series with a fine analysis in English.]

माधव *Pady*, *Skm*, 130
माधव 53
भारविटीका
माधव (विद्यारण्य)
See विद्यारण्य
[M.A. Doraisami Iyengar, *Madha-Vidyaranya Theory*, Journal of Indian History, XII. 241]
माधव (तलितानगरी) 130, 323
माधवचक्रवर्तिन् *Pady*
माधवचम्पू 542, 768
माधवपुरी *Skm*, *Pady*, 130
माधवप्रसादशर्मन् (देवकूट)
(of Palapa, Nepal)
सूर्योदयवर्णन etc. [*Sury Jl*]
माधवभट्ट (माधवेश्वरपुत्र) 130
माधवभट्ट 1064
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माधवभट्ट *Kcd*
माधवमहोत्सव 222
माधवमिश्र (पुरुषोत्तम) 220
माधवयति 214
माधवरावु पीष्वा 937
माधववर्मन् 1066
माधविका (d) 842
माधवविलास 373-D
माधववैद्य [*CC*. I. 448]
आनन्दलहरीटीका
माधवशील *Smt*
माधवसरस्वति *Pady*
माधवसिंहार्याशतक ‡
(= देवविलासार्या
by श्यामसुन्दर or श्याम (गदाधरपुत्र)
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माधवसेन, *Skm*, 130
माधवसेन [*JASB* (1906), 172]
माधवानन्द 286, 542
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माधवानलकथानक 858
माधवानला (d) 476
माधवानलकथा 439
माधवानलकामकन्दळाकथा 476
माधवानलनाटक (d) 441, 476
by आनन्दधर
[Is he the same as Ananda Rājanaka ? See paras 76, 868]
by कवीश्वर [*PR*. I. 118]
माधवाभ्युदयकाव्य [[*CC*. I, 450]
माधवी 373-A, 879
माधवीवसन्तीय (d) 783
माधवेन्द्रपुरी *Pady*
मान्धात्री 373-A
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मानकवि 314
मानगुरु (K. V.) [*VC Jl*]
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‡ (*CC*. I. 260. *BRI*, No. 436 of 1887–91 It contains 135 verses composed at the instance of King Māḍhavasimha, son of Jaisimha II of Jaipur about 1750. Gangārāma, Rāmeśvara, Gopīrātha, Vajranātha, Suḍhākara, Hariḍaṭṭa, Kevalarāma, Saḍāsiva, Raviḍaṭṭa, Samhāraḍaṭṭa are mentioned in the poem as the learned men of that Court.

मानविक्रम 666
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मानविक्रम कविराजकुमार 716
मानवेदचम्पूभारत 526
मानवेद (एरल्पट्टु) 176, 251, 323, 519, 526, 1001 [VC. Jl.]
मानवेदचरित (d) 176
मानससन्देश
by लक्ष्मणसूरि 246
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मानसोल्लास 89, 1006
मानाङ्क 297, 335, 646
मानिनी (novel)
by भट्टकेशव [VC Jl]
मायण 125
मायाकापालिक (d) 563, 880
मायाकुरङ्गिका (d) 879
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[In this para 932 (p. 799) foot-notes 4 and 5 are interchanged.]
मायुराज 663
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मारसम्भव 121
मार्ताण्डवर्मन् 712, 939
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मार्जार Skm
मारीचवंचितक (d) 779, 877
मारीचवध 955, 1047
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मारुतिविजय 541
मारुतसन्देश 323
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मार्कण्डेयचरित 254
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मार्गसहायचम्पू 545
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मार्ताण्डमाणिक्य-भु 1061
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[Ed. with Translation and Notes by R. D. Karmarkar]
मालती सेन् 255-J
माळविकाग्निमित्र (d) 621
[Ed. with Translation and Notes by A. S. Krishnarow, Madras. Ed. with Com. by Appasastri, Kolhapur, See B. K. Thakore, *A study* paper read at 7th Oriental Conference]
माळवकुवलय 69
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माहुण्डक (भट्ट) *Subh*
माहेश्वरसूत्र 975
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(Sanskrit journal, Calcutta)
मिळिन्दप्रश्न
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* (His songs are printed at Madura in Sri Guhaguṇāmṛtavarṣiṇi in which Navar ṇana Kirtanas express devotion to Universal Mother.)

† [Ed. Translation by H. Dhruva. S. Srikantha Sastri, Date of Mudrarakshasa *IHS.* (1931), 163; K. H. Dhruva, Verses mistaken for prose, *PO.* Oct. 1936]

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[Arsha Library, Vizagapatam.]
युवराजदिवाकर *Skm*
युवराजदेव (केयूरवर्म)
युवराज प्रह्लादन
युवराज रामसिंह
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रघुनाथप्रसाद 1064
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* There is a manscript in the Bhandarkar. O. R. institute B. K. R. (1874-5) p. 9-10 has a critical notice. The hero is not Sultan Mohammad of Ghazni, but Mohammad Begadha of Ahmedabad. In the colophon the line of Gujarat Kings from which this Mohammad came is given. I am indebted for this information to P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute.

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  [*See* M. Venkataratnam, *Rama the greatest Pharaoh of Egypt*, Madras. Ruben, *Studies in the history and text of Ramayanam* (in German) Stuttgart.]
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* (He was son of Kāntimatī and Kes'ava Bhatta. His mother's brother was S'rīsāilapūrṇa, who was one of the disciples of Ālavandār. It is *wrongly* printed in para 206 that Rāmānuja was *Alavandar's son's daughter's son*. Rāmānuja's date of birth and death are in the chronogram धीर्लब्धा धर्मो नष्टः (949 and 1054 S'āka)).

† See S. Aiyaduraiaiyar, *Ramayana as an illustration of Yogasastra* (Printed Kumbakonam).

" The Ramayana is the story of Atma Vijayam. Rama is the Atma who is in quest of Sita who is Brahmavidya with the help of Lakshmana, who is Buddhi, and Hanuman who is Manas, by destroying Ravana, the Rajoguna with the ten

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senses for ten heads, and Kumbhakarna, Tamoguna, after enlisting the services of Vibhishana, the Satvaguna. Lanka, wherein Sita is made captive, is Muladhara Chakra and Rakshasas are the evil forces that lie coiled up in Muladhara. In fact, all the characters and all the geographical names that occur in the Ramayana are identified with certain portions of the human body, and every such identification is sought to be supported by the meaning which the word is capable of yielding or other reasons are given why it ought to be so.

See also for a similar exposition, *An esoteric study of Ramayanam* by C. Doraisami Aiyangar, Chittoor. Articles in *Dharmarajya*, Delhi.

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* Rāsakrīdā is thus finely described in Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta.

अङ्गनामङ्गनामन्तरे माधवो माधवं माधवं चान्तरेणाङ्गना ।
इत्थमाकल्पिते मण्डले मध्यगः सञ्जगौ वेणुना देवकीनन्दनः ॥

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प्रातस्संस्मरणाष्टक
भारतीनीराजन

† He must have written his commentary on Murāri after he became an ascetic and assumed the name Rāmānandās'rama [*Tanj* VIII. 3322]. He had a brother Kondubhatta (Paṇḍiṭapattabhadra).

‡ He was son of Visvanātha and Pārvaṭī of Hariṭagotra. In his colophon to the commentary on Saundaryalaharī (*Tanj*. No· 20664) he describes his ancestors, all great in learning. Of these were Mahādeva (para 889) Laksmidhara, (author of Sahityaparijāṭa), Virincimis'ra, (author of Bharaṭārṇavapoṭa and Sāhiṭyamīmāmsā). He was in the Court of King Gajapaṭi Virarudra of Orissa and wrote Sarasvaṭivilāsa (on Hindu law) and poems Laksmīdhara, Barhāvaṭamsa and Karṇāvaṭamsa. After Kṛsṇadevarāja married the daughter of Praṭāparudra, Lakṣmīdhara appears to have gone to Vijayanagar and lived in the Court of Kṛsṇadevarāja, whom he thus praised.

श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कवीनां गृहाः
नानारत्नविचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः।
अब्धिः केवलवारिपूरनिलयस्संभाव्यते सँजनैः
अम्बोधिर्जलधिःपयोधिरुदधिर्वारांनिधिर्वारधिः ॥

E. V. Viraraghavacharya gives his date as about 1465–1530. Inscriptions in Kondavidu mention Lakṣmīdpara [*EI*. VI- 230 dated 1520 A.D.]

Has the same Lakṣmīdhara written a commentary of Anandalaharī? [*CC.* I. 528. Here his name is noted as Lakṣmīdhara Des'ika.]

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रुक्मिणीपरिणय (ईहामृग) (d)
हास्यचूडामणि (प्रहसन) (d)
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[Ed. *GOS*, Baroda, as Rūpakaṣatka. These were enacted in the courts of king Paramardideva and his son Trailokyavarmadeva of 12–13th century. Paramardi wrote a pras'asti to S'iva (*JASB.* XVII. 33) and ruled 1163–1203. See *IA.* XXXVIII. 121]
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वादीभसिंह 479
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* [The correct name seems to be this and not वञ्चेश्वर as printed in para 163. The senior Vānches'vara was a poet of the Court of Pratāpasimha and his son Tukkoji of Tanjore. His forefathers were the donees of Shaharajapuram. He wrote Mahiṣasāṭaka or Lulāyasāṭaka (Tanj. VII 2954.) He was a rival of Ghanas'yāma and directed his satires against him whom he alluded to as Vṛṣala. His great-grandson Vanchesvara wrote a commentary on it (Tanj. VII. 2950). His commentary on Hiradṇyakes'isūtra (Tanj. No. 2072) is dated 1816 A.D. See under Mahiṣas'āṭaka.

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वामनगुप्त 836
वामनचित्रचरित 254
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वामनभट्टबाण 128, 482, 889
कनकरेखाकल्याण (d) [*TC*. VI. 7100]
वामनविजय 733
वामनस्वामिन् *Sarng*, *Subh*
वामर्षि 872
वायसवैशस 490
वायु 964
वायुपुराण 964
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वार्तिककार *Skm*
वार्तिकाभरण 150
वार्धिकन्यापरिणय (d) 704
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वासुदेव (भदन्त) *Subh*
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वासुदेवद्विवेदिन्
संस्कृतगीतमाला [*Sury Jl*]
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वासुदेवविजय 46, 170
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by रामनाथतर्कालङ्कार
[composed in 1883 at Shantipur. Printed Calcutta.]
वासुदेवशर्मन् [*VO*. *Jl*]
वासुदेवशास्त्रिन्
रामोदन्तकाव्य [*CC*. I. 567]
वासुदेवसानन्द
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[Printed Allahabad. A grand proso-poetic poem of devotion. See *PO*. I. 69 for review],
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* दारिद्र्यक्षितिपः स मे निजपतिस्तस्य प्रसादादभू-
द्वाञ्छा जीवनमम्बरं दश दिशो वासश्च देवालये ।
अस्मद्वैरिणि लब्धसञ्ज्ञतिरितित्वय्याश्रये कुप्यता
मद्वृत्तिं विनियोजितास्त्वदरयः का नाम वृत्तिर्मम ॥

Compare

अर्धं दानववैरिणा गिरिजयाप्यर्धं शिवस्याहृतं
तेनेत्थं धरणीतले पुरहराभावे समुन्मीलति ।
गङ्गा सागरमम्बरं शशिकला नागाधिपः क्ष्मातलं
सर्वज्ञत्वमधीश्वरत्वमगमत् त्वां मां च भिक्षाटनं ॥

विद्याकरपुरोहित (*contd.*)
राघवपाण्डवीयव्याख्या
[He was descendant of Jīvaḍeva, author of the poem Bhakṭi-Bhāgavaṭa and lived during the time of King Mukunḍaḍeva II (1658-1692) of Orissa. Nārāyaṇaśāṭaka is in praise of Lord Jagannāṭha of Purī edited with Pīṭāmbara mis'ra's commentary by Karunākara (Kara) S'arman, Principal, Sanskrit College, Purī. Jivadeva was son of Puruṣoṭṭama and wrote his poem at the request of King Praṭāparudṛa, and lived in 15-16th century in Orissa.]

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by सकलकीर्ति (in 20 cantos) [*DC* XXVII. 7311]
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गोदास्तुति
भूस्तुति
सुदर्शनाष्टक
षोडशायुधस्तोत्र
वैराग्यपञ्चक
यतिराजसप्तति
श्रीस्तुति
दशावतारस्तोत्र
भगवद्ध्यानसोपान
शरणागतिगद्य
दयाशतक
परमार्थस्तुति
कामासिकाष्टक
वेगास्तुति (= यथोक्तकारिस्तोत्र)
अष्टभुजाष्टक
वेङ्कटनाथ (= वेदान्तदेशिक) *contd.*
वरदराजपञ्चाशत्
देहलीशस्तुति
गोपालविंशति
रघुवीरगद्य
देवनायकपञ्चाशत्
गरुडपञ्चाशत्
गरुडदण्डक
हयग्रीवस्तोत्र
न्यासविंशति
न्यासतिलक
सङ्कल्पसूर्योदय (d)
Com. by भारद्वाजश्रीनिवासाचार्य [Printed Conjevaram. Edited and Trans. Vani Vilasa Press, Srirangam.]
Com by चेट्लूर नरसिंहाचार्य [of Tiruvahindrapuram. Edited Madras.]
समस्यासहस्र (mentioned in his sṭoṭrabhāṣyam
यादवाभ्युदय
हंससन्देश
[Com. by Melapalayam Srirangacharya Com. by Parakalaswami (Mysore)]
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[com. by Bhāradvāja Srīnivāsācārya]
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* He was he desciple of S'iva Sūrya Yajvan whom he describes thus:

कलाधरत्वात् कमलापतित्वात् पद्मासनश्रीचतुराननत्वात् ।
मूर्तित्रयात्मापि विशुद्धसत्त्वो यो राजते शिवसूर्यधर्मकीर्तिः ॥

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[*MB. Jl.*]
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(कवितार्किकसिंहम्)
[He is son of S'rīnivāsarāghava of S'rīvatsagotra. Born S'rīmukha. Lives at Conjeevaram. Composed Sanskrit poetic renderings ot Tamil works, Desīka-prabandha, Periyālwār's Tirumuli, Namalwais' Tiruviruttam and Tiruvāsiriyam and Tiruvandādi (1 to 4 dasākas)]
कृष्णचरित्र
रामचरित्र
देवराजोत्सव
श्रीनिवासविवाह
पद्मावतीकरावलम्ब
वेदान्तदेशिकचरित्र
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[His works are preserved in Arsha library, Vizagapatam.]
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[Ed. by M. M. Anantakrishnasastri, Prof. of Sanskrit Calcutta].
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† He is also said to have translated the Tiruvaymuli into Sanskrit. I heard a verse repeated from it, though I have not been able to trace any such manuscript:

लोकं पुष्कलमेकनायकतया ये शासितारो नृपाः
श्यामाङ्गेन शुना प्रदष्टचरणास्ते भग्नभिक्षाघटाः।
अस्मिन् जन्मनि सार्वलौकिकतया भिक्षामटन्ति स्वयं
श्रीनारायणपादसेवनरताः भो भोऽस्समुज्जीवताम् ॥

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वेणीदत्त (योगिसूत्र) 923
साहित्याब्धि
वेणीदास
भैरवोदय [*MM.* II. 107]
वेणीरूपकाव्य [*CC.* I. 603]
वेणीविलास [*CC.* I. 603]
लक्ष्मीविलासकाव्य
वृत्तसुधोदय 1100
वेणीसंहार 166, 241, 494, 639
[Ed. Tr. by K N. Dravid]
वेणुधर (तर्कतीर्थ)
दुःखिनीविलाप [*JSSP.* XIX]
वेतालपञ्चविंशति 430 [*CC.* I. 603]
by क्षेमेन्द्र
by जम्भालदत्त
by वल्लभ
by शिवदास
by सोमदेव
[M. B. Emenieu, *Central Asiatic versions*, *PO.* Oct. 1936]
वेताळभट्ट *Skm*
वेताळविंशति
by वेङ्कटभट्ट [*Opp.* 4544]
वेतोक *Skm*
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वेदव्यास p. 27
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वेदान्तदशक 919
वेदान्तदेशिक 120, 143
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व्रजकौतुकामृत
by कुञ्जविहरचक्रवर्तिन्
[TC. V. 623, in 15 cantos on Kṛṣṇa's life until killing of Kamsa. He was son of Rāmacandra.]

व्रजनवनागरचन्द्रिका [CC. I. 6207]
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[His name is given as Vajranāṭha in the poem Māḍhavasimhāryās'aṭaka composed in the court of King Māḍhavasimha of Jaipur. Vrajanāṭha's Paḍyaṭarangiṇi was composed there in 1753 AD.]

व्रजरत्नभट्टाचार्य
प्रमोदविलास
रसिकरहस्य &c. [*SC Jl.* VII]
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by कविचन्द्र
व्रज्यामाला [*CC*. I. 621]
by सर्वानन्द
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[*Bendall*, 64]

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[Edited with Srinivasachari's commentary and English Translation. Madras, Edited by B. Dass Jain with Trans. and Notes. Edited with commentary by Ramavarma and Ramaji Sastri, Pattambi]

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[S. M. Paranjpe, *Bhasa and Sakthibhadra*, *Annals*, IX]

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शङ्करकवि 254

* [On Dwaraka Mutt Chronology, see The *Theosophist*, XIV 253–56. & XVI. 292–96. For a full discussion of these mutt histories, see N. Venkataraman's *Sankaracharya, The Great and His Successors in Kanci*, Madras; and Gopinatharao's *Sri Sankaracharya Mutt Inscriptions*.

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शङ्करदीक्षित (बालकृष्णपुत्र) 254, 442, 538, 680, 707
शङ्करदेव 400
शङ्करदेव *Skm*
शङ्करधर *Skm*
शङ्करनारायण
रसिकामृतनाटक (d) [Hz 1276]
शङ्करनारायण 1064
शङ्करनारायणशास्त्रिन् (K.R.) [*JSSP*. XVII. 7]
शङ्करभट्ट 902
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शङ्करमिश्र 297
शङ्करमिश्र *SS*, *Pmt*, *Pady*
शङ्करमिश्र 297, 538
गौरीदिगम्बर
गीतगोविन्दटीका
साहित्यकलिका [*MM*. II. 71]
शङ्करलाल 354, 733, 772
शङ्करवर्मन् (नृप) 60, 827
शङ्करवर्मन् (कवि) 655
शङ्करवर्मन् *Skm*
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by सदानन्द
by व्यासाचल (or व्यासाद्रिकवि) [*Tanj*. VII. 3225]
by माधव 643, 653 [*DC*. XXI 837]
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by आनन्दगिरि
[Ed. by J. Vidyabhushan, Calcutta]
शङ्करविजयकथा
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शङ्करशर्मन् (गुळवणि) [of Kudutri; *VC*. *Jl*]
शङ्करशास्त्रिन् (of Kajada)
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शङ्कराचार्यावतारकथा 215
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† [*BR* I. No. 236, *CC*. I. 196, 626. P. K. Gode says the Nānānṛpati and Pratāpasiṃha mentioned in the poem are respectively Nanasahib Peshva (1740-61) and King Pratapasimha of Tanjore (died 1765); Bhṛsabala (भृशबल) means *Bhonsle*]

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शङ्करीगीति 1001
शङ्करीसङ्गीत 298, 1001
[Printed *JSSP*. Calcutta]
शङ्करेन्द्रविलास
by वाक्पतिभट्ट
[on the life of 36th Ācārya of Kamakotipeetha; 788-840 AD.]
शङ्कार्णव *Skm*
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शङ्कुक 823, 955
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शठकोपसहस्र 205
शठकोपाचार्य (नल्लान् चक्रवर्ति) 85
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निरोष्ठ्यरामायण [*SC Jl*. *VC Jl*. He was Samskrit Pandit in St. Joseph's College, Trichnopoly].
शठकोपालङ्कारपरिचर्या 933
शठजित्कवि 787
शठवैरिवैभवदिवाकर 933
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[in Vasistharāmāyaṇa; printed Bombay].
शतपञ्चषट्कस्तोत्र 277
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शब्दानुप्रास 325
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by शम्भुमिश्र [1793 AD.]

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काव्यलहरी
कृष्णकुमारी and other stories in prose [*Sarada Jl*]
शरच्चन्द्रशास्त्रिन् 867
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[*SO*. *Jl*. Of Bhavanipur, Calcutta]
शशिवर्धन *Subh*, *Sarng*
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शाकोक *Skm*
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शाक्यरक्षित *Skm*
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शान्तराजपण्डित 1101
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by मुनिसुन्दर
by भावचन्द्र
by अजितप्रभ
by माणिक्यचन्द्र
by मेघविजयगणि
शान्तिनाथचरित्र (prose) [Ramghat Jain Library, Benares]
शान्तिपद्धति 262, 767
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by प्रकाशानन्दशर्मन् [MG. Jl]
शारदाचन्द्रिका 457, 877
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शार्दूलशतककाव्य [Opp. 1334]
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शालिवाहनचरित 203, 204, 432
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शाश्वत Subh
शाश्वत 318
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[He was brother of S'ris'ailarya of Seringapatam (see post); 17th century]
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[He was a native of Navadvipa, Bengal and lived in 1868-1936]

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[*TC.* VII. 7488, 7573. He was brother of S'rīnivāsatāṭācārya probably of Tirupati, Chittoor District and son of Annayārya.]
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[He is Curator of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum.]
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* Bhavabhūti is thus praised.

माधवस्य रतिं यद्वत् विरुद्धैरप्रबाधिताम् ।
भवभूतिः श्मशानाङ्के जगाद रसिकप्रभुः ॥

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[lived about 1630–1670 A. D.]
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[In para 254–D. read thus: Somakavi was the son of Subrahmaya. He wrote Ādityakarṇāmṛta. His father Subrahmaṇya wrote Cāturdhārācamatkārasāra, a collection of verses, with his own commentary.]
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* (According to Puṇyaślokamañjarī this Someśvara became Bodha II (Sandrananda) the 44th Ācārya of Kāmakoṭipīṭha in 1061–1098 A.D. Mr. Duff gives dates for Someśvara 1063–1082.)

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* He praised Shajakhan thus :

भूभृन्मौळितटीषु वर्षति महाधाराधरेऽस्मिन्नसौ
जाता भूप सरस्वती विजयिनी कल्लोलिनी पावनी ।
श्रीमत्साहिजहा ब्रवीमि तदिदं माहात्म्यमस्याः कथं
यस्यां मज्जति पङ्कजीयति शिवस्तन्मूर्धजे लीयति ॥

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[*DC*. XXVII. 7336, *TC*. VI. 7336. This narrates the story of Harivams'apurāṇa in easy prose and verse, according to Jaina religion.]
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कर्पूरचरित (d) [*GOS*]
    by वत्सराज
कलङ्कमोचन (d)

by पञ्चाननतर्कतीर्थ

[on a tale in Bhāghvata about Rādhā, *JSSP.* XX]

कलिङ्गराजसूर्य

सूक्तिरत्नहार [*TSS*]

कविराक्षस

[E. V. Veeraraghavacarya says that he was a native of Drākṣārāma, E. Godavari Dist., and lived between 1050 and 1220. See Veeresalingam's *Telugu Poets.*]

कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय 373-B

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कूर्मपुत्रकथा [*Bendall* 50]

चन्द्रशेखरसरस्वति [Present Head of Kamakotipitha]

सिद्धेश्वराष्टक (on Prayag)

गङ्गावंशानुचरित

[See R. Subbarao's *History of Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*, *AHQ*, V. 193.]

गीतगोविन्द

[The verses about ten Avatāras have been sung in *Twin Records* by Madabusi Dikshitar S'rīnivāsāchāriar, Teacher, Board High School, Chittoor, who is an adept in singing this poem and Rāmāyaṇa. Some verses have also been sung by Chittoor sisters in *H.M.V. Records.*]

गुणवर्मचरित

by माणिक्यसुन्दर of (अचलगच्छ) [A collection of tales. *Bendall* 64]

गोविन्दमिश्र(= एम्बार)

विज्ञानस्तुति

[He was deciple of Rāmānuja. Born at Mathuramangalam. Lived 1026–1129.]

गोविन्दराज p. 23

[Bhavānācarya son of S'rīraṅgācarya made a gift to Tirupati Temple on 5-7-1535 and lived at Tirupati; see *Tirupati Devastanam Inscriptions.*]

घटपार्थकाव्य [*Bendall* 51]

घृतकुल्या (d)

[A farce. Ms. dated. sam. 1731. *Bendall*, 28]

चण्डकौशिक

[See V. V. Mirashi on Rajasekhara's works in Pathak's Com. Vol. Poona]

चिन्नम्मा poetess, *Sarng* [*BTC*. 164, Ms. Peterson's Edn. does not contain it.]

जानकीराघव (d)

by युवराजरामसिंह, son of Jayasimha (1625) [*Bendall*, 28]

दत्ता (novel)

by श्रीश्वरचन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय [*JSSP*. XIX]

दूताङ्गद (d)

by रामचन्द्र [*Bendall*, 28]

देवशङ्करभट्ट [For date, see *PO*. 1. ii. 14]

देवशिखामणि अलशिङ्गराचार्य [Sanskrit Pandit, Triplicane, Madras.]

पार्थसारथिशतक

तिरप्पल्लियच्चि (Tr. from Tamil)

धर्मवुद्धिकथा [*Bendall* 50]

नञ्जराजयाशोभूषण [For contents, see *PO*. I. ii. 19.]

नयचन्द्र [*PO*. I. ii. 22]

नाट्यशास्त्रसमीक्षा

by T. K. रामचन्द्रअय्यर् [Printed Mylapore, Madras]

नृत्ताञ्जलि

by श्रीरागिणीदेवी

[An illustrated introduction to Hindu dancing, Bombay]

नेपालवंशावलि [See Table of Inscriptions in *Bendall*.]

पञ्चानन तर्करत्न

(नन्दलालपुत्र of Bhatpara, Bengal.)

See कलङ्कमोचन [*JSSP*. XX]

पद्यवेणी [*PO*. I. ii. 54]

पूर्णचन्द्रडे उद्भटसागर (of Calcutta)

उद्भटश्लोकमाला

[An anthology of fine verses of the *author and of others. Printed Calcutta.]

प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण [*PO*. I. ii. 16]

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* Here is a verse of the author for benediction to live for 120 years.

इष्टं खचन्द्रगुणितं शशिना समेतं रामान्वितं युगयुतं निहतं शरेण।
यच्छेषितं शरकरेण वसुघ्नमब्दं त्वं जीव हे वसुवर! स्वजनैः पृथिव्याम् ॥

(*JSSP*. XX. 152 for a review)

प्रभावली (d)
by हरिजीवनमिश्र [*Bendall* 28]

प्रेममोहिनीरणधीर (d)
See विजयानन्दन

बिन्दुमाधव
कम्पनीप्रतापमण्डन (d) [Printed Poona]

बोपदेव 205

भास [C. K. Venkataramiah, *Bhasa's Plays* (in Canarese) Bangalore an extensive book reviewed in *Hindu*, 22nd August 1937, Madras.]

महादण्डक [Ramghat Jain Mandir, Benares]

महाभारत [*PO.* I iii. 5]

माघदुर्घट [*Bendall* 60]
by राजकूर (Adversaria on Māgha)

माणिक्यसुन्दर (अचलगच्छ)
See गुणवर्मचरित्र *supra*

मूकपञ्चशती [Ed. by T. S. Sabesa Iyer, Madras]

रसार्णवालङ्कार [Ed. *IHQ.* (1929) by Venkataramasarma, and by E. V. Veeraraghavacharya, *Jl of Tel.* Academy (1934–5)]

राधाप्रिया
See विश्वनाथ (Chief of Askar)

राम (लिङ्गंगुण्ड)
शृङ्गाररसोदय (d) [*CC.* I. 661]

रामायण
[Miss. P. C. Dharma, *Some customs and beliefs from Ramayana PO.* II. 113.]

वरदाचार्य (S.T.G.) [S. T. G. Varadācarya, M.A., himself maintains a Sanskrit College at Chittigudur, Masulipatam.]
नवरत्नमाला
तत्त्वकथानक
सुषुप्तिवृत्तम् (a short poem on India past and future)

वरदाम्बिकापरिणय
[Edited with commentary by M. M. [illegible]ar Sharma and Haridatta Sharma by Lakshman Sarup, [illegible] introduction, Lahore. Introduction fixes date of composition between 1529—40.]

व[illegible]भरण (Nepal Library)

विद्धसालभञ्जिका (d) 166, 658 [V.V. Mirashi, Yuvarājadeva of Tripur, *Annals* XI. 370].

विद्याधर [*PO*. I. ii. 13]

विद्यातिलक (p) [*Bendall*, 19].

श्रीनिवासाचार्य (*T.V.*)

लक्ष्मीनृसिंहशतक (Printed Madras)

षोडशायुधस्तुति 121

हरिजीवनमिश्र

प्रभावली (d) [*Bendall*, 28]

[*N.B.*—*Bendall* = A Journey in Nepal and Northern India, by Cecil Bendall, Cambridge, 1886.

इति

श्रीमदखिलाण्डकोटिब्रह्माण्डनायकस्य श्रियःपतेः देवदेवस्य श्रीशेषाचलशिखरालयस्य श्रीनिवासस्य नित्यान्तरङ्गभृत्यगोष्ठीधुरीणस्य - परश्शतकृत्वः प[ठि]तव्याख्यातश्रीमद्रामायण - चतुश्शास्त्रपारावारपारीण - श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरसंस्थानगीर्वाणकलाशालाप्रथममहोपदेशकाध्यक्ष - धार्मिकशिरोमणि - सुगृहीतनामधेय - कमलम्बासहचरित - स्वपितृव्य - श्रीनिवासरङ्गनाथाचार्य - वात्सल्यलब्धसाहित्यसर्वस्वस्य, अंशावतारित- फणिपतिधिषणाधवलप्रभाभासुरपरिच्छद - निरन्तरप्रतिभासमुल्ल- सितहृद्यानवद्यप्रवचनचातुरीसमुपस्थापितकालिदासमहा- कवि - शब्दशास्त्रविशारद मण्डकोळत्तूरभिजन - श्री कृष्णशास्त्रिणः, अनवरतश्रुतमतनिध्यातशब्द- ब्रह्मस्वरूपस्य समधिगतपाणिनीयसर्वस्वस्य अरशाणिपालै - शठकोपाचार्यस्य च, प्रियान्तेवासिनः

नैध्रुवकाश्यपगोत्रोद्भवस्य अमृताम्बागर्भसम्भवस्य श्रीनिवासराघवतनूभवस्य शृङ्गाराम्बासहधर्मचारिणः माडभूषि कृष्णमहाचार्यस्य कृतिषु देवबाणीसाहित्यचरितं समाप्तम् ॥

[श्रि]यःकान्ताय कल्याणनिधये निधयेऽर्थिनां ।
[श्रीवे]ङ्कटनिवासाय श्रीनिवासाय मङ्गलम् ॥

verse.

Printed T. T. Devasthanam Press, Madras. As T. T. Devasthanam Press could not continue the work of the Index, the last obstacle in the prog[re]ss of the work, that has been done by Vavilla Press from page 960 to the end.